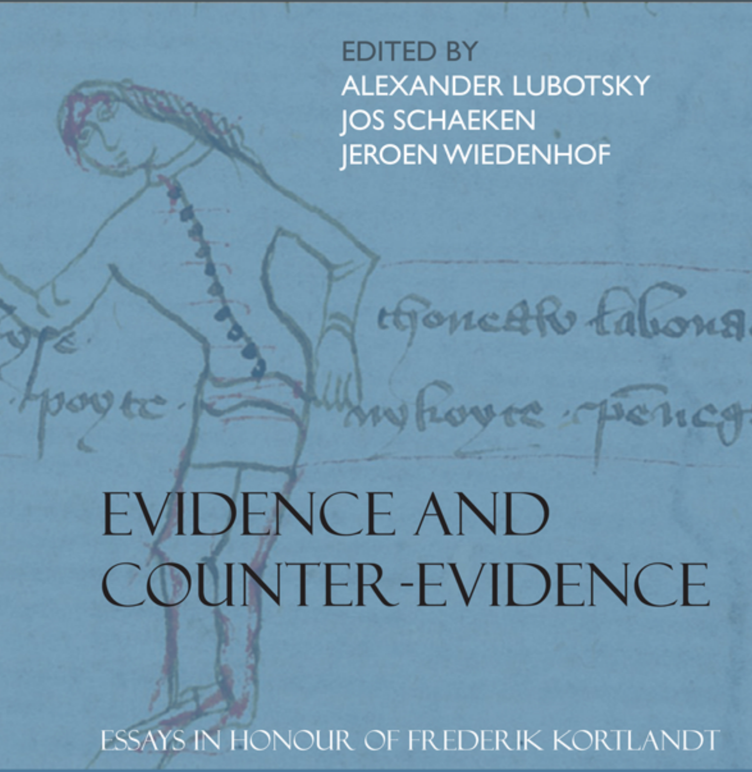
STUDIES IN SLAVIC AND GENERAL LINGUISTICS



EDITED BY
ALEXANDER LUBOTSKY
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EVIDENCE AND COUNTER-EVIDENCE

ESSAYS IN HONOUR OF FREDERIK KORTLANDT

VOLUME 1:
BALTO-SLAVIC AND INDO-EUROPEAN LINGUISTICS

Evidence and Counter-Evidence

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Evidence and Counter-Evidence

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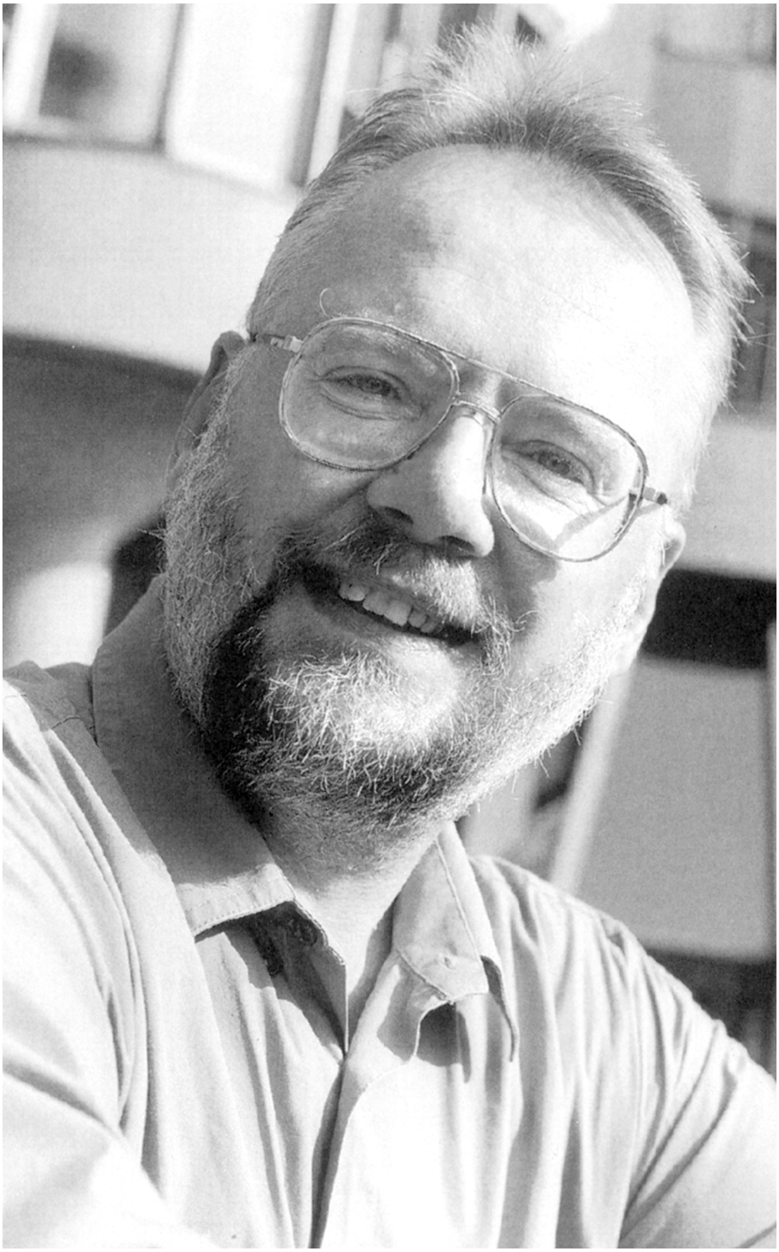
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CONTENTS

CONTENTS

CONTENTS

PREFACE

These two volumes are dedicated to Frederik Kortlandt on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday, bringing together contributions by students and colleagues who have found inspiration in his linguistic work.

Except for this intellectual association, the texts have little in common. They thus reflect Frederik's abundant linguistic appetites, ranging from Slavic studies to Indo-European reconstruction, Tibeto-Burman fieldwork and the genesis of human language itself. The list is endless, owing to his knack for taking up an entirely new area of expertise, acquainting himself with its traditions, and proceeding to invigorate its specialists with new evidence, insights and incentives.

In obtaining evidence, Frederik's observations are penetrating and meticulous, but his empiricism does not rely on facts proving the theory. The role of the theory is to allow its own disproof: "a new insight means a new way of looking for counter-evidence rather than a new way of looking at known facts" (List of Publications, no. 104). This paradox is due to the fact that "human beings are driven by ideas" (no. 206). For if humans risk becoming victims of their own ideas, it is the responsibility of science to test these concepts in the exploration of unknown territories.

Frederik has intensified this quest into the unknown over the years. Realizing the speed with which traditional cultures succumb to political, economic and technological pressures, he has actively promoted the documentation of little-known written and unwritten languages and their various habitats across the globe. The resulting descriptions not only provide abundant and indispensable data for the analysis of our complex cultural heritage, they constitute a lasting contribution to the development of linguistic science.

Dear Frits: your colleagues hope you will enjoy the following pages and are, as ever, looking forward to your straightforward comments.

Alexander Lubotsky
Jos Schaeken
Jeroen Wiedenhof

Leiden, 19 June 2006

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LIST OF PUBLICATIONS BY FREDERIK KORTLANDT

In accordance with Frederik Kortlandt's own conventions, this list is arranged chronologically by date of authorship rather than date of publication. An online version is available at *www.kortlandt.nl*, where full text versions of many publications, some as yet unpublished, can also be found.

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INDEX

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О СОПОСТАВИТЕЛЬНОМ ИЗУЧЕНИИ ОГРАНИЧИТЕЛЬНЫХ ВРЕМЕННЫХ СОЮЗОВ СЛАВЯНСКИХ ЯЗЫКОВ

АДРИАН БАРЕНТСЕН

1. Обзор славянских ограничительных союзов

При выражении различных таксисных отношений (Храковский 2003) в славянских языках центральную роль играют временные союзы. По ряду причин среди них особо выделяется группа ограничительных союзов, т.е. те союзы, которые восходят к сочетанию предложного элемента **do* или **po* с прономинальным/наречным элементом. В старославянских текстах этот тип представлен союзом *доньдеже* или одним из его вариантов (Старославянский словарь 1994: 195). Его наиболее важные соответствия в основных современных славянских литературных языках приведены в нижеследующем списке.[1] (Языки, представленные в наших примерах, отмечены в нем жирным шрифтом.)

Русский	пока, покуда, покамест, доколе
Украинский	поки, доки
Белорусский	пакуль
Польский	(do)póki, pokąd
Чешский	dokud, pokud
Словацкий	dokiaľ, pokiaľ[2]
Верхне-лужицкий	doniž
Словенский	dokler
Хорватский	dok(le)
Сербский	док(ле)
Македонский	додека[3]
Болгарский	докато, додето, докле

[1] Подобные союзы мы находим также в диалектах. В некоторых подробных описаниях южнославянских диалектов голландские слависты приводят, например, союзы *dokle* (Houtzagers 1985: 223; Kalsbeek 1998: 436-437) и *donjek*/*dov(j)ek* (Houtzagers 1999: 191).

2. Два основных варианта употребления ограничительных союзов

Значения указанных союзов всех этих языков в значительной степени пересекаются. Общим для них является то, что они могут выражать определенное о г р а н и ч е н и е действия главной части предложения. Далее очень важно то, что во всех славянских языках при этом различаются по крайней мере д в а о с н о в н ы х в а р и а н т а.

В наиболее очевидном варианте действие придаточной части является событием, которое с л е д у е т н е п о с р е д с т в е н н о за действием главной части и как бы о б р ы в а е т последнее. Подобное значение в английском языке выражается союзами *till* или *until.*[4]

Во втором варианте между действиями главной и придаточной частей наблюдается не последовательность действий, но определенная о д н о в р е м е н н о с т ь, с о п р я ж е н н о с т ь: действие (состояние) придаточной части является фоном или мотивирующей основой для действия главной. Поэтому окончание действия придаточной – исчезновение этого фона – приводит также и к исчезновению ситуации главной части. То есть, как и в первом варианте, действие главной части некоторым образом обрывается, ограничивается. В отличие от славянских языков, в английском подобное соотношение выражается не тем союзом, что в первом случае. В обсуждаемом варианте вместо союза *till/until* выбирается другой союз, а именно *as long as* (или *so long as*), а иногда *while*.

Рассмотрим два параллельных фрагмента из переводов Евангелия. Для экономии места ограничимся примерами из языков, отмеченных в схеме жирным шрифтом.[5] Они представляют все традиционно выделяемые группы славянских языков. Последовательность языков в примерах следует вышеприведенной схеме. В начале дается греческий оригинал и его английский перевод (King James Version). После болгарского приводится старославянский перевод из Мариинского кодекса.

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[2] В современном словацком языке вместо указанных союзов более употребителен союз *kým*, имеющий другое происхождение.

[3] Вместо союза *додека* часто встречается союз *дури*, происхождение которого менее ясно.

[4] Чтобы лучше показать особенности славянских языков, в настоящей статье, по возможности, приводятся соответствующие конструкциии английского языка.

[5] Примеры взяты из переводов Библии, доступных на интернетовских сайтах. Для сопоставительных исследований они являются очень интересным материалом, так как представляют много языков, нередко в разных вариантах перевода.

В примере (1) представлен вариант с действием придаточной части, непосредственно следующим за действием главной:[6]

(1) Евангелие от Матфея 10:11
Греч. εἰς ἣν δ' ἂν πόλιν ἢ κώμην εἰσέλθητε, ἐξετάσατε τίς ἐν αὐτῇ ἄξιός ἐστιν· κἀκεῖ *μείνατε* **ἕως** ἂν **ἐξέλθητε**;
Англ. And into whatsoever city or town ye shall enter, enquire who in it is worthy; and there *abide* **till** ye **go thence**;
Русск. В какой бы город или селение ни вошли вы, наведывайтесь, кто в нем достоин, и там *оставайтесь*, **пока** не **выйдете**;
Укр. А як зайдете в місто якесь чи в село, то розвідайте, хто там достойний, і там *перебудьте*, аж **поки** не **вийдете**;
Польск. A gdy przyjdziecie do jakiegoś miasta albo wsi, wywiedzcie się, kto tam jest godny, i u niego *zatrzymajcie się*, **dopóki** nie **wyjdziecie**;
Чешск. Kdykoli vstoupíte do města nebo vesnice, ptejte se po bohabojném člověku a v jeho domě pak *zůstaňte*, **dokud se** ne**vydáte** na další cestu;
Словен. V katero koli mesto ali vas pridete, poizvedite, kdo je tam vreden, in *ostanite* tam, **dokler** ne **odidete**;
Сербск. А кад у који град или село уђете, испитајте ко је у њему достојан и ондје *останите* **док** не **изиђете**;
Болг. И в кой да било град или село, като влезете, разпитвайте кой в него е достоен, и там *оставайте* **докле си отидете**;
Ст.-сл. Въ ньже колижъдо градъ ли вь весь вьнидете · іспытаите кто вь немь достоинъ естъ · і ту *прѣбѫдете* **доньдеже изидете.**

Перейдем ко второму варианту, где ограничение связано с определенной разновидностью одновременности обоих действий. Как было уже отмечено, все рассматриваемые нами славянские союзы могут употребляться и в такой функции. То же самое относится к древнегреческому союзу ἕως, который представлен также в примере (1). Следует отметить, что примеры варианта с одновременностью в греческом тексте Нового Завета встречаются значительно реже, чем примеры первого варианта.

Следующий фрагмент состоит из нескольких предложений, следующих непосредственно друг за другом. Ограничительная одновременность действий в них фактически наблюдается дважды. Однако

[6] Здесь и далее предикат главной части выделен курсивом, а союз и предикат придаточной – жирным шрифтом.

в греческом оригинале все же употребляются два разных союза. Только в первом предложении встречается союз *ἕως*, который можно считать настоящим ограничительным союзом. Во втором случае выбран более нейтральный временной союз *ὅταν*. При сравнении разных переводов Библии на ряд европейских языков наблюдаются значительные различия в "политике" переводчиков: у одних преобладает стремление к сохранению вариативности греческого оригинала, в то время как другие переводчики, очевидно, предпочитают выразить параллелизм смысла обоих предложений. Подобные различия наблюдаются также в приведенных ниже переводах. Однако для наших целей достаточно констатировать, что во всех приведенных славянских переводах хотя бы в одном из двух случаев употребляется союз из нашего списка (альтернативный союз выделен подчеркиванием):

(2) Евангелие от Иоанна 9:4,5

Греч. 4 ἡμᾶς *δεῖ ἐργάζεσθαι* τὰ ἔργα τοῦ πέμψαντός με **ἕως ἡμέρα ἐστίν·** ἔρχεται νὺξ ὅτε οὐδεὶς δύναται ἐργάζεσθαι. 5 **ὅταν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ὦ**, *φῶς εἰμι* τοῦ κόσμου;

Англ. 4 I *must work* the works of him that sent me, **while it is day**: the night cometh, when no man can work. 5 **As long as** I **am in the world**, I *am the light* of the world;

Русск. 4 Мне *должно делать* дела Пославшего Меня, **доколе есть день**; приходит ночь, когда никто не может делать. 5 **Доколе** Я **в мире**, Я *свет* миру;[7]

Укр. 4 Ми *мусимо виконувати* діла Того, Хто послав Мене, аж **поки є день**. Надходить он ніч, коли жаден нічого не зможе виконувати. 5 **Доки** Я **в світі**, Я *Світло* для світу;

Польськ. 4 *Potrzeba* nam *pełnić* dzieła Tego, który Mnie posłał, **dopóki jest dzień**. Nadchodzi noc, kiedy nikt nie będzie mógł działać. 5 **Jak długo jestem na świecie**, jestem światłością świata;

Чешск. 4 *Musíme konat* skutky toho, který mě poslal, **dokud je den**. Přichází noc, kdy nikdo nebude moci pracovat. 5 **Pokud jsem na světě**, *jsem světlo* světa;

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[7] В этом примере из Синодального перевода представлен союз *доколе*, имеющий ярко выраженный архаичный/поэтический оттенок. В современном русском языке вместо него обычно употребляется союз *пока*. Сравните второе предложение в переводе Международного библейского общества: **Пока** Я **в мире**, Я – *свет* миру.

Словен. 4 **Dokler je dan**, *moramo opravljati* dela tistega, ki me je poslal. Pride noč, ko nihče ne more delati. 5 **Dokler sem na svetu**, sem luč sveta;
Сербск. 4. Мени *ваља чинити* дјела Онога који ме посла, **док је дан**. Долази ноћ кад нико не може радити. 5. **Док сам у свијету**, *свјетлост сам* свијету;
Болг. 4 Ние *трябва да вършим* делата на Този, Който Ме е пратил, **докле е ден**; иде нощ, когато никой не може да работи. 5 **Когато съм в света**, *светлина съм* на света;
Ст.-сл. 4 мьнѣ *подобаатъ дѣлати* дѣла посълавъшаага мѧ · **доньдеже день естъ** придетъ ноштъ · егда никтоже не можетъ дѣлати · 5 **егда въ мирѣ есмъ** *свѣтъ есмь* миру.

Таким образом, примеры (1) и (2) показывают, что славянские ограничительные союзы действительно употребляются в указанных двух вариантах значения, т.е., что их значение является достаточно объемным. В этом отношении славянские языки заметно отличаются от большинства других европейских языков. Все современные германские языки ведут себя как английский и используют разные союзы для выражения двух указанных смыслов.[8] То же самое относится и к большинству современных романских языков.[9] Именно поэтому эти союзы являются очень интересным предметом для лингвистического анализа. Ведь следует ожидать, что разграничение между указанными вариантами определенным образом происходит через взаимодействие союза с другими элементами предложения. Это подтверждают славянские переводы в примерах (1) и (2). Они отличаются прежде всего выбором глагольного вида в придаточной части: в примере (1) представлен совершенный вид (СВ), а в примере (2) – несовершенный (НСВ). Далее бросается в глаза, что почти во всех славянских переводах примера (1) предикат придаточной части имеет отрицательное оформление, хотя само осуществление действия не отрицается. По нашим наблюдениям, такая структурная функция отрицательной частицы при дифференцировании вариантов (1) и (2) является фактически обязательной для большинства

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[8] Интересно отметить, что в древнем готском языке оба смысла могли выражаться одним союзом: *unte.*

[9] Итальянский союз *finchè* также может выражать оба смысла. Притом, как и в большинстве славянских языков, при дифференцировании этих смыслов особую роль играет отрицательное оформление придаточной части.

современных славянских языков. Как показывает перевод из Мариинского кодекса, этим они заметно отличаются от старославянского языка. Насколько нам известно, из современных языков только в болгарском в случаях типа (1) может употребляться ограничительный союз без отрицания. Однако в болгарском языке также нередко встречаются близкие по значению предложения, в которых союз *докато* (или *додето*) все-таки сочетается с отрицательно оформленным предикатом. Как нам представляется, такая вариативность носит не случайный характер, а скорее всего связана с определенными тонкими семантическими различиями. См. примеры в следующем параграфе.

3. Коротко об альтернативных конструкциях в болгарском, чешском и польском языках

Выбор между конструкциями с положительным или отрицательным предикатом после болгарского союза *докато* (или *додето*) в первом основном варианте, т.е. в тех случаях, когда в английском переводе употреблялся бы союз *till/until*, напоминает определенный выбор, характерный для чешского и польского языков. И в этих языках наряду с отрицательной конструкцией существует положительная. Однако, в отличие от болгарского, в польском и чешском заменяются еще и сами союзы: в положительной конструкции вместо ограничительного союза *dokud* (чешский) или *(do)póki* (польский) выбирается соответственно *až* или *aż*. Сравните следующие два примера из переводов книги Льюиса Кэрролла *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. Переводы даются в последовательности: русский, болгарский, польский, чешский. В примере (3) во всех переводах кроме русского выбрана положительная конструкция:

(3) Then she *set to work nibbling* at the mushroom [...] **till** she **was about a foot high**;
Затем Алиса *принялась грызть* кусочек гриба [...] **пока <u>не</u> уменьшилась** сантиметров до тридцати (Кононенко);
Сетне *почна да гризе* от гъбата [...] **докато стана** около тридесет и пет сантиметра висока (Голдман);
Potem *zabrała się do nadgryzania* grzyba [...] **aż zmalała** do wysokości może jednej stopy (Stiller);
Potom *uždibovala* houbu [...] **až se zmenšila** na pouhou stopu (Skoumalovi).

Однако в примере (4) более естественным оказывается выбор отрицательной конструкции:

(4) The trial *cannot proceed* [...] **until** all the jurymen **are back** in their proper places;
Процесс *не может продолжаться* [...] **пока** все присяжные заседатели **не займут** своих законных мест (Кононенко);
Разглеждането на делото *не може да продължи* [...] **додето** всички съдебни заседатели **не се върнат** по местата си (Голдман);
Rozprawa *nie może się toczyć* [...] **dopóki** wszyscy przysięgli **nie znajdą się** z powrotem na swoim miejscu (Stiller);
Přelíčení *nemůže pokračovat* [...] **dokud** všichni porotci **nebudou** na svém místě (Skoumalovi).

Не трудно заметить, что (4) отличается от (3) тем, что и главная часть является отрицательной. Оказывается, что этот фактор сильно способствует выбору отрицательной конструкции.[10] Однако то, что это не единственный фактор, показывает следующий пример с положительной главной частью. (Пример взят из переводов книги Толкина *The Hobbit*.)

(5) Take him away and *keep him safe*, **until** he **feels inclined** to tell the truth;
Уведите его и *держите* в подземелье, **пока не скажет** правды (Рахманова);
Отведете го и *дръжте затворен* на сигурно място, **докато** сам **не реши** да каже истината (Тодоров);
Zaberzcie go i *zamknijcie* w bezpiecznym miejscu, **póki nie zechce** ujawnić nam prawdy (Braiter);
[O]dveďte ho a *držte* ho pod zámkem, **dokud se** mu **neuráčí** povědět pravdu (Dorůžka).

Для установления семантических факторов, влияющих на выбор указанных конструкций, необходимо провести подробный анализ таких случаев на большом фактическом материале. В отдельной

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[10] Мы склонны предположить, что этот фактор также играл центральную роль в возникновении отрицательных конструкций в других языках. По всей вероятности, отрицательная частица начала появляться в придаточной части именно при наличии отрицания в главной. Интересно отметить, что единственный пример сочетания союза *доньдеже* с отрицанием, приводимый в Старославянском словаре, имеет именно отрицательную главную часть (1994: 195).

статье мы предлагаем некоторые результаты исследования указанных двух польских конструкций на основе параллельных текстов на английском, польском и русском языках (Барентсен *в печ.* 1). Чтобы выяснить, насколько объяснение рассматриваемых там различий применимо к чешскому и болгарскому материалу, понадобятся дополнительные исследования.

4. Материал для исследования различий в частотности разных типов употребления славянских ограничительных союзов

Как мы видели, наряду с важными сходствами в употреблении ограничительных союзов славянских языков, безусловно наблюдаются также определенные различия. Было бы весьма интересно провести сопоставительный анализ данной области на материале всех современных славянских языков. К сожалению, пока для этого не хватает необходимой “материальной базы” – достаточно объемного корпуса с параллельными текстами на основных славянских языках. Автор данной статьи уже некоторое время работает над созданием такого электронного корпуса, но в настоящий момент некоторые языки в нем представлены еще недостаточно. Поэтому для целей настоящей статьи были исследованы только три языка, представленные лучше других: русский, польский и сербский. Поскольку эти языки репрезентируют все три традиционно выделяемые группы славянских языков, нам кажется, что на этой основе можно все же получить некоторое представление об объеме и характере различий в функционировании славянских ограничительных союзов.

Исследуемый материал состоит из 16 параллельных текстов.[11] Все тексты относятся к повествовательному типу (романы, повести, детская литература и т.д.). Русская часть материала содержит около миллиона словоупотреблений, что соответствует более чем 3000 книгопечатных страниц. На наш взгляд, такой объем позволяет получить достаточно достоверную картину важнейших различий в употребляемости разных типов интересующих нас конструкций.

В указанном материале собраны все случаи употребления союзов, приведенных в таблице параграфа 1. Найденные примеры разбиты на 4 группы, в зависимости от названных выше факторов: выбора вида в придаточной части и присутствия/отсутствия в ней отрицания. Количественные соотношения этих групп наглядно изображены на схеме 1, которая приводится ниже.

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[11] Список текстов дается в конце статьи.

5. Обзор частотных соотношений 4 групп конструкций с ограничительными союзами в польском, русском и сербском языках

На схеме 1 столбиками над горизонтальной линией изображена частотность придаточных с совершенным видом, под горизонтальной линией – с несовершенным. Серым цветом обозначено наличие отрицания в придаточной части, а белым – его отсутствие. Таким образом можно сразу увидеть, что в польском языке, представленном в левой части схемы, почти исключительно встречаются всего два типа конструкций, а именно те, которые мы находим в примерах (1) и (2), соответственно отрицательный предикат СВ и положительный предикат НСВ. Видно также, что последний тип встречается примерно в 3 раза реже, чем первый – 61 на 186.

По данным схемы 1 можно констатировать, что, по сравнению с польским, в русском и сербском языках употребление данных союзов более разнообразно и более частотно.

Безусловным чемпионом на фоне других языков можно признать сербский язык, в котором значительно преобладает употребляемость трех из четырех типов.

Наиболее сильно это проявляется у типа с положительным предикатом НСВ. В сербских текстах этот тип встречается примерно в 20 раз чаще, чем в параллельных польских текстах (1197 на 61). И по сравнению с русским языком, в примерах этой конструкции наблюдается сильное преобладание сербского *док* над русским *пока*. Как показывает схема, по частотности употребления данных союзов русский язык занимает срединное положение между польским и сербским.

При указанных значительных различиях в частотности конструкций естественно предположить, что они, хотя бы частично, мотивируются определенными различиями в их семантике. Анализ употребления этих конструкций подтверждает это предположение: фактически каждая из четырех конструкций имеет какие-то особенности в употреблении, свойственные не всем трем языкам. В следующих параграфах мы остановимся лишь на некоторых из них.[12] Для более полного освещения этого вопроса потребовалось бы значительно

[12] В другой статье автора, которая будет опубликована в журнале *Зборник Матице српске за славистику* (Барентсен *в печ.* 2), коротко рассматриваются еще несколько типов употребления данных союзов, которые расходятся в данных языках, и приводится ряд других примеров к типам, рассматриваемым в настоящей статье.

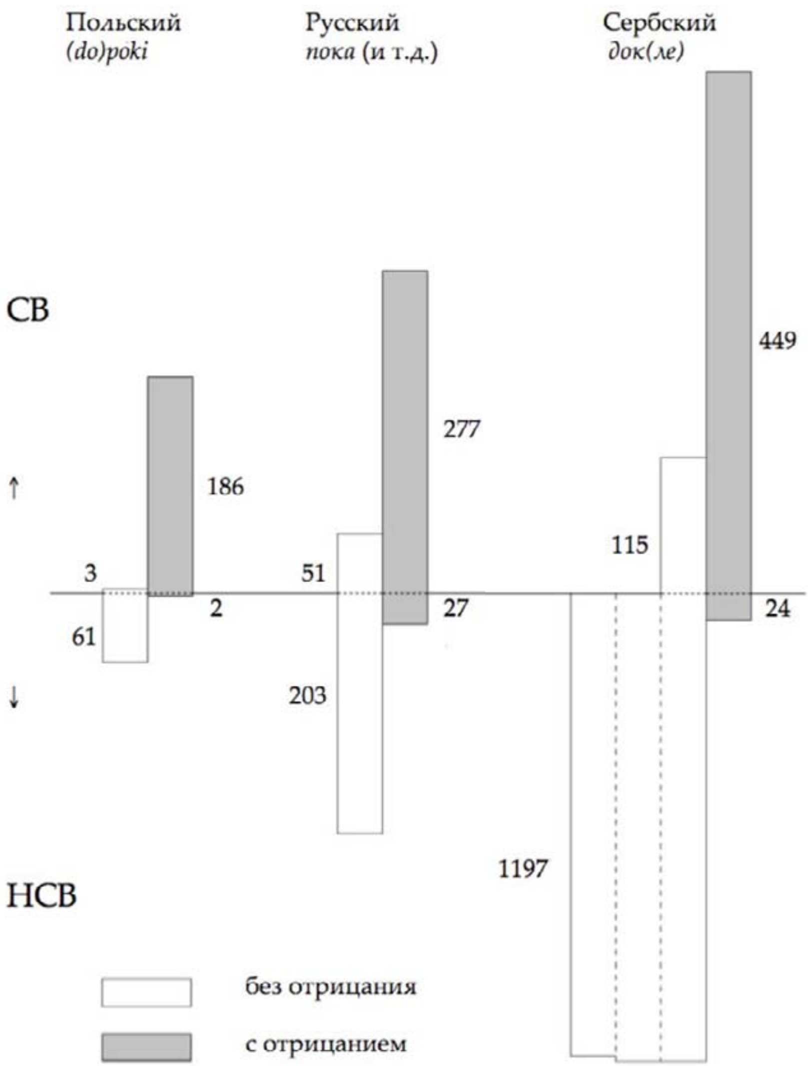

Польский
(do)poki
Русский
пока (и т.д.)
Сербский
док(ле)
СВ
↑
↓
НСВ
186
3
2
61
277
51
27
203
449
115
24
1197
без отрицания
с отрицанием

Схема 1.

больше места. Кроме того, целый ряд деталей пока еще ждет проверки на более обширном материале.

6. Отрицательный предикат СВ в придаточной части

Как уже было указано в параграфе 3, в польском языке наряду с *(do)póki ... nie* существует альтернативная (положительная) конструкция с союзом *aż.*[13] Это и является главным объяснением сравнительно низкой частотности данного типа в польском языке, по сравнению с русским *пока ... не* и сербским *док ... не.* Как нам представляется, польская конструкция *(do)póki ... nie* + СВ отличается от соответствующих конструкций в русском и сербском языках тем, что она намного сильнее подчеркивает н е с о в м е с т и м о с т ь результативной фазы предиката придаточной с ситуацией, обозначенной в главной части (далее СИТгл). На практике это означает, что наступление результативной ситуации придаточной существенно меняет СИТгл или полностью прекращает ее. См. вышеприведенные примеры (4) и (5). В примере (3) выбор союза *aż* мотивирован тем, что связь между результативной фазой действия придаточной (достижение определенного роста) и СИТгл скорее воспринимается по-другому: действие придаточной является своего рода с л е д с т в и е м СИТгл. Таким образом, конструкции *(do)póki ... nie* и *aż* различаются по ориентации действий друг на друга.[14] В отличие от польской конструкции *(do)póki ... nie,* русская и сербская конструкции *пока ... не* и *док ... не* могут употребляться при обеих ориентациях, т.е. в зависимости от обстоятельств могут выделяться то оттенок прекращения, то оттенок результативности. Приведем еще один пример, где ясно представлен последний из них, что и способствовало выбору польского союза *aż*. Отметим, что в сербском переводе этот оттенок акцентируется наречием *najzad* ‘наконец’.[15]

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[13] Подробнее об этом: (Podracki 1968) и (Барентсен *в печ.* 1).

[14] Следует отметить, что нередко различия между данными польскими конструкциями являются весьма тонкими. Иногда они фактически взаимозаменяемы. Поэтому в альтернативных переводах нередко делается разный выбор между ними. Ср. перевод Стиллера в примере (3) со следующим переводом Слонимского: Później zabrała się do dzieła, *nadgryzając* grzyb po odrobince [...] **póki nie skurczyła się** do wysokości mniej więcej jednej stopy. Согласно нашему анализу, в последнем переводе больше акцентируется момент прекращения СИТгл и оттенок следствия оставлен в стороне.

[15] Здесь и далее последовательность языков в примерах такова: английский, сербский, русский и польский.

(6) Christopher Robin [...] *pulled and pulled* at his boot **until** he **had got** it **on** (Milne);
Kristofer Robin [...] *vukao i vukao* čizmu, **dok** najzad **nije obuo**;
Кристофер Робин стал *натягивать... натягивать... натягивать* сапог, **пока** тот **не наделся**;
Krzysztof Robin [...] *ciągnął, i ciągnął* ten but, **aż** go **wciągnął.**

7. Положительный предикат СВ в придаточной части

В польском языке данный тип почти исключен. В нашем материале он представлен только тремя примерами с глаголами особой семантики: *starczyć* 'хватить, оказаться достаточным' и *pozostać* 'остаться'. Ограничимся одним примером, где в сербском и русском переводах употреблен предикат противоположного вида, т.е. выбрана конструкция другого типа (ср. параграф 8):

(7) [Thorin Oakenshield] is quite ready to *sit* on a heap of gold *and starve*, **as long as** you **sit here** (Hobbit);
[O]n [je] spreman *sedeti* na gomili zlata *i gladovati* **dokle** god vi **sedite ovde**;
Покамест вы **здесь**, он скорее умрет с голоду, чем поделится хотя бы крупинкой золота;
[C]hoćby miał umrzeć z głodu, gotów jest *siedzieć* na swojej górze złota, **póki** wy tu **pozostaniecie**.

В отличие от польского языка, в сербском и русском конструкции с союзами *док* и *пока* + СВ имеют особую сферу применения. Как правило, в таких предложениях, в отличие от типа, рассмотренного в параграфе 6, предикат главной части относится к совершенному виду. В таких случаях актуализируется не только предел действия придаточной части (возникновение результативной фазы), но и деятельность, которая ведет к этому пределу. Именно на фоне этой деятельности развивается и достигает своего предела действие главной части. При этом предел СИТгл может быть расположен до предела действия придаточной (пример (8)), или фактически совпадать с ним (пример (9)). Достаточно подробное описание таких случаев в русском языке, с большим количеством примеров, дается в ранней статье автора (Барентсен 1979: 70–82.) Как показывают следующие примеры из нашего параллельного корпуса, в английском языке в подобных случаях выбирается союз другого типа: *by the time that* или *before.* В польском языке обычно используется союз

(za)nim, который в других случаях соответствует русскому *прежде чем* и сербскому *пре него што*:

(8) **By the time** she **had caught** the flamingo **and brought** it **back**, the fight *was over* (Carroll);
И **док је** њој **пошло за руком да ухвати** фламинга и донесе га натраг, битка је већ *била окончана*;
Пока Алиса **поймала и принесла** фламинго, драка *закончилась*;
Zanim udało jej **się złapać** flaminga **i wrócić**, *było* już *po bójce*.

(9) [...] and then some ten minutes *passed* **before** his servant **came back** with a ticket;
[...] и опет *је прошло* десетак минута **док се** слуга **вратио** с касе с улазницом;
[...] однако *прошло* еще минут десять, **пока** слуга **вернулся** из кассы с билетом;
[...] i znowu *upłynęło* z dziesęć minut, **nim** służący **powrócił** z kasy z biletem (Prus).

8. Положительный предикат НСВ в придаточной части

Как показывает схема 1, в сербском языке данный тип является несравнимо более частотным, чем все остальные. Это объясняется особой широтой области употреблений союза *док* при несовершенном виде по сравнению с ограничительными союзами других рассматриваемых языков. В ряде случаев, где в сербском языке союз *док* вполне употребителен, в польском и русском соответствующий союз не употребляется. На основе сравнения таких случаев в этих трех языках данную область можно разбить на четыре зоны. Каждая из них отличается своим набором наиболее близких соответствий в других языках. Ниже дается схематическое изображение соотношений этих зон в исследуемых языках. Для сравнения приводятся также соответствующие английские союзы:[16]

[16] Особое положение на схеме зоны г) символизирует то, что в этих случаях данные союзы выступают вне сферы чисто временных отношений. См. 8.4.

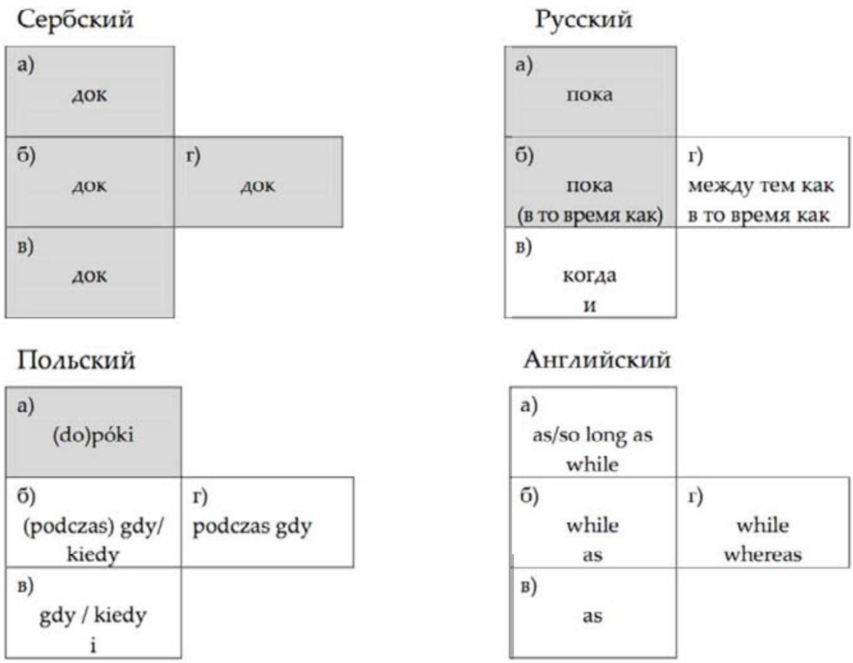


Схема 2.

Бросается в глаза, что польский союз *(do)póki* является и здесь наиболее ограниченным в употреблении. Это вполне соответствует низкой частотности данного типа в польском языке, что мы уже отмечали при обсуждении схемы 1.

Ниже даем краткую семантическую характеристику каждой из четырех зон с примерами.

8.1 Зона а)

Это единственная зона, в которой сербскому *док* соответствует не только русский *пока*, но и польский *(do)póki*. Особенность ее заключается в том, что из всех различаемых зон элемент ограничения здесь является наиболее ощутимым. Это случаи с таким же характером, как пример (2): СИТгл продолжается вплоть до момента прекращения или исчезновения ситуации, обозначаемой в придаточной части (далее СИТпр). Такое временно́е соотношение ситуаций

естественным образом сопровождается оттенком некоторой обусловленности, что особенно заметно в тех случаях, когда СИТпр охватывает момент речи. Такие примеры встречаются наиболее часто:

(10) I reckon we*'re safe* **as long as** we **keep mum** (Twain);
Докле год **држимо језик за зубима**, дотле *смо сигурни*;
Пока мы **держим язык за зубами**, нас *никто не тронет*;[17]
[*J*]*esteśmy bezpieczni*, **póki trzymamy język za zębami**.

Интересно отметить, что в сербском языке существенный для этого варианта элемент (продолжение существования СИТгл вплоть до конца СИТпр) сравнительно часто маркируется особыми показателями. Например, часто союзу *док* предшествует частица *све.* А вместо сочетания *све док* нередко встречается и более архаичный вариант союза (*докле*) в сочетании с частицей *год*, как в примере (10).[18] (В последнем примере эффект этого сочетания усиливается соотносительным словом *дотле* в главной части.) В связи с отмеченной семантической широтой конструкции *док* + НСВ, сербский язык, очевидно, больше нуждается в особом маркировании данной зоны, чем польский и русский.

Важной разновидностью рассматриваемого типа являются предложения, где главная часть указывает на то, как следует воспользоваться благоприятными обстоятельствами, существующими пока в момент речи. (Именно эти обстоятельства описываются в придаточной части.) В таких случаях в главной части легко допускается совершенный вид:

(11) [Y]ou had better *slap* your arms and *rub* your legs and try and *help* me get the others out **while there is a chance**! (Tolkien);
[B]olje bi bilo *da ispljeskaš* ruke i *istrljaš* noge i *pokušaš* mi *pomoći* da izvadimo ostale **dok** još **imamo priliku**!
[*П*]*охлопайте* себя руками, *разотрите* ноги и *постарайтесь помочь* мне вынуть остальных, **пока есть время**!
[L]epiej *rozruszaj* ręce, *rozetrzyj* nogi i *pomóż* mi *wydostać* pozostałych, **póki** jeszcze **mamy** na to **szansę**.

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[17] Несмотря на совершенный вид предиката, в этом предложении СИТгл все же воспринимается как длящаяся: это наличие н е в о з м о ж н о с т и осуществления события, указанного глаголом. Как известно, такое “потенциальное значение” может легко возникнуть при форме настоящего-будущего СВ.

[18] См. также сербский перевод в примере (7).

Рассматриваемое значение ограничения параллельным состоянием может встречаться и в предложениях с формами прошедшего времени. Насколько нам известно, в таких случаях главная часть всегда содержит НСВ:

(12) Poor bloke. Brilliant mind. He *was fine* **while** he **was studyin'** outta books [but then ...] (Rowling);
Јадан тип. Бриљантан ум. *Био је сјајан* **док је проучавао** књиге;
Бедный парень. А ведь талантливый такой. Он **пока** науки по книгам **изучал**, *в полном порядке был*;
Biedny facet. Ma naprawdę wielki łeb. *Wszystko było dobrze*, **póki studiował** z książek.

8.2 Зона б)

В этой зоне семантический элемент ограничения значительно слабее, чем в предыдущей. Здесь не требуется, чтобы СИТгл продолжалась вплоть до конца СИТпр. Достаточно лишь, чтобы СИТгл осуществлялась в общих пределах СИТпр. Таким образом, роль окончания СИТпр является здесь не такой значительной, как в зоне а). Именно поэтому польский *(do)póki* здесь уже не на месте, хотя для русского *пока* такое употребление еще вполне допустимо. Для русского языка достаточно, чтобы представление об окончании СИТпр каким-то образом присутствовало в общей картине соотношения указанных ситуаций. То есть СИТпр здесь представлена не как ситуация сама по себе, а как ситуация с определенным, достигающимся концом.

Наиболее ярко этот вариант проявляется в предложениях, главная часть которых содержит предикат совершенного вида. Такие случаи очень близки к случаю, представленному в примере (8) параграфа 6. Основное различие состоит в характере действия придаточной части. В отличие от примера (8), в примерах, относящихся к настоящему разделу, это действие является непредельным и поэтому может быть представленным только формой НСВ:

(13) The sun *had gone down* **while** he **had been in fight** with the sharks (Hemingway);
Сунце *је зашло* **док се борио** с ајкулама;
Пока он **воевал** с акулами, солнце совсем *зашло*;
Słońce *zaszło*, **kiedy toczył walkę** s rekinami.

В тех случаях, когда и главная часть содержит форму НСВ, ощущается определенный параллелизм между СИТпр и СИТгл. Однако из-за отсутствия специфической связи между окончаниями СИТпр и СИТгл оттенок обусловленности, характерный для случаев зоны а), здесь обычно не возникает:

(14) **As** they **worked** the ravens *brought* them constant tidings (Tolkien);
Dok su oni **radili**, gavranovi *su* im neprekidno *donosili* vesti;
Пока они **трудились**, вороны постоянно *приносили* им вести;
Podczas gdy pracowali, kruki *przynosiły* im coraz to nowe wieści.

8.3 Зона в)

В случаях этой зоны между СИТгл и СИТпр присутствует лишь весьма общий смысл одновременности. СИТпр здесь, как и в зоне б), может восприниматься как некоторый фон для СИТгл, но представление об ограничении проявления СИТгл этим фоном фактически отсутствует. В таких случаях уже не употребляется русский союз *пока.* Но подобные примеры с сербским *док* встречаются часто. В переводах с английского он является обычным соответствием союза *as*, выражающего значение временной связи лишь в весьма общих чертах. И в русских и польских параллельных переводах ему может соответствовать самый нейтральный временной союз – *когда* или *gdy* (*kiedy*). В следующем примере такой выбор, хотя бы частично, мотивирован присутствием локализующего временного обстоятельства, относящегося к тому же действию:

(15) Minutes later, **as** the Jaguar stretch limo **powered** through the streets, Silas' cell phone *rang* (Brown);
Nekolika minuta kasnije, **dok je** dugački jaguar **klizio** ulicama, Sajlasov mobilni telefon *zazvoni*;
Несколько минут спустя, **когда** лимузин **мчался** по улицам Лондона, *зазвонил* мобильник Сайласа;
Kilka minut później, **kiedy** jaguar **pędził** przez ulice miasta, *zadzwonił* telefon komórkowy Sylasa.

Мы предполагаем, что в подобных случаях союз *док*, в принципе, можно заменить союзом *кад(а).* Следовало бы детально изучить этот вопрос, чтобы установить, в чем состоит различие между этими конструкциями (*док* vs. *кад(а)*).

Интересно отметить, что довольно часто сербским предложениям с рассматриваемым употреблением союза *док* в параллельных русском и польском переводах соответствуют предложения без временного союза:

(16) His brow *furrowed* **as** he **listened** to the caller (Brown);
Čelo mu *se naboralo* **dok je slušao** glas sa druge strane;
Он **слушал** говорившего и озабоченно *хмурился*;
Słuchał i *marszczył* czoło.

8.4 Зона г)

В ряде случаев употребление сербского *док* явно выходит за пределы обозначения временных соотношений. В них значение временного параллелизма метафорически расширено до обозначения сопоставления. Подобное явление наблюдается и в других языках, например при английском союзе *while.* Сходное развитие наблюдается в русском и польском языках. Однако здесь расширение значения произошло не у исконных ограничительных союзов, как у сербского *док*, а у союзов, которые могут употребляться для обозначения обычной одновременности. В связи с этим мы и расположили в вышеприведенной схеме зону б) справа от зоны в), показывая таким образом, что рассматриваемое расширение значения произошло именно начиная с зоны б), где значение временнóго параллелизма выступает наиболее ясно.

Утрата или ослабление элемента временного соотношения часто проявляется в том, что в частях сложного предложения описываются не процессы или события, но более общее положение дел, с разными вариантами статальности, без динамики. В следующем примере это связано с тем, что дается описание надгробного памятника:

(17) Every knight was on his back, but three of the knights *had* their legs *extended straight out* **while** two **had** their legs **crossed** (Brown);
Svaki vitez je ležao na leđima, ali trojica *su imala ispružene* noge, **dok su** kod dvojice one **bile prekrštene**;
Каждый рыцарь лежал на спине, но у троих ноги *были вытянуты*, а у двух остальных – **скрещены**;
Wszyscy rycerze leżeli na plecach, ale trzech *miało* nogi *wyciągnięte*, a dwóch pozostałych **skrzyżowane**.

Интересно отметить, что в примерах, относящихся к этой зоне, отсутствие динамики может наблюдаться даже при глаголах СВ:

(18) Legend has it that he *put together* the masculine part of the Khazar encyclopedia, **while** the feminine part **was compiled** by Princess Ateh;
Prema predanju *izradio je* muški deo hazarske enciklopedije, **dok je** ženski deo **sastavila** princeza Ateh (Pavić);
Предание говорит, что он *составил* мужскую часть хазарской энциклопедии, **женская** же – **заслуга** принцессы Атех;
Według legendy to on *opracował* męską część encyklopedii chazarskiej, **żeńską** natomiast **przygotowała** księżniczka Ateh.

9. Заключение

Как нам представляется, приведенный выше материал показывает, что славянские ограничительные союзы являются интересным материалом для лингвистического исследования и что сопоставительное изучение может способствовать лучшему пониманию их функционирования. Стоило бы расширить и углубить данное исследование, принимая во внимание не только больше материала рассматриваемых здесь языков, но и материал других славянских языков, и не только в плане синхронии, но и в плане диахронического развития. (См. вопросы о возникновении особой связи с отрицанием и о расширении сферы употребления данных союзов за пределы темпоральных отношений.)

В теоретическом плане этот материал интересен в связи с вопросом, можно ли объяснить обнаруживаемые различия в употреблении на основе семантического описания данных союзов и как тогда должно выглядеть такое описание. При этом особого внимания заслуживает еще и тот факт, что, по всей вероятности, во всех языках границы областей употребления данных союзов с областями употребления других союзов того же языка проходят несколько иначе. (Ср. сказанное выше о случаях замены ограничительных союзов типичными союзами следования *(za)nim, прежде чем* и *пре него што* в примерах (8) и (9) или как раз более нейтральными временными союзами типа *gdy/kiedy, когда* и *кад(а)* в примере (15).)

Важно также рассмотреть вопрос, чем объясняются значительные различия в разных языках между частотностью конструкций, которые, казалось бы, семантически очень близки. (Ср., например, русский *пока ... не* и сербский *док ... не* в сочетании с предикатом СВ.)

В практическом плане подобный материал может послужить хорошей базой для более адекватного описания данных конструкций в грамматиках, словарях и учебном материале для иностранцев.

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[19] Тексты сгруппированы по языку оригинала; в каждой группе фамилии авторов приводятся в алфавитном порядке. После тире (–) указаны переводчики использованных переводов в следующей последовательности: английский, русский, польский и сербский.

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PALATALIZED CONSONANTS IN PRE-GREEK

ROBERT S.P. BEEKES

Introduction

The study of Pre-Greek entered a new phase by Kuiper's article on ἄνθρωπος (1956) and the work of Furnée that was inspired by it. Furnée's book (1972) contained a mass of words that have variants which show that these words are of non-Indo-European, i.e. of Pre-Greek origin. His book is unsurpassed, and though not everything is acceptable, it must be the basis for further work. What one apparently did not well understand, is that it essentially contains *facts* which must anyhow be explained. There are some suggestions which are unacceptable, but one could hardly expect something else in such a new field, and Furnée everywhere strictly keeps facts apart from theory. Kuiper was well aware of the necessity of this work and realized that it would be essential for our understanding of Pre-Greek. To him it was obvious that one has to study the non-Indo-European material found in Indo-European languages.[1] The neglect of Furnée's work can safely be called the greatest mistake of Indo-European linguistics. Instead, the idea of a Pelasgian language, which would be of Indo-European origin, kept the attention and diverted people from the real work.[2]

I have now been working for two years on an etymological dictionary of Greek, with the additional aim to create a reliable corpus of Pre-Greek material. I study not only instances with variations, but also other material that can be regarded as Pre-Greek. Half of the material is covered by now (I have completed the letter *kappa*, available on Internet[3]). I have found some 500 Pre-Greek words, so I expect to get a thousand of them (out of 7000 lemmas). I have published a preliminary survey of my conclusions on Internet (*Pre-Greek*; with a list of Pre-Greek suffixes). In that article I present some of my findings. It is in no way complete, as I have reviewed only half of the material, but some things may be of interest.

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[1] See my discussion of his work (2005).

[2] Furnée (1972: 30-68) has amply shown that the theory is wrong; it should now be forgotten.

[3] *An etymological dictionary of Greek* can be accessed at http://www.ieed.nl.

In general, it should be said that I have not seen the slightest attempt to understand something of this language; work has been, therefore, a rather disappointing exercise.

With much pleasure I dedicate this note to Frits Kortlandt, who, besides being one of the leading Indo-Europeanists, devotes so much attention to non-Indo-European languages; his work has always been very stimulating for me.

Labialized and palatalized consonants

I concluded that the language had no phonemes /*e*/ and /*o*/; it was a three-vowel system, with only *a*, *i*, *u*. ε and ο were much less frequent in words inherited from Pre-Greek, and they could originate from *a*; also the diphthong ει probably arose from αι (Fur. 353 A 2 "in mehreren Fällen wahrscheinlich nur eine Nebenform von αι"); and ευ is rare (Fur. 353 "überhaupt ist ευ im Vorgr. selten".). There are many instances of variation α / ο and α / ε (Fur. 339, 345, both 80 examples).

Palmer (1963: 39) proposed that the Pre-Greek consonant system was quite different from that of Greek. There was no opposition between plain : voiced : aspirated, but there was one between plain : labialized : palatalized consonants, e.g.

t	t^w	t^y
l	l^w	l^y
s	s^w	s^y

Palmer based himself on the Mycenaean signs for labiovelars, for *dwe*, *twe*, *dwo*, *two* and for those with *Cj*: *rja*, *rjo*, *pja*, *tja*, *sja* and for *zV* from **kjV*, and for *pte* < *pje*. Ruijgh 1967: 28 n. 35 accepted this interpretation.[4] I was convinced by this system when I saw that the assumption of a labialized *l* could explain without difficulty an old problem of Greek, the words for 'plough': if we assume *$al^w ak$-, the forms αὖλαξ (with the labial element anticipated) and ἄλοξ (where the labial element coloured the following vowel to *o* before disappearing itself) receive a straightforward explanation. The assumed developments are phonetically simple.[5] Further speculations about a possible Indo-European origin of this word can now

[4] On labiovelars cf. Kuiper 1968.

[5] A difficulty is provided by the Homeric acc. ὦλκ(α). Probably the α was syncopated in *ὠλακ-, which stands for αὐλακ- with ω- for αὐ-, s. Furn. 301 n. 32.

be forgotten. Note that there are two (and perhaps more) possibilities: the preceding or the following vowel was influenced.[6]

In the case of palatalized consonants we find the same type of effects. A good example is furnished by the words for 'suddenly'; we find ἄφαρ, ἄφνω, αἶψα, ἐξαίφνης, ἐξαπίνης. We see that the first two have just ἀφ-, while the next two have αἰπ/φ-, and the last -απι-. In the last three words we see an extra ι, either before or after the consonant. It seems then as if the ι came from the consonant, and this can be well explained if we assume a palatalized labial, p^y. (I find the grouping together of these forms a brilliant insight of Furnée.)

The appearance of an ι before a palatalized consonant is a rather frequent phenomenon. As in ἄφνω, the ι can also be absent; this gives variants, which we find in many words of Pre-Greek origin. I think that the palatal character was sometimes better and sometimes less well heard and accordingly taken over or not. It is the variations from which we can (more or less) see what happened. If we have only one rendering, we can hardly know what the original form was. Furnée (1972: 335-339) draws a list of the variation α / αι. This might suggest that αι at some time became α, which is a possible assumption, but it rather indicates that a palatal consonant followed. Therefore we should rather speak of a variation ι / zero.

As examples, ψάκαλον / ψάικαλον (Fur. 339), λαφθία / λαῖφος (338), Ἥφαιστος / Ἥφαστος (336), Ἀσκληπιός / Αἰσκλαπιός may be given. In the case of Hephaistos it is clear that the *i* is inherent in the *s*, and that it is there to indicate the transition to the palatalized consonant.

a > [ä] = ε

When an *a* is followed or preceded by a palatalized consonant, it was coloured to an [ä], which is rendered as ε. This can be well seen in the case of the word for 'galingale', where we find Myc. *kuparo /kuparos/* beside *kuparo*$_2$ */kuparyos/*, κύπαιρος, and κύπερος, κύπειρον/ς. So we have a form *kuparyo-*, which became κύπαιρος, and with neglect of the palatal feature κύπαρος; the α could also be changed to [ä] = ε, and this could also have an ι added before the palatal consonant; so we find α, αι or ε, ει. In the same way we have Κάβαρνοι / Κάβειροι; the word had a r^y which coloured the *a* to ε, while at the same time an ι was added to indicate the

[6] Furnée mentions Palmer's view (p. 104), but did not adopt the system and thus missed a number of possible interpretations. The problem is that Furnée had no theoretical framework for his findings; he mostly assumed expressive forms, which is not of much help.

palatal character of the following consonant; in the first form the palatality was ignored (before the *n*); see Beekes 2004.

Beside ζακελτίς = γογγυλίς we have ζεκελτίς, where the *a* had become ε, I assume through a stage [ä]. Beside διφθέρα 'skin, leather' there is a form διψάρα, which shows that the ε is an old *a* changed due to the preceding group, which may have been *-pt^y-*. A good example is further ἔλ(λ)οψ (also ἔλαψ) beside ἀλ(λ)άβης (and ἀλλοπίης); here we must assume **al^yap-*, with a variant [**älla/op-*] (an α varies regularly with ο when adjacent to a labial). (On $l^y > λ(λ)$ see below.) ἴξαλος 'billy-goat' has several variants: ἰσσέλα, ἰτθέλα, etc. I assume that the word had a cluster *-kt^y-al-*; the palatalized *t* easily became an *-s-*, which gave ξ or σσ, but if the dental was retained, the preceding velar could be assimilated to it, which gave -τθ- etc. Also we see that -αλ- varies with -ελ-, I think because of the preceding palatal consonant. Yet another example is καλλαρίας 'a fish' = ὄνος and γαλαρίας· ἰχθύς, ὁ ὀνίσκος (and further γαλλερίας and γελαρίης) beside χελλαρίης 'a sea-fish' = ὀνίσκος. They clearly show *-al^y-* > -αλ(λ)- or -ελ(λ)-. I just came across λάμπη, with its (not prenasalized) variant λάπη 'scum' (of wine etc.), 'phlegm, filth, damp of the nether world'. This word has always been compared with λέμφος 'putrescent carcasses, mucous discharge from the nostrils, rheum, mucus'. This shows that [*lämp^h*] was a phonetic variant of /*lamp*/; the variation *a* - *ä* = ε was known, and also that aspiration was not distinctive. Furnée 316 added, no doubt correctly, λαπτής, of which Hesychius says: λαπτὴν ἔλεγον τὸν πάχυν ἀφρόν, κτλ. The form shows that the word had a p^y which became πτ (see above and below); it also gives good information on the meaning; the word is not discussed in the etymological dictionaries.

l^y > **λλ**

A palatalized *l* is represented as λλ or as single λ when the palatalization was ignored; hence the variation between λλ and single λ, as in the name of Achilles (the search for an Indo-European etymology is therefore useless). Of course, this recalls the development of IE *l̥i̯* > λλ. At the same time the palatal *l* is accompanied by α > ε.

After this λλ we never find (as far as I know) an ι to indicate the palatal consonant. I have not found in Furnée's material λλι in this function; apparently the palatal character was already expressed by the geminate. Also in other cases I have not found a following ι before vowel. E.g. τῦκον / σῦκον, which probably had a *t^y-*. I have found no ια (of course before *i* nothing comparable is to be expected).

The l^y is a clear case of a Pre-Greek phoneme, as a variation λ/λλ is impossible as an Indo-European phenomenon; PIE did not have a morpheme *-al-* to which an element *-i̯o-* could be added, and in any case there could be no variation with or without the second λ. In the case of other palatalized consonants it is more difficult to recognize its origin: r^y for example always results in (single) ϱ.

Thus -αλλος always represents the Pre-Greek suffix **-al^y-*, as Kuiper already remarked (1956: 215 n. 15). I checked all instances of -αλλος in Kretschmer-Locker. Irrelevant are compounds.[7] Irrelevant is also γάλλος. I make a note on two words.

κϱύσταλλος 'ice'.[8] The word is generally (s.v. κϱύος) connected with Lat. *crusta*; this is of course wrong, because *crusta* has a quite different meaning: 'the hard outside surface of a body, shell, crust'; the word has nothing to do with the meaning 'cold, ice'.[9] Therefore κϱύσταλλος has no etymology. That it is Pre-Greek is proven by the gloss κϱόσταλλος· εἶδος ὑέλου, to which Latte (1966: 534) notes "h. e. κϱύσταλλος (κϱουστ- S)". The gloss is not given by the etymological dictionaries (ο - υ is a well-known variation in Pre-Greek words).

ὀκταλλος 'eye' is a variant of ὀφθαλμός, beside ὀπτίλ(λ)ος. The three variants prove that this word was Pre-Greek. An Indo-European word with labiovelar could not have got at the same time a labial and, in exactly the same environment (ο-τ), a velar. The Pre-Greek word may have been **ok^wt-al^y-* (and prob. **ak^wt-al^y-*, with *a* > *o* before the labiovelar). The addition of a suffix beginning with *m-* after a consonant is well known from Pre-Greek (see Beekes, *Pre-Greek*, Suffixes). Note that ὀπτίλ(λ)ος has λ/λλ which I consider typical for Pre-Greek, as will be explained here. (Cf. already Beekes 1969: 193f.) That the Pre-Greek word so strongly resembles the IE root **h_3ek^w-* 'see' is a typical exception we might expect to occur now and then.

A form that I missed in the list of Kretschmer-Locker is κοϱύδαλ(λ)ος '(crested) lark' (it is hard to find in *LSJ*). Hesychius gives κάϱυδοι· καϱύδαλοι, which shows the original *a*, which became *o* when followed

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[7] I found compounds of ἄλλος, βαλλος (?), -θαλλος, -καλλος (unclear is βαϱμίγκαλλος· ὑπέϱκαλλος), -μαλλος 'fleece' (no less than 24!), unclear are ἄναλλος, ἔνδαλλος, ἔξαλλος and πανέξαλλος (not in *LSJ*), -κόϱαλλος, -μεταλλος, -κϱύσταλλος, -φαλλος, -κνέφαλλος.

[8] The meaning 'rock-crystal' emerged because this material is similar to (a piece of) ice, notably because it was transparent, which was quite remarkable in antiquity; Pliny (37, 23) still thinks that it *is* ice; it is of course a mineral, quartz; so this meaning is irrelevant for the etymology.

[9] *crusta* has no other etymology, so we cannot be certain that it is Indo-European.

by *u* in the next syllable; there can be no doubt, then, that the word is Pre-Greek.

Of the remaining, relevant words, it is generally accepted that ἀρύβαλλος is Pre-Greek. νεκύδαλλος 'the nympha of the silk-worm' is connected to νέκυς by Frisk (so this is wrong; not in Fur.). αἰγίθαλλος 'titmouse, parus', is not to be separated from αἴγιθος, which Frisk does not discuss (Fur. 254: Pre-Greek). δορίαλλος 'pudendum muliebre', is unknown according to Frisk (not in Fur.). σκίμαλλος 'middle finger' is unexplained (not in Fur.). θύμαλλος 'a fish', is wrongly connected with thyme (not in Fur.). τιθύμαλλος 'spurge', has no etymology (not in Fur.). κάρταλ(λ)ος 'basket with pointed bottom', unclear etymology in Frisk (not in Fur.). κραπαταλλός 'a worthless fish, or idiot, or coin(?)' Hdn. 1, 158 (elsewhere -αλος, H., Poll.); the word is not given in Kretschmer-Locker; see Chantraine 1968-1980: 578. We see then that some of these words were already considered Pre-Greek, and that most have no etymology; we can be certain now that they were Pre-Greek. I think we can safely conclude that all forms in -αλλο- are of Pre-Greek origin, as Kuiper had seen in 1956.

The only form that is unclear is τράφαλλος, which one connects with τροφαλίς 'fresh cheese', but there is also τρυφαλίς (not in Fur.); was there an old Pre-Greek word which was adapted to τρέφω?

There are only few neuters in -αλλον. An example is μέταλλον 'metal'. The other is γνάφαλλον 'flock of wool, cushion' beside γνόφαλλον (with ο < α before labial?) and κνέφαλλον. I cannot explain the ε in this last form (one might assume n^y, but I see no further indication for it); the variation γ - κ is unproblematic as voice was not distinctive in Pre-Greek.

A clear instance is κοράλ(λ)ιον (κουρ-, κωρ-) 'coral'. I do not think the ι indicates the palatal character of the λ(λ). (Does it continue an older **kur-al*^{y}-?)

One might expect that -*al*^{y}-*o*- would (also) have given -ελλο-, but the words in -ελλος do not seem to be old (there are several Latin loanwords: λίβελλος, μάκελλος, κάγκελλοι). The words in -ελλον show the same pattern as those in -ελλος. I think that the expected -ε- is seen in words in -ελλα: the form μάκελλα, μακέλη 'mattock, pick' will have -*al*^{y}-*a* (note its variants μάσκη· δίκελλα and βασκα· μακέλη, and Arm. *markel* 'id.'); so δίκελλα will have the same source (and not IE **di*-).

Several of these rules are confirmed by a rare coincidence. In the treaty of the Hittite king with Alaksandus of Wilusa, gods of Troy are invoked, one of which is called *Appaliunas* (-*as* is the added Hittite nominative ending). The god has been identified as Apollo. Now the name can be analysed as **Apal*^{y}*un(-as)*. We see that -*un* was rendered as -ων; an Anatolian *u* is

often rendered by Greek ω (cf. Luw. *Runt(a)-*, Gr. Ρωνδας). Further the name shows that the l^y indeed became λλ. The name and its Greek rendering shows that the (second) *-a-* became ε, for the oldest Greek form is Ἀπέλλων (Beekes 2003, esp. p. 12-14); the Cyprian form Ἀπείλων continues *Ἀπελι̯ων. This form is confirmed by Myc.]*pe-ro*$_2$[, i.e. *(A)peljo(nei)*, recognized by Ruijgh, 1967: 67 n. 91, 274 and n. 13. That the *e* resulted from an earlier *-a-* we can see only in the Hittite rendering. So our form confirms the change *a* > ε. Thus the form goes back to an old form of Pre-Greek, found in Troy![10]

ι / zero

Furnée 382 pointed to a few forms that have an ι against closely related forms that do not. One is κνώψ 'poisonous animal, esp. snake' beside κινώπ-ετον. These forms can be easily explained if we assume that the form had **k^{y}nōp-*, of which the palatal element could be indicated by ι or not. (As Pre-Greek in my view had no *o* (and so no *ō*), the *ō* might continue an *u*.)[11]

A good example of this kind of ι is λασιτός· κίναιδος. ἢ λεσιτός beside ι-less λάσται, λάσταυρος. In the second form we see the ε < *a* indicated; so the form was **las^{y}t-*. Note that other variants may also have been possible: *λαιστ-, *λεστ-, *λειστ. This demonstrates the "bewildering" range of variants that we may expect, which drove commentators to despair, and induced them to reject Furnée's results.

ι / zero is a clear sign of a non-IE word, as ι cannot just disappear in Indo-European elements of Greek. Therefore I think we have to explain πινυτός 'intelligent', beside which we have πνυτός (H. and in Cyprian) in this way. The usual connection with πνέω 'breathe' is not evident semantically, as was stressed by Chantraine in his dictionary. The complicated attempts to explain the ι (see Frisk) can now be forgotten. The word may be Pre-Greek and continue **p^{y}nutos*. The association with πεπνυμένος etc. would then have to be secondary.

With the same principle we can explain λίμινθες· ἕλμινθες H. The first form will be **l^{y}mint-*; the second can be explained by assuming a prothetic vowel *a-* (Furnée 375-378 suggests more vowels as prothetic vowel, but

[10] It probably confirms that in Troy, or nearby, Pre-Greek was spoken in the beginning of the thirteenth century, as we already supposed on the basis of the place names on the west coast of Anatolia, which are almost identical in structure to those of Greece.

[11] There is also a word κνωπεύς· ἄρκτος. ἔνιοι κνουπεύς H. with κυνοῦπες· ἄρκτος (read -οι?). As the meaning of this word is clearly different from that of κνώψ, I wonder whether we have here a different word with labialized *k*, viz. *k^{w}nup-*.

I think that only *a*- occurred); the *a*- was turned to ε by the palatalized consonant (the aspiration might be secondary).

Cι before vowel

There are some words that may have ι after the consonant before vowel. A candidate is σιωπ-άω 'sleep'. The word has no etymology and can hardly be Indo-European. There are variants without ι: σεσωπαμένον, διασωπάσομαι, εὐσωπία. This suggests an original *s^y-*. Even if one assumes that the loss of the ι was secondary, I think that *s^yōp-* (from **syup-*, as Pre-Greek had no *o* ?) fits the structure of Pre-Greek. (I withdraw my suggestion of 1996: 233ff.) One may suppose the same for σιᾱγών 'jaw', but here there is no parallel form without ι.

One might think that ἴωψ 'a small fish', Boeot. ϝίωψ, continues **w^yōp-* (from **w^yup-* ?) with a palatalized /*w*/. The same phoneme could be assumed for ἰύζω 'cry', where the form ἀβίυκτον (cod. -ηκτον)· ἐφ' οὗ οὐκ ἐγένετο βοὴ ἀπολλυμένου and ἐκβιούζει· θρηνεῖ μετὰ κραυγῆς may point to **w^yug-*. But these would be the only instances of this phoneme, so we cannot be sure. The phoneme may also be assumed for κολουτ-έα, κολωτ-έα, κολυτ-έα, κολοιτ-ία, (κοιλωτ-έα can be considered as a mistake of some kind) 'a tree, Cytisus aeolicus'; if one assumes for the variation *o*-sound / *oi* the phoneme *w^y*, we would have **kalaw^yt-*; but other interpretations are also conceivable (does the ending continue *-ay-a* = *-äy-a*, with *y* colouring the *a*?).

Palatalized stops

Palmer already suggested that **p^y* might have given πτ, but I have not seen many good instances; above we saw λαπτής. Perhaps πτόρθος, which stands beside πόρθος· πτόρθος (not given in the etymological dictionaries; see Fur. 152) is an instance. From **b^y* one might expect βδ. One might adduce (αὐτο-)καβδαλος beside κόβαλος, καυαλός. The *t^y* may have given well-known cases like τεῦτλον - σεῦτλον and τῦκον - σῦκον. A **d^y* will be the basis of ζιγνίς beside διγνύς, where the palatalization was not rendered ('a kind of lizard'). Here may also belong Κάδμος beside Κασσμος (cf. Hitt. *Has(a)m-il-*). Well-known is ττ/σσ, which was early recognized as a "foreign phoneme", "der Fremdphonem". A case like θάλαττα - θάλασσα beside δαλάγχαν may show in the prenasalized form the neglect of the palatalization of the velar. I have at the moment no new conclusions on this problem. The whole is extremely complicated given the many possibilities of clusters; in *Pre-Greek* (section 5.5) I distinguished twice eleven types of variation.

The nouns in -ευς

The Greek nouns in –ευς have not yet been convincingly explained. An Indo-European explanation connects these forms to the Iranian nouns in *-āuš* (OP *dahyāuš*). The idea is from Bartholomae. But Iranian is far away, and it seemed that there were only a few isolated forms, which were sometimes called innovations. Kuiper (1942: 40ff) put it in the frame of Pedersen's protero- and hysterodynamic inflexional types. He showed that the type was old, that the type is also found in Sanskrit, and connected Hitt. *harnaus*. Thus Rix (1976: 147) accepted it. However, the idea is mostly rejected because the relevant words have often no good Indo-European etymology.

Some scholars explained the Mycenaean feminine in *-eja* from **-esyās*. Some of them concluded that -ευς must have arisen from **-esu-s*. However, Indo-European has **-t(e)u-* etc., but had no suffixes of the shape **-eCu-*; this was simply impossible (Beekes 1995: 169). Therefore the proposal must be rejected.

If one rejects Indo-European origin (as I do because of the indications for Pre-Greek origin), we may consider the possibility of a suffix borrowed from Pre-Greek. Perpillou (1973: 34ff) states that there are very many words in *-eus* in Mycenaean, and from them many personal names: 100 - 150 out of a total of 200 - 250. He draws the conclusion that it is hard to conclude for Pre-Greek origin, for reasons that I do not understand (o.c.: 45). I would rather draw the opposite conclusion: especially names were probably simply taken over; the solution that -ευς "hellenized" the words is a mere guess. That suffixes are taken over from another language is well known, and in this case, where there are so many loanwords from Pre-Greek, this is quite possible. But Perpillou even has difficulty to admit that βασιλεύς is a Pre-Greek loan! (o.c.: 32). Further, many names are probably of Pre-Greek origin (e.g. Schwyzer 1939: 477); one need only recall Achilles (discussed above) and Odysseus, where the variations rather point to an Aegaean, i.e. Pre-Greek word. This is further confirmed by the occurrence of geographical names, as the names of mountains (of which we know that they can be very ancient), e.g. Κερκετεύς, on Samos; it is a priori most probable that these are loans.

What confirms this conclusion is especially the feminine of these forms in Mycenaean. It was quite a suprise that we found there the ending *-eja*, while we would have expected **-ewya-*: e.g. *kerameu* beside *kerameja*; in Mycenaean a *-w-* would have been retained. It has been suggested that this formation is also Pre-Greek; thus e.g. Ruijgh 1967: §212.[12] Perpillou

(o.c.: 38) writes: “Cette accumulation de suffixes empruntés ...ne laisse pas d’être inquiétante”. I do not see what is disquieting here; it shows that the author is against Pre-Greek elements in Greek, which does not point to a scientific attitude. Of course, the two suppositions reinforce each other strongly, and one would rather expect the two together.

As I suppose that Pre-Greek had no phonemes *e* and *o*, it is rather difficult for me to accommodate a suffix **-ēw-*. I can propose the following solution. It seems probable that there was a vowel before the *-w-*, and the most frequent vowel was *-a-*. And we must also perhaps explain the length of the vowel though this could have been a Greek creation, once the morpheme had been incorporated. (I reckon with the possibility that the language had no distinctive vowel-length: there are many instances of variation between long and short vowel. Instances of η are (very) rare; there are some indications for η < αι, as in λήθαργος - λαίθαργος.) It would be easy if *-aus* was preceded by a palatalized consonant, as is the case with the name Achilles, where λ(λ) points to l^y. Palatalized consonants may well have been frequent, and it can easily be assumed that -ευ- was generalized at some stage. It is impossible to measure this, as palatalized consonants are difficult to recognize. There is further some evidence for αυ > ευ (Fur. 353 A 5), but it is meagre (add εὐλάκα beside αὐλακ-, and εὔληρα beside αὔληρα). Raising of the α to a mid-high vowel by the following υ is well understandable, but one would rather expect ο than ε.

Lubotsky suggested to me to posit the phoneme w^y, which would have coloured a preceding *a* to ε. I had rejected the idea as the phoneme may have been rare. Also we would in that case expect a *w* in the Myc. feminine form. But aw^y might have given *-aiw-*, where *ai* might have become η.

Another reconstruction one could think of is **-ay-us*. This form may have given *ε(*y*)υς, and perhaps, with early loss of the *y*, -ευς. But there is more. If the language had nominal inflection - of which we know nothing - the *u* might have come before a vowel of the ending, i.e. *-ai-u-*. Now there is evidence that η (sometimes) arose from older αι (λαίθαργος - λήθαργος). If this happened here, we would have got -ηϝ-. The feminine may derive from **-ay-a* > (Myc.) **-eja,* which could confirm the suffix *-ay-*.

I checked the instances of α / ε in Furnée (345-353), and in most cases there seems to be no palatalized consonant to trigger the ε-form. So perhaps we must simply accept that /*a*/ could be realized as [ä] = ε.

[12] Surprisingly, Ruijgh later withdrew this view. I think that his earlier view is the correct one.

Conclusion

Along these lines I think we can have a better understanding of the Pre-Greek material, especially of the origin of the variations; they do not form an arbitrary mass of forms. I think much has become understandable, but I admit that much still remains unclear. Also the new insight makes it much easier to recognize Pre-Greek elements.

Leiden

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TALYSCHI *RİZ* 'SPUR' UND VERWANDTE
Ein Beitrag zur iranischen Wortforschung

UWE BLÄSING

Oft ist der Ausgangspunkt für eine etymologische Studie eine bereits bestehende, jedoch zweifelhafte bzw. unzutreffende Etymologisierung eines Wortes, die sozusagen den Stein ins Rollen bringt und dazu anregt, dem betreffenden Problem nochmals näher auf den Grund zu gehen. So ist es auch im vorliegenden Falle. In seiner 2000 erschienenen Monographie, *Northern Talysh*, verbindet Schulze in *An Etymological Index* (S. 85)—wohlgemerkt unter Vorbehalt—tlš. *riz* 'Spur' mit dem an sich lautlich recht ähnlich wirkenden und semantisch identischen azb. *iz* 'Spur', was jedoch aus sprachhistorischer Sicht unter gar keinen Umständen möglich ist.[1]

Azb. *iz* ist gemeinsam mit ttü. *iz*, tkm. *īz* etc. (s. dazu *ĖSTJa* 1974: 646f) zurückzuführen auf gemein-tü. **īz* 'Spur, Linie, Strich' (Räsänen 175b). Gelegentlich begegnet man auch Realisationen, die noch ein nicht-etymologisches prothetisches *h-* aufweisen, so beispielsweise kmk. *hız* 'Spur, Linie, Strich' (*KmkR* 121b; *RKmk* 553a). Formen mit einem *r*-Vorschlag existieren hingegen nicht. Auch für das Auftreten eines solchen Elements im Zuge oder nach der Übernahme von *iz* ins Talyschi oder sonst eine Sprache lassen sich keine plausiblen Gründe, geschweige denn konkrete Hinweise finden. Mit anderen Worten, azb. *iz* und tlš. *riz* sind im aller besten Falle *look-alikes*.[2]

Schaut man sich im weiteren Einflußbereich—etwa im kaukasisch-kaspischen Sprachraum—des für Fremdelemente an sich prädestinierten Talyschi um, lassen sich ebenfalls keine Anknüpfungspunkte für dieses Lexem aufspüren. Es ist daher naheliegend, den etymologischen Hintergrund im Iranischen selbst zu suchen.

In der Tat liefern uns die iranischen Sprachen—genauer gesagt einige nordwestiranische Idiome—eine Reihe von potenziellen Kognaten, wie z. B. krd. *r̄ēĉ* 'Spur, Fährte, Fußstapfen, Abdruck; Schiene' (Amîrxan 387f;

[1] Zu diesem Buch und besonders zu seinem *Etymological Index* s. die Rezension von Borjian (2004).

[2] Als Lehnwort ist tü. *ız*/*īz* ganz sporadisch in iranische Sprachen eingedrungen, vgl. prs. *iz* ∼ *īz* sowie krd. *īz* 'Spur' (s. Doerfer 1965: Nr. 470).

Îzolî 182b; Omar 538b),[3] zaz. *rēč-i* ‘Spur’ (Malmisanıj 298b), xuns., gäz. *räč* ‘Spur, Fußspur’ (Eilers & Schapka 1976: 379; id. 1979: 727)[4] sowie das mit der Talyschi-Realisation formal identische tati. *riz* ‘Linie, Strich’ (Agarunov & Agarunov 1997: 143a), das semantisch jedoch mit krd. *r̄ēz*, zaz. *rēz* ‘Linie, Strich; Reihe, Zeile; Ordnung’ etc. (Omar 540b, Malmisanıj 298a) korrespondiert; dazu unten ausführlicher. Weiterhin ist festzustellen, daß das Talyschi neben *riz* (*rizä*) auch noch eine Parallelform, tlš. *riyä* (*riä*) ‘Spur, Pfad; Strich, Linie’ (Pirejko 1976: 190b) kennt, die ihrerseits sang. *ray* “track, footprint” (Azami & Windfuhr 236) lautlich recht nahe kommt. Es liegt also ganz klar auf der Hand, daß wir es mit einem iranischen oder zumindest in einigen iranischen Sprachen verbreiteteren Lexem zu tun haben. Die Frage, die sich natürlich stellt, ist die nach seiner weiteren Etymologisierung. Und genau damit beginnt auch die eigentliche Problematik.

Eilers & Schapka (ibid.) stellen xuns. *räč*—etwas ratlos—in Verbindung “Zu رَدًّ پا? Oder رهجا?”, womit eigentlich nicht viel anzufangen ist.

Richtungsweisend hingegen ist ein kurzer Hinweis von Asatrian & Livshits (S. 97), wonach krd. *r̄ēĉ* ‘Spur’ eine Ableitung von *r̄ē* ‘Weg’ ist, der ihrerseits ir. **raϑiia* (vgl. skt. *ráthya-* ‘zum Wagen gehörig’; Mayrhofer II: 429f) zugrunde liegt, also: “*r̄ēĉ* ‘trace’ < *r̄ē* + suffixe *-ĉ*”. Folgt man diesem Ansatz, müssen auch die anderen obengenannten Formen auf eine solche Weise herleitbar sein. Sicher ist dies der Fall bei zaz. *rēč-i*, für welches von derselben Entwicklung wie im Kurdischen ausgegangen werden darf. Doch was ist mit den restlichen Realisationen? Klar wird zunächst, daß diese spezielle Ableitung nicht allein auf das Kurdische beschränkt ist—wie es vielleicht die Art der Behandlung bei Asatrian &

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[3] Desweiteren vgl. noch krd. “*rich*” (Soane 267), ريچ (*ritch*) ‘trace, vestige’, *rẹč* L.” (Jaba & Justi 217a) [L. = Lerch, Forschungen über die Kurden und die iranischen Chaldäer, St. Petersburg 1858] sowie die Diminutivbildung krd. *r̄ēĉik* ‘Trampelpfad von Ziegen, schmaler Fußpfad’ (Îzolî 182b) oder auch Ableitungen wie *r̄ēĉbir̄* “brigand, robber”, *r̄ēĉenās* “guide” (Rizgar 160b).

[4] Die kurdische Form (*r̄ēĉ*) tritt als Lehnelement auch gelegentlich im anatolischen Türkisch sowie in den arabischen Siirt-Dialekten auf: a) ttü. dial. (Bitlis) *reç* ‘Spur, Fährte’, so in der Phrase *reçi kaybettik* ‘wir haben die Spur verloren’ (*DS* 3506a), vgl. dazu die entsprechende Wendung krd. *r̄ēĉā windā kirin* ‘die Spur verlieren’ (Farqînî 619a); b) ar. dial. (Fəsken) *rēče* ‘Spur’ in (3.) *nqayyoṃ awle ləṭyor y’əllūlen ḥağal, ...* (4.) *nṭallo ʕal(a) āke rēčəten. rēčəten yṛōḥū́ f-əddávi, yṛōḥū́ f-əššawk, ᵊṛṛōḥ ᵊnmassəken āke sāġ nqammə́šen sāġ.* “3. Wir scheuchen diese Steinhühner, wie wir sie nennen, auf. .... (4.) Wir schauen nach ihrer Trittspur. Ihre Spur [zeigt an, daß sie] in einen Busch oder Dornstrauch schlüpfen. Wir gehen hin und fangen sie lebendig, packen sie lebendig” (Fischer & Jastrow 170f, 172 Note 4).

Livshits suggerieren mag—, sondern in einem weiteren Kreis innerhalb des (West-)Iranischen anzutreffen ist, was xuns. *räč* und natürlich unsere Ausgangsform, tlš. *riz* deutlich zeigen. Weiter ist festzustellen, daß diese Ableitung z. T. einem anderen sprachhistorischen Werdegang gefolgt ist als das jeweilige Simplex, was tlš. *ro* 'Weg' (Pirejko 1976: 192) vs. *riz* (≠ *ro*+*z*), und xuns. *rā* id. (Eilers & Schapka ibid.) vs. *räč* (≠ *rā*+*č*) bestens vor Augen führen. Der Grund hierfür ist, daß in diesen Sprachen—anders als im Kurdischen—die genuine Form des Wortes für 'Weg' durch eine südwestiranische, vermutlich unmittelbar vom Persischen ausgehende Form (klassisch *rāh*, modern *råh*), ersetzt zu sein scheint.[5] Schauen wir uns dies genauer an. Bei der Entwicklung von ir. **raϑiia* zu krd. *r̄ē* hat unter dem Einfluß des Lautkomplexes **iia* die sogenannte Epenthese, d. h. die Vorwegnahme des *-i-* stattgefunden, also: **a* > *a^{i} > *ē* (weitere Einzelheiten dazu weiter unten).[6] Das *-ϑ- hat sich—wohl schon früh in der mitteliranischen Periode—zu *-h-* und später in vielen Sprachen weiter > Ø entwickelt (s. Asatrian & Livshits 85). Hier einige Realisationen zur Veranschaulichung: aprs. *raϑa-*, awest. *raϑa-* 'Wagen' (Brandenstein & Mayrhofer 141); part. *r'h* (*rāh*), sogd. *r'ḫ* (*rāḫ*), phl. *rāh*, prs. *rāh*, blč. *rāh*, gil. *rā(h)* ∼ *ra*, maz. *ro(h)*, gur. *rā*, sang. *re* sowie die schon genannten krd. *r̄ē*, xuns. *rā* 'Weg' etc. (Gharib 339b, MacKenzie 70, Rastorgueva 170).

Der *i*-Umlaut (**a* > *ē* bedingt durch **iia*, **i* der folgenden Silbe) tritt im Kurdischen sowie auch im Zazaki regelmäßig auf, vgl. dazu krd., zaz. *nēr* 'männlich' (Omar 441b; Malmisanıj 236b) < ir. **nariia-* (skt. *nár(i)ya-* 'mannhaft, männlich'; Mayrhofer II: 19), krd. *mēr(d)*, zaz. *mērd-e* 'Ehemann, Gatte; Mann' (Omar 402b; Malmisanıj 217a) < ir. **martiia-* (aprs. *martiya-* 'Mann, Lehnsmann, Gefolgsmann'; Mayrhofer II: 327f), krd. *zēr* 'Gold' (Omar 709b) < ir. **zari-* (das z. B. vorliegt in awest. *zairi-* (in Komposita) 'Gold-, golden, gelb' (Bartholomae 1680f, ferner vgl. ir. **zaraniia-*, aprs. *daraniya-*, mprs. *zarēn* 'Gold' Mayrhofer II: 816), krd. *girē*, (zaz. *girey*) 'Knoten' (Omar 228b; Malmisanıj 129b) < ir. **graϑiia-* (mprs. *grih*, prs. *girih*; Mayrhofer I: 504f) etc. (s. a. Asatrian & Livshits 100; Cabolov 15). Doch wie ist das in anderen nordwestiranischen Sprachen als dem Kurdischen und dem Zazaki? Auch hier stößt man z. T. auf einen Lautstand, der diesen Umlaut widerspiegelt. Eine dieser Sprachen ist das Talyschi. Unter normalen Umständen wird ir. **a* > tlš. *ä* (vgl. **śarah-* > *sä* 'Kopf' etc.;

[5] Eine Ausnahme stellt das Paar gäz. *rē* : *räč* (s. Eilers & Schapka 1979: 728) dar. Auffallend ist hier—ebenso wie im Chunsari—der kurze Vokal in *räč*, der entweder auf einer sekundären Kürzung beruhen kann oder aber auf einer Parallelform mit Kurzvokal, wie sie vorliegt in prs. *rah* 'Weg' (Steingass 599a).

[6] Allgemein zur Epenthese s. Eilers 1974.

Rastorgueva 1990: 149f). Jedoch in Lexemen, in deren Etyma dem **a* ein **i* oder eine **iiV*-Sequenz folgten, erscheint ir. **a* als *e* (<**ē*); so in tlš. *merd* ‘Mann’ < **mērd* < ir. **martiia-*, *žen* ‘Frau’ < **ǰēn* < ir. **ǰani-*, *nez* ‘nahe’ < **nēz* < ir. **nazdiia-* etc. (Pirejko 1991: 100; Rastorgueva ibid.).[7] Etwas anders scheint der Fall bei tlš. *ni* ‘Männchen’ gelagert zu sein. Es sieht irgendwie so aus, als liege hier eine andere Entwicklung vor, d. h. als sei der durch Epenthese entstandene Lautkomplex *a^{i} hier wie ein ursprünglicher Diphthong **ai* weiterbehandelt, der nämlich im Talyschi als *i* vertreten ist[8] (also < **nairiia-*?). Andererseits muß man sich aber auch fragen, ob nicht der Schwund des *r* die Ursache für diese Unregelmäßigkeit sein könnte.[9] Doch was ist dann mit tlš. *riz*? Ausgehend von den obigen Beispielen sollte man doch viel eher tlš. **rez* erwarten! Gehen wir noch einmal zurück zu dem Übergang *-ϑ-* > *-h-*; letzteres, das zusammenfällt mit *-h-* < ir. **-h-*, wechselt im Ormuri, gelegentlich aber auch in anderen Sprachen mit *-i*, *-y*; vgl. etwa ir. **dahiu-* > **dēh* > **dēy* > semn. *dey*, zentral-iran. (Kafroni etc.) *dei*, jedoch (mit *ey* > *i*) tlš. *di* ‘Dorf’ oder ir. **māha-* > orm. (Logar) *måy* ∼ (Kaniguram) *māi*, xuns. *māī* ‘Mond’ (s. Rastorgueva 208f).[10] Hiervon ausgehend, wäre für tlš. *ri-z* folgendes Entwicklungsschema denkbar: ir. **raϑiia-* > **rahiia-* (mit Epenthese) > **rēh* > **rēy* > **rī* > tlš. *ri-*, das als Simplex jedoch—wie oben schon angedeutet—durch *ro* (< südwest-ir. *rā(h)*) ersetzt ist. Einen gewissen Hinweis auf *y* < *h* enthält möglicherweise auch zaz. *rāy* (ebenfalls < *rāh*) ‘Weg, Straße’ (Malmisanıj 293) sowie natürlich orm. (Logar) *råy* ∼ (Kaniguram) *rāy* (Rastorgueva 170). Ein anderes ebenfalls gut denkbares Entwicklungsmodell wäre: ir. **raϑiia-* > **rahiia-* (mit Verlust von *h*) > **raiia* > **rēy* > **rī* > tlš. *ri-*.[11]

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[7] Die entsprechenden Realisationen im Kurdischen und Zazaki sind: krd. *žin* (Omar 320b), zaz. *ǰīn-ik-e* ∼ *ǰīn-iy-e* ‘Frau’ (Malmisanıj 60b); krd. *nēz-ik* (Omar 442b), zaz. *nēždī* (∼*nezdī*) ‘nahe’ (Malmisanıj 235).

[8] Vgl. dazu tlš. *nim* ‘Hälfte’ (< ir. **naiman-*), *dim* ‘Gesicht’ (< ir. **daiman-*), *tiž* ‘scharf, spitz’ (< ir. **taiǰa- : *taiga-*; krd. *tīž*, aber zaz. *tēǰ* (∼ *tēž*) id.; Omar 638a; Malmisanıj 351f.), *div* ‘Dämon’ (< ir. **daiu̯a-*; krd. *dēv*, zaz. *dēv* (∼ *dēw*) id.; Omar 154a; Malmisanıj 91b) etc. (Pirejko 1991: 98; Rastorgueva 161f).

[9] Schwund von *r* gerade am Wortende ist im Talyschi nicht ungewöhnlich, was beispielsweise noch tlš. *bä-* < ir. **bara-* ‘bringen, tragen’, tlš. *ko* < ir. **kāra-* ‘Arbeit’, tlš. *ha* < ir. *xara-* ‘Esel’ etc. zeigen (s. Rastorgueva 170; Pirejko 1991: 117). Weitere wirklich eindeutige Fälle, in denen dieser Schwund auch Auswirkungen auf die Qualität bzw. Quantität des vorangehenden Vokals zeigt, lassen sich allerdings nicht feststellen.

[10] Vgl. aber tati. *dih* (mit *-h*!) Diese Form muß hier allerdings nicht unbedingt in einem Widerspruch stehen, da sie gelehnt sein kann: < prs. *dīh* ‘Stadt, Dorf’ (Steingass 556a).

[11] Für diesen Vorschlag sowie weitere Anregungen möchte ich hier Herrn Prof. Alexander Lubotsky meinen herzlichen Dank aussprechen.

Bevor ich mich dem Suffix tlš., tati. *-z* (krd. *-ĉ* , zaz., xuns. *-č*) und seiner möglichen Deutung zuwende, möchte ich erst noch auf die oben bereits genannte Parallelform tlš. *riyä* ~ *riä* eingehen. Auch hier haben wir es augenscheinlich mit einer Ableitung zu tun und zwar auf *-ä*; dies ist nach Pirejko (1991: 170) ‘in sehr vielen Fällen ein von neuem entstandenes Suffix, das durch jenes *-a* wiederbelebt wurde, welches an sich das alte **-aka* fortsetzt’. Man kann somit **raϑiia-(a)ka* ohne Probleme zumindest als theoretische Basis von tlš. *riyä* ~ *riä* ansetzen. Ebensogut kann sich hinter diesem *-ä*-Segment aber auch ein ursprünglich ganz anderes Suffix verbergen. In Frage käme da beispielsweise das alte Femininsuffix ir. **-ā*, das sich in westiranischen Dialekten als nicht den Akzent tragendes *-ä/-e* z. T. erhalten hat. In seinem Beitrag *Feminine Nouns in -a in Western Iranian Dialects* hat Morgenstierne (1973a) sich dieses Phänomens eingehender angenommen und eine ganze Reihe wirklich eindeutiger Fälle behandelt, u. a. führt er (S. 97) für ‘Finger’ (prs. *angušt*; Steingass 114) (Bermowa, Sezgowa) *angušt-a*, (Aštiyani) *engošd-a*, (Vafsi) *angošt-e*, (Amorei) *ongošt-e*, siv. *g'us-e* etc. an.[12] Hierzu gehört sehr wahrscheinlich auch tlš. *angišt-ä* id. (Pirejko 1976: 21a), worin dieses *-ä* aber lediglich noch ein Relikt darstellt, da das Talyschi keine Genusunterschiede mehr kennzeichnet. Auch für den ‘Weg’ finden sich solche alte Feminina (S. 98): (Bermowa, Sezgowa) *rāha*, (Aštiyani) *rāa* und semn. *rāy* (fem.), dagegen deuten zaz. (Kor) *rê-yắ*, (Kighi) *räyắ* ‘Weg’ (Hadank 297) aufgrund ihrer Endbetonung auf eine **-aka*-Ableitung hin, was eventuell auch bei tlš. *riyä* ~ *riä* der Fall ist.

Kommen wir nun aber zu der Suffixreihe tlš., tati. *-z*, krd. *-ĉ* , zaz., xuns., gäz. *-č* etc. Als erstes fällt hier die Diskrepanz zwischen *-z* und *-č* auf, die sich nach lautgesetzlichen Kriterien kaum überbrücken läßt. Dennoch ist es möglich, von einer Form **-čV* auszugehen, wohinter sich m. E. das alte Femininsuffix *-čī* verbergen könnte (s. dazu Morgenstierne 1973b). Gestützt wird diese Auffassung recht gut durch den Umstand, daß die entsprechenden Formen im Kurdischen und Zazaki auch tatsächlich Feminina sind. Allerdings ist dieses Suffix in den hier relevanten Sprachen—zumindest heute—kein produktives Element. Hieraus lassen sich vielleicht die lautlichen Unregelmäßigkeiten deuten. Unter normalen Umständen müßte ir. **-č-* (in intervokalischer Position) zu tlš., krd. *-ž*, zaz. *-ž* ~ *-ǰ* verschoben sein (vgl. ir. **raučah-* > tlš. *rüž*, krd. *r̄ōž*, zaz. *rōž* ~ *rōǰ* ‘Tag’). Als solches erhalten hat es sich im Westiranischen regelmäßig nur im Paratschi und im Balutschi, genauer gesagt in dessen westlichem Dialekt (vgl. par. *rūč* und blč. (west) *rōč* (vs. ost *rōš*) ‘Tag’); s. Rastorgueva 1990: 196f. Möglich wäre es, daß speziell in einem Falle wie *-čī*—bedingt durch

[12] Krd. *engost* (fem.) ‘Finger’ (Omar 185b).

den dem Palatal *č* noch nachfolgenden palatalen Vokal (*ī*)—der Übergang zu *-ǰ* (und weiter > *-ž*) in einigen Sprachen (Kurdisch, Zazaki, Chunsari, Gäz) ausgeblieben ist. Was das *-z* im Talyschi betrifft, könnte man ohne Schwierigkeiten partiellen süd-westiranischen Einfluß geltend machen, da ir. **-č-* hier als *-z* repräsentiert ist (vgl. prs. *rōz* 'Tag').

Ferner nicht unerwähnt bleiben darf, daß Cabolov (1976: 16, 64) krd. *r̄ēz* 'Linie, Strich; Reihe, Zeile; Ordnung' mit awest. *rāzan-* 'Gebot, Satzung, Anordnung' (von awest. *raz-* 'richten, gerade richten, ordnen'; Bartholomae 1526 & 1514) in Verbindung setzt, was sowohl unter formalen als auch semantischen Aspekten überzeugend ist.[13] Geht man hiervon aus, müssen aufgrund ihrer Bedeutung ('Linie, Strich') auch zaz. *rēz* und tati. *riz* hierher gestellt werden. Mit anderen Worten, wir hätten es also mit zwei verschiedenen Etyma zu tun, wenn da nicht tlš. *riyä* (*riä*) 'Spur, Pfad; Strich, Linie' wäre, das offensichtlich beide Bedeutungsspektren in sich vereint, aber formal unter gar keinen Umständen mit der Cabolovschen Herleitung kompatibel sein kann. Wir müssen ganz sicher davon ausgehen, daß sich hier zwei etymologisch zu trennende, jedoch semantisch und lautlich ähnliche Termini gekreuzt bzw. sich gegenseitig beeinflußt haben; ein Punkt, der noch näher zu untersuchen sein wird.

Aus dieser Diskussion wird einmal mehr deutlich, daß die nordwestiranischen Sprachen nur sehr schwer und noch sporadisch ihre ursprünglichen Charakteristika preisgeben. Die Ursache hierfür ist der lange und tiefgehende Einfluß des Südwestiranischen in Form des Persischen, dessen nivellierende Wirkung besonders in der Neuzeit durch die Ausbreitung der Medien und die intensivere ökonomische Anschließung der provinziellen Regionen an die Zentren eine stetig voranschreitende Persifizierung dieser sog. kleinen Sprachen zur Folge hatte, die in vielen Fällen schließlich zu deren völligem Aussterben führen wird. Beim Talyschi kommt—gerade für dessen nördliches Verbreitungsgebiet—noch der beständige und von staatlicher Seite auch bewußt geförderte Einfluß des die alten (iranischen) Sprachen der Athropatene überlagernden Aserbaidschanischen hinzu.

Leiden University

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[13] Cabolov (ibid.) sieht hierin einen der Fälle, in denen ir. **ā* im Kurdischen *ē* gegenübersteht. Doch wäre es hier nicht naheliegender, krd. *rēz* eine Form ir. **raziia-* zugrunde zu legen?

ABKÜRZUNGEN:

aprs.	Altpersisch	prs.	Persisch
awest.	Awestisch	sang.	Sangesari
blč.	Balutschi	semn.	Semnani
gil.	Gilaki	siv.	Sivandi
gäz.	Gäz	skt.	Sanskrit
gur.	Gurani	sogd.	Sogdisch
ir.	Iranisch	tati.	Tati
kmk.	Kumükisch	tkm.	Türkmenisch
krd.	Kurdisch	tlš.	Talyschi
maz.	Mazandarani	ttü.	Türkeitürkisch
mprs.	Mittelpersisch	tü.	Türkisch
orm.	Ormuri	xuns.	Chunsari
par.	Paratschi	zaz.	Zazaki
part.	Partisch		
phl.	Pahlavi	dial.	dialektal

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CELTIC 'SMITH' AND HIS COLLEAGUES[1]

VÁCLAV BLAŽEK

1. In Insular Celtic languages there is a common designation for 'smith', usually reconstructed as **gobenn-/*gobann-*:

- Old Irish *gobae*, gen. sg. *gobann* < **gobenn-* (Thurneysen 1946: 209), cf. further Middle Irish *goba*, gen. sg. *gobann*, dat.sg. *gobaind*, gen. pl. *goband*, Modern Irish *gobha*, gen. sg. *gobhann*, nom. pl. *gaibhne* (from the old acc. pl. **goibnea*), Gaelic *gobha*, gen. sg. *gobhainn* (MacBain 1911: 200; Pedersen 1913: 112). It is probable that this word is attested (as a proper name?) in the Ogam inscription from Ardmore, County Waterford, from the middle of the 5th cent.: DOLATIBIGAISGOB[, probably DOLATI, BIGAIS. GOB[(Korolev 1984: 90, 159; Ziegler 1994: 185, 274).
- Middle Welsh *gof*, pl. *gofein* < **gofan(n)* or **gofenn* (de Bernardo Stempel 1987: 117), Modern Welsh *gof*, pl. *gofaint*, *gofion*, *gofiaid* (Holder 1896: c. 2030; Stokes 1894: 114; Pedersen 1913: 112, who derived the Welsh plural form *gofaint* from the *nt*-stems with the plural in **-antoi* in Brythonic);
- Old Cornish *gof* gl. 'faber vel cudo' (Campanile 1974: 50);
- Old Breton *gof* in the personal names *Ran Gof* (832-68 AD), *Uuorgouan*, Middle Breton *goff* (*Catholicon*, 1464), Modern Breton *gov* (Hémon), *gôv*, *gôf* (Le Gonidec), Tréguir, Vannetais *gô* 'blacksmith' (Stokes 1894: 114; Henry 1900: 136; Fleuriot 1964: 177; Jackson 1986: 609).

1.1 For Proto-Celtic, Pedersen (l.c.) proposed the heteroclitic inflection typical of original neuters: nom. sg. **-ăs*, gen. sg. **-ăs-n-os* (cf. his inclusion

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[1] The main topic of this study was first discussed with Prof. Alexander Lubotsky in January 2003 and again with him and Prof. Robert Beekes in May 2003. I am indebted to them for their stimulating reaction and encouragement. I am also grateful for positive answers of Prof. K.H. Schmidt and Prof. P. de Bernardo Stempel. The responsibility for the final result naturally remains mine. The article was written in February and March 2003, while the present author was a fellow at the Netherland Institute for Advanced Study (NIAS) in Wassenaar. Without its all-round support and hospitality the creation of the article would have been much more difficult.

of this etymology among examples illustrating the change **-sn-* > Celtic **-nn-*; see Pedersen 1909: 86).

2. Derivatives from the same stem occur in the Insular Celtic mythological onomasticon:

2.1 Old Irish *Goibniu*, gen. sg. *Goibnenn* 'divine smith of *Túatha Dé Danann*, creator of weapons' < **gobanniō* (Lambert 1994: 30; de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 100, 109).
In *Lebor Gabála* he is included among Seven chieftains of *Túatha Dé Danann*:

Atbear comadh hé Bethach mac Iardainis tuisech na gabála-sa
⁊ na n-eladhan, ⁊ secht tuisich ar sain,
.i. Dagda, Dían Cécht, Creidne, Luchne, Núadu Airgitlam,
Lugh mac Cein, **Goibnend** *mac Ethlenn,* de quibus *secht meic Ethlenn* [§353]
'It is said that Bethach son of Iardan was chieftain of that Taking (= *Túatha Dé Danann*)
and of the arts, and that seven chieftains followed him
- Dagda, Dian Cecht, Creidne, Luchne, Nuadu Argatlam,
Lug son of Cian, **Goibniu** son of Ethliu; *de quibus* the seven sons of Ethliu.'

He is frequently designated as 'smith', besides the specializations of his colleagues:

Goibnend Goba, ⁊ Luicne sáer, ⁊ Creidne cerd, Dían Cecht in liaig [§314]
'Goibniu the smith, Luicne the carpenter, Creidne the wright, Dian Cecht the leech.'

..is aige badar in t-aos dána,
Goibnend Goba ⁊ Creidhne cerd ⁊ Lucra saor ⁊ Dian Cecht in liaigh [§343]
'In his (= of *Nuadu Airgetlam*) company were the craftsmen,
Goibniu the smith, Creidhne the wright, Luichne the carpenter, Dian Cecht the leech.'
[Edition and translation by R.A. Stewart MacAlister 1941].

In the Second Battle of *Mag Tuired* he is also explicitly called 'smith':

Ro imcomhoirc a **gaboinn** *.i.* **Gaibne**, *cia cumong conanocur doib?* [§96]
'And he [Lug] asked his **smith**, even **Goibniu**, what power he wielded for them?'

Goibniu answers:

Gé bet fir Erenn isin cath go cenn secht mbliatan,
gai detJt dia crunn ann,

no claidem memais ann, tarceba arm nua uamsai ina inoth.
Nach rind degeno mo lam-so, ..ni forcetar imrold de.
Nach cnes i ragJ noco blasfe bethaid de iersin.
Ni bó gnithe do Dulb gobhJ na Fomore annisin. [§97]
'Though the men of Erin bide in the battle to the end of seven years,
(for every) spear that parts from its shaft,
or sword that shall break there-in, I will provide a new weapon in its place.
No spearpoint which my hand shall forge, .. shall make a missing cast.
No skin which it pierces shall taste life afterwards.
That has not been done by Dolb the smith of the Fomorians.'

It was really so:

Ni ba edh immorro de Tuathaib Dea, ar cia no clotis a n-airm-sium andiu atgainidis amarach, fobíth roboi Goibnenn Goba isin cerdchai ag denam calc ₇ *gai* ₇ *sleg..* [§122]
'For though their weapons were blunted and broken today, they were renewed on morrow,
because Goibniu the smith was in the forge making swords and spears and javelins..'

His colleague *cred* 'brazier' *Credne* answers Lug's question:

Semonn a ngai ₇ *dornclai a cloidim* ₇ *cobraid a sciath* ₇ *a mbile rusia limsai doip ule* [§101*]*
'Rivets for their spears, and hilts for their swords, and bosses and rims for their shields,
I will supply them all.'

Finally the *soer* 'wright' *Luchta* offers:

A ndoethain sciat[*h*] ₇ *crand sleg rosíJ lemsai doib ule* [§103]
'All the shields and javelin-shafts they require, I will supply them all.'

These three craftsmen are designated as *oes dána* 'men of art' (§124; cf. Schmidt 1983: 755).

[Edition and translation by Whitley Stokes 1891: 88-93]

2.2 Middle Welsh *Govannon* 'son of the goddess *Dôn*' < **gobannonos* (Lambert 1994: 101), who is mentioned in The Fourth Branch of the *Mabinogi* and in *Culhwch ac Olwen*, here together with his brother *Amaethon* 'Plowman' (**amb-agtonos*; cf. Latin *ambactus* < Gaulish) in the role of prominent helpers of *Culhwch* for their unrivalled manipulation with a plow.

3. The Old Brythonic name of the fortress *Gobannio* (*Itinerarium Provinciarum Antonini Augusti*) continued in contemporary *Aber-gavenny* is of the same origin (Holder 1896: c. 2030; Hamp 1988: 53-54).

The same stem was productive in the Gaulish anthroponymy (Holder 1896: c. 2030; Evans 1967: 350-51):

- *Gobannitio* - Brother of *Celtillus*, father of *Vercingetorix*, who tried to restrain his nephew in his efforts for rebellion against Caesar in 52 B.C. (*BG* 7.4.2).
- *Gobani*[*c*]*no* - Personal name attested in one Latin inscription from the abbey of Saint-Just, near Suze, usually interpreted as *Gobanni filius*.

P. de Bernardo Stempel (2003: 49-50) adds important supplementa:

- *GOBANO* - the theonym attested near Bern (see also Fellmann 2004: 747-48).
- *Deo Cobanno* / *Cobannu* - known from the inscription from Bois de Couan near Fontenay-près-Vézelay (see also Fellmann 2004: 749).
- *Deo Xuban*[*us*] - known from one dedication from Aquitania Novempopulana.

4. A corresponding appellative was identified in Gaulish too, namely the word *gobedbi* in the inscription from Alise-Sainte-Reine, which was determined by G. Poisson already in 1908 (see Lambert 1994: 99). Let us mention the inscription with the translations of (A) Lambert (1994: 99-100) and (B) Schrijver (1997: 182):

MARTIALIS DANNOTALI IEVRV UCUETE SOSIN CELICNON

A. 'Martialis, son of Dannotalos, has devoted Ucuetis this building,

B. 'Martialis, son of Dannotalos, has offered to Ucuetis this *celicnon*,

ETIC GOBEDBI DUGIIONTIIO UCUETIN IN ALISIIA

A. and with smiths who honour Ucuetis in Alisia'

B. which is [made] by the smiths who worship Ucuetis in Alisia'

4.1 Schmidt (1983: 752) tried to find a common denominator of both insular and continental Celtic forms in **gobn̥n-* or **gobn̥d-*. Accepting this starting point, de Bernardo Stempel (1987: 117) included it in her study devoted to the syllabic sonants in Celtic (**gobann-* < **gobn̥d-*; **gobenn-* < **gobend-*, including Gaulish *gobed-bi*, if derivable from **gobend-bi*).

4.2 For the insular forms Hamp (1988: 54) proposes the starting point **gobn̥t-n-*, where the stem is formed by the active participle (based on the Welsh pl. *gobaint* < **gobant-i-*), plus the individualizing *-n*-suffix. This idea is attractive, because it explains the root vowel **-o-* (Beekes, p.c. May 2003). On the other hand, Hamp derives Gaulish *gobedbi* from **gob-et-bi*, determining *gob-et-* as an independent derivative with the agentive suffix **-et-* in a function parallel to the *-nt*-participle. His point of view was accepted by de Bernardo Stempel in her recent monograph on the early Irish nominal derivatives (1999: 156). For similar word-formation, she quotes Gaulish personal names *Cing*-**e***t-ius*, *Cing*-**et**-*o-rix* : Old Irish *cing* 'warrior, champion', *Org*-**e***t-ius*, *Org*-**et**-*o-rix* : Old Irish *orcaid* 'kills, slays', tribal name *Cal-et-es* : Old Irish *calad* 'hard'. There is another possibility to connect the insular and continental forms. In the Gaulish Calendar of Coligny the word (or its abbreviation) *MID* 'month / moon' was determined. If it reflects Celtic **mīns(C?..)*, we must assume a rule changing the cluster **-ns(C?)-* into Gaulish **-nđ(C?)-*, giving *d* in script. This idea implies the following modification of Pedersen's reconstruction: It seems better to start from the primary *n*-stem **gob-n̥/-en-* in Celtic, plus *-(e)s-* to form the neuter abstract noun, extended with the heteroclitic inflection in *-n-* (Pedersen: heteroclitic; Hamp: individualization). A satisfactory starting point for common Celtic could be **gob-n̥s/-ens-(n-)*, or, accepting Hamp's participle interpretation, **gob-n̥t-s/-ent-(n-)*.

5. A quite different suffixal extension occurs in Middle Welsh *geueil*, Welsh *gofail, gefail* f., Old Cornish *gofail* gl. 'officina', Old Welsh rather than Old Breton *gobail* 'id.', Middle Breton *gouel*, Breton *gôvel* 'smithy, forge' (Fleuriot 1964: 177; Falileyev 2000: 62; Pedersen 1913: 54: °*al-ī/-i̯ā*).

6. For the etymological explanation of the Celtic designation of "smith" the following comparanda were proposed (in chronological order):

6.1 Greek γόμφος 'nail' (Holder 1896: c. 2030; Henry 1900: 136).

6.2 Latin *faber* 'workman, artificer, smith' (MacBain 1911: 200).

6.3 Greek φώγω 'roast, bake' and Latin _focus_ 'hearth' via metathesis (Jones 1913: 160).

6.4 Latin _habilis_ 'skilful', Lithuanian _gabùs_, _gobùs_ 'able, skilful' from IE *_g^{h}ab^{h}-_ 'to seize, hold' (Mann 1984-1987: cc. 309, 327).

6.5 IE *_g^{h}eu̯b$^{(h)}$-_ 'biegen' (de Bernardo Stempel 1994: 21; 2003: 49, fn. 52).

7. Comments

7.1 Greek γόμφος also means 'tooth' and has been derived from IE *_ǵomb^{h}o-_, a regular ablaut-form of the verb *_ǵemb^{h}-_ 'to chew' (Pokorny 1959: 369). Any semantic relation with the term for 'smith' is very problematic.

7.2 See below.

7.3 Greek φώγω 'I roast, bake' has been compared with Old West Nordic _baka_, Old High German _bahhan_, pret. _buoh_ id. (Frisk II: 1057), while for Latin _focus_ 'hearth' the only promising parallel remains Armenian _boc'_ 'flame' < *_b^{h}oḱso-_ (Pokorny 1959: 162). In the first case for semantic reasons and in the second case for phonetic reasons this comparison is untenable.

7.4 Latin _habilis_ 'skilful' is a derivative of the verb _habeō, -ēre_ 'haben, halten', which together with Umbrian _habetu_ 'soll halten' reflects the essive-stem *_g^{h}H̥b-H$_{1}$i̯é-_. Similarly Umbrian _habe_ 'hat ergriffen' < *_habed_ < aorist-stem *_g^{h}éHb-/g^{h}H̥b-_; Umbrian _hahtu_ 'soll ergreifen' < *_habitōd_ , fut. _habiest_ 'wird ergreifen', besides Oscan fut. _hafieist_ 'wird nehmen' < present-stem *_g^{h}H̥b-i̯é-_; plus the Celtic counterparts as Gaulish 2sg imperative _gabi!_ 'nimm!', Old Irish _-gaib, -gaibet_ 'nehmen', all from IE *_g$^{(\prime)h}$eHb-_ 'ergreifen, nehmen' (_LIV_: 195). Lithuanian _gabùs_ 'able, skilful' with the lengthened variant must be derived from the verb _gebù : gebḗti_ 'vermögen, fähig sein; gewohnt sein' < *_g^{h}éb^{h}-e-_, with the lengthened variant _at-gė̃bau_ < *_gēb-_ < *_gegb-_, and the _o_-grade-variant _gabénti_ 'transportieren, herbei-, fortschaffen', i.e. the root without any laryngeal, as the parallels from other IE languages confirm: Gothic _giban_ 'geben' < present-stem *_g^{h}eb^{h}-e-_, _gaf_ 'gab' < *_g^{h}ob^{h}-_, _gebum_ 'gaben' < *_gēb-_ < *_gegb-_, both from the perfect-stem *_g^{h}e-g^{h}ób^{h}-/g^{h}b^{h} -_, cf. Old Indic _gábhasti-_ 'hand' = Khotanese _ggośtä_, Avestan _gauua-_ 'hand', all from IE *_g^{h}eb^{h}-_ 'keep, take; give' (_LIV_: 193).

From the point of view of historical phonology and morphology, the Celtic designation of "smith" is derivable from the _o_-grade of the verbal root *_g^{h}eb^{h}-_, but the semantic motivation is hard to explain.

7.5 In the case of the starting point *$*g^h$u̯ob-* the derivation from the verb *$*g^h$eu̯b-* 'to bend, bow' is acceptable, but the semantic development requires an explanation.

Ad **7.2**
Latin *faber* 'smith; artisan, craftsman', cf. *faber, qui cudere soles plumbeos nummos* (Plaut., *Mostellaria* 892); *fabri ferrarii qui apud carbones adsident* (Plaut., *Rudens* 531), with its Paelignian equivalent (borrowing?) and Celtic **gob-n̥/en-s-* correspond best semantically. Let us analyze their phonetic correspondences.

7.2.1 Latin (Italic) *f-* , Old Irish *g-* and Brythonic **g-* are derivable from IE *$*g^{wh}$*. Irish *gor* 'heat', Breton *gor* '(feu) ardent': Latin *formus* 'warm' (Pedersen 1909: 108; Pokorny 1959: 494). In recent times the problem of the regular continuants of the IE voiced labiovelar in Celtic was intensively discussed, see Koch (1995), Sims-Williams (1995), Schmidt (2001). The conclusions of this fruitful dialogue can be summarized as follows:

Indo-European	*$*k^w$*	*$*g^w$*	*$*g^{wh}$*
Celtic	*$*k^w$*	**b*	*$*g^w$*
Celtiberian	*ku*	*b*	*ku* [*gu*]
Goidelic	*$*k^w$*	*b*	*$*g^w$*
Ogam-Irish	*q*	*b*	*g^w*
Old Irish	*c*	*b*	*g*
Brythonic	**p*	**b*	*$*g^w$-* / **-u̯-*
Gaulish	*p*	*b*	*g-* / *-u̯-*?
Lepontic	*p*	*p* [*b*]	?

A regular Gaulish correspondent of IE *$*g^{wh}$-* is not firmly established. Some scholars derive the verb *uediíumí* attested in the inscription from Chamalières from *$*g^{wh}ed^h$i̯ō* + *mi* (Lejeune 1976-77: 166; Cowgill 1980: 59), comparing it with Old Irish *guidiu* 'I pray' and Welsh *gweddi* 'to pray'. Others reconstruct the root *$*$u̯ed^h-* or **u̯ei̯d-* with various interpretations (e.g. Fleuriot 1976-77: 178: a confusion of two homonymous roots *$*$u̯ed^h-* 'to lead' and 'to join'; Lambert 1979: 141: 144: *$*$u̯ed^h-*, translating the verbal form 'je lie = soumets'; Schmidt 1981: 267; similarly Henry 1984: 143-44 and de Bernardo Stempel 1990: 32 & 2001: 164-70: **u̯ei̯dii̯ō* < **u̯ei̯du̯i̯ō*, cf. Old/Middle Irish *fíad* 'honor, respect', *fíadu* 'witness'). Schmidt (2001: 175-79) adds Celtiberian *ueiðos* 'witness' as a counterpart of Old Irish *fiadu* and

Gaulish *uediíumí*, while the Celtiberian family name *kueðontikum* (gen. pl.) should correspond to Old Irish *guidiu* and Welsh *gweddi* 'to pray'. It is attractive to add some of the Gaulish personal names, *Geđđius* attested in CIL 1780: D(is) M(anibus) CACIRO T. F. GEĐĐI ET BILLICEDDNI PATRIBUS MAGISSA FILIUS F.C., and *Gedemo(n)*: (Holder I: 1992-93).

Another argument for the change *g^{wh} > Gaulish & Brythonic *u̯* should have been the Gaulish personal name *Tascouanus* (Rhineland) and its Brythonic counterpart *Tascio-uanos*, a father of *Cunobelinos* (CVNOBELINVS REX TASCIOVANVS F., see Holder II: 1744-45), interpreted as **task(i̯)-o-g^{wh}onos* 'badger-killer' (Koch 1987: 266-69; 1995: 82; serious counter-arguments see de Bernardo Stempel 1991: 42). This solution is acceptable, but only for medial (intervocalic?) position. On the other hand, there is an inner Celtic witness for the development *g^{wh}- > Gaulish *g*-. In agreement with the rules formulated by Koch, Sims-Williams, Schmidt and others, Brythonic forms such as Middle Welsh *gwystl* 'pledge, surety, hostage', Old Cornish *guistel* gl. 'obses, pignus', Old Breton *guuistl* gl. 'obses', Breton *gouestl* 'pledge, hostage', together with Old Irish *gíall* 'hostage', indicate Celtic **g^{w}ei̯sslo-* and further probably **g^{wh}ei̯d^{h}-tlo-* (cf. Schrijver 1995: 405). It is generally accepted that the Gaulish personal name **Congēstlos*, attested in the gen. sg. as CONGEISTLI and in the nom. sg. as a coin legend COCESTLUS, corresponds to Welsh *cyngwystl*, *cywystl* 'gage mutuel' (Holder I: 1993; Delamarre 2001: 104). To sum up, it seems, the Gaulish reflexes of IE *g^{wh} could be parallel to Brythonic: *g*- and -*u̯*-.

7.2.2 A common denominator for *b* in both Latin (Italic) and Celtic is the rare IE **b*. In the case of the (probable) borrowing of the word *faber* from Latin into Paelignian, one may also reconstruct *b^{h}. In the case of the opposite (less probable) direction of the borrowing, the labiovelar *-g^{w}- should also be taken in account. Summing up, the root consonants are compatible, implying the starting point *g^{wh}/g^{h}u̯Vb/b^{h}/g^{w}-.

7.2.3 What can be said about Latin -*a*- vs. Celtic *-*o*-? Their difference is very probably explainable. Schrijver (1991: 460-461) convincingly demonstrated the Latin tendency to change IE **o* after **u̯*, **ku̯/k^{w}*, **g^{h}u̯/g^{wh}* and **$ǵ^{h}$u̯/$ǵ^{wh}$* into *a*, e.g. Latin *fax* 'torch' vs. Lithuanian *žvãkė* 'candle' < **$ǵ^{h}$u̯ok$^{(w)}$-*. With respect to this rule, the Latin form is derivable from **g^{wh}ob$^{(h)}$ro-/*g^{h}u̯ob$^{(h)}$ro-*. We can further specify the reconstruction thanks to other cognates.

7.2.4 There is a promising candidate in Germanic **wēpna-* n. 'weapon' attested in all Germanic languages: Gothic pl. *wepna*, Old Norse *vápn* (&

vákn > Finnish *vaakuna* 'weapon-sign'), Modern Icelandic *vopn*, Faeroese *vápn* (& *vákn*), Norwegian *vaapen*, Swedish *vapen*, Danish *vaaben*, Old English *wǣpn*, *wǣmn*, Middle English *wepen*, Old Saxon *wāpan*, Old Frisian *wēpin*, Middle Dutch *wāpen*, Dutch *wapen*, Old High German *waffan*, later *wāfan*, German *Waffe*, etc. (Falk & Torp 1909: 391; Klein 1971: 823; de Vries 1977: 644, 639; Lehmann 1986: 401). Germanic **wēpna-* is derivable not only from **u̯ēb-no-m*, but also from **g^{wh}ēb-no-m* /**g^{h}u̯ēb-no-m*. Concerning the change of **g^{wh}-*/ **g^{h}u̯-* into Germanic **w-*, cf. Germanic **warma-* 'warm' < **g^{wh}ormo-* or Old High German *wāhi* 'beautiful; shining', according to some linguists cognate with Latin *fax* and Lithuanian *žvãkė*. It looks like a *vr̥ddhi*-formation, comparable with Old English *ǣfen* 'evening' < Germanic **H₂ēpnó-*, vs. Gothic *apar* 'after', Old Indic **ápara-* 'later' < **H₂épero-* (Darms 1978: 79-80). The semantic difference can be bridged, cf. the Irish divine smith *Goibniu* producing and repairing weapons (see above).

7.2.5 Another cognate may be identified in the Lithuanian pagan deity of fire called *Gabie* by Jan Łasicki [Lasicius] in his *De Diis Samagitarum Caeterorumque Sarmatarum et falsorum Christianorum. Item de Religione Armeniorum*, first published in Basel in 1615 (see Mannhardt 1936: 357, 359, 372, 389). He recorded: [p. 49] *Polengabia diva est, cui foci lucentis administratio creditur* (Lithuanian *pẽlenas* 'fire-place') and [p. 51] *Cum autem nimia aestatis brevitas fruges demessas plane siccari non sinat, fit hoc sub tectis ad ignem. Tum vero precandus est illis hisce verbis* **Gabie** *deus:* **Gabie** *deuaite pokielki garunuleiski kirbixtu. Flamman, inquit, eleva, at ne demittas scintillas.* Mannhardt (1936: 372) refers to Akielewicz, who had recorded: *Ogien w mowie uroczystej nazywa się po litewsku* **gabija** *albo szwenta* **gabija** 'In solemn speech the fire is called *gabija* or holy *gabija* in Lithuanian', and *Ogien w pospolitej mowie zowie się* **ugnis**, *a w uroczystej* **gabija** 'Fire is called *ugnis* in the current language and in solemn speech *gabija*.' Mierzyński mentioned a prayer of a housewife from Žemaitia addressed to the fireplace of her house: *Šventa Gabieta, givenk su mumis linksmaj* 'Holy *Gabhta*, live with us cheerfully.' The word *gabieta* represents a substantivized feminine adj. 'die Feurige', cf. *dulkė̃tas* 'staubig' : *dùlkės* 'Staub', etc. Besides *gabija* (*gabė* in modern orthography) there is also the variant *gubija* which should be a Žemaitic dialectism according to Schleicher (see Mannhardt 1936: 372), cf. *namaĩ* vs. *numaĩ* 'houses'. It is tempting to think about the vacillation caused by the ablaut **gub- : *gvab- > *gab-* (cf. Fraenkel 1962-65: 143 about *gv- ~ g-* in Lithuanian). The solution based on the assumed ablaut would exclude the identification of the analyzed theonyms with another, as the goddess of wealth *Gabiáuja* (Falk & Torp 1909: 126) or *Matergabie* characterized

as *deae offertur a foemina ea placenta, quae prima e mactra sumta digitoque notata, in furno coquitur..* (Łasicki l.c.: 49; see Mannhardt 1936: 373, quoting Grienberger's comparison with the Latin-Germanic inscription *matronis Gabiabus* from the lower Rhine, interpreted as 'Mutter-Geberin').

7.2.5.1 The relation of the divine smith to fire is apparent, e.g. besides the metonymic use of the name of Ἥφαιστος instead of πῦρ by Homer (Il. B 426), there is perhaps the only semantically acceptable etymology of the theonym Ἥφαιστος, Doric Ἅφαιστος, viz. based on ἁφή 'lightning, kindling' (Hdt. VIII, 215: about lamp-lightning time) : ἅπτω πῦρ 'I kindle fire', ἀφάω 'I handle' (Preller & Robert 1894; see Schrader & Nehring II: 239, 330; Frisk I: 126). Further support for this semantic motivation can be found in the Ossetic designation of 'smith', Iron *k^w^yrd*, Digor *kurd*, which may reflect the nomen agentis **kur-ta(r)-* from the root attested in Gothic *haúri* 'coal', Old Norse *hyrr* 'fire' (**kur̯io-*), Slavic **kuriti* 'to smoke' (**kour-i̯e/o-*). It would be attractive to add Church Slavonic of Russian redaction *krъči(i), kъrči(i)* 'χαλκεύς', Old Russian *korčij* 'smith', if it reflects **kur-ti̯o-* (Abaev, 1958: 610), but Knutsson's etymology based on East Turkish *kurč* 'steel' (in other Turkic languages 'sharp') must seriously be taken into account (see Vasmer II: 340-41; Trubačev 1966: 336). In their pantheon the pagan Ossets (Digors) had a divine smith and lord of fire called *Kurd-Alæ-Wærgon* (besides the simplified variants *Kurd-Alæwgon* and *Kurd-Alægon*). It was he who tempered *Soslan*, the hero of the Nart epic. Abaev (1949: 592-94; Id. 1958: 610 and 1989: 93-94; cf. also Meid 1961: 127-131) derives his name from Iranian **kurta- *ārya- *Varkāna-*, i.e. the 'Aryan smith Varkāna', comparing the theonym **Varkāna-* with the name of the Roman fire-god *Volcānus*. Beginning with Schlegel this theonym has been connected with Old Indic *ulkā́* 'fire falling from heaven, meteor, firebrand', in RV IV, 4.2 used about the flames of the fire-god Agni (Meid 1961: 131; Eisenhut, *RE*, Suppl. XIV: 949), cf. also Old Norse *olgr, ǫlgr* 'Odin's name; hawk, ox', poet. 'fire' (**wulgaz* < **u̯l̥kó-*); see de Vries 1977: 418. Let us mention that it was Ođinn, who .. *smiðaði himin ok iǫrð ok lopt* '..forged heavens and earth and air' (*Edda* of Snorri Sturluson, 2). Another related form could be found in the name of the hospitable druid-smith *Olc Aiche* from the early Irish stories *Cath Maige Mucrama* (1.218: *goba*), *Scéla Éogain* (1.447: *druí-goba*; 11.405-06: *druí*), *Geneamuin Chormaic* (11.4-5: *goba*), see O Daly 1975: 52-53, 64-68; Hull 1952: 82; McCone 1984: 5-6. It is also tempting to think about the name of the Germanic divine smith known in two variants, **Walunðaz* (Old Icelandic *Vǫlundr*, Old High German *Walant*) and **Wēlanðaz* (Old English *Wēland*, Middle High German *Wielant*, Old Icelandic *Velent*), see

Toporova 1989: 442-443. But the lack of expected **-h-* / **-g̑-*, regular only for Old Norse, remains to be explained.

8. The studied protoforms from the point of view of the word-formation

Attested form	IE projection	extension
Latin *faber*	*g^{wh}/g^{h}u̯ob-ro-	*-ro-
Old Irish *gobae*, gen. *gobann*	*g^{wh}/g^{h}u̯ob-n̥(t)s, -en(t)snos	*-n(t)- + *-s-
Middle Welsh *gof*, pl. *gofein*	*g^{wh}/g^{h}u̯ob-n̥(t)s/-en(t/s)-(n-)	*-n(t)- + *-s-
Gaulish *gobed-bi*	*g^{wh}/g^{h}u̯ob-en(t)s-b^{h}i	*-n(t)- + *-s-
Germanic **wēpna-*	*g^{wh} /g^{h}u̯ēb-no-	*-no-
Lithuanian *gabė* ∼ *gubė*	*g^{wh}/g^{h}u̯ob-ii̯ā	*-i-?

The *n*-stem, plus *-es*-neuter proposed for Celtic by Pedersen, the *n*-derivative in Germanic, the *-ro*-adjective in Latin, all form the group of Caland's suffixes (cf. the recent discussion in Meissner 1998). It could be another argument supporting the relation of these forms.

9. Discussion of the alternative etymologies.

9.1 Latin *faber* 'smith' etc. has usually been connected with Armenian *darbin* 'smith' (the first being Meillet 1894: 165), Old Church Slavonic *dobrъ* 'good', Lithuanian *dabà* 'nature, character', Gothic *ga-daban*, pret. *ga-dob* 'to happen, be suitable', Old Norse *dafna* 'to become strong' (Pokorny 1959: 233-34; *LIV*: 135-36). Schrijver (1991: 102) is right in concluding that from the quoted parallels Latin *faber* agrees only with Armenian *darbin*, if it is derivable from *d^{h}ə̯$_2$$b^{h}$-r-óno-. The other comparisons are semantically rather vague; he also rejects the reconstruction of a laryngeal for these words. On the other hand, the Armenian form can alternatively reflect *d^{h}r̥b^{h}-ĭ̄no-, compatible with Lithuanian *dìrbu : dìrbti* 'arbeiten, anfertigen' < present stem *dr̥b^{h}-é- (unclear accentuation), *dárbas* 'Arbeit', Old English *deorfan* 'arbeiten; umkommen', *gedeorf* 'Arbeit, Mühsal', cf. also Armenian *derbuk* 'rough' and Irish *doirbh* 'morose, grievous, hard' (Pokorny 1959: 257; Mann 1984-87: 211). The semantic development is comparable with Old Indic *karmā́ra-* ∼ vr̥ddhi *kārmārá-* 'blacksmith', if it is related to *kárman-* 'work, deed', a derivative of *kr̥-* 'to do, make' (Buck 1949: 606; *EWAIa* I: 318; Thieme 1985: 255, fn. 21: **karma-ará-* 'durch [harte] Arbeit zusammenfügend / zusammenschweissend').

9.2 The only acceptable extra-Germanic parallel of Germanic **wēpna-* is Tocharian B (> A) *yepe* 'weapon, knife', which can reflect not only **u̯ēb-en-* (so Van Windekens 1971: 125-28; Adams 1999: 506), but all combinations which may be summarized as **((d)u̯/i̯)ēp/b/b^h-en-*.

9.2.1 On the other hand, it cannot be excluded that the Tocharian B *yepe* was borrowed from a source of the type Written Mongolian *ǯebe* 'arrowhead, spearhead' (Lessing 1960: 1042), 'arrowhead, bowshot', *ǯebsek* 'weapons' (Boberg 1954: 29, 62, 580), maybe through Turkic mediation transforming Mongolian *ǯ* into *y* (this idea was first proposed by Anna Dybo in her letter to the author from March 26, 2003).

9.3 Lühr (1980: 253-54) tries to demonstrate a priority of Germanic **wēƀna-* with **-ƀ-* attested in Old High Germanic *wābnum* plus Old Norse *vámn* and Old English *wǣmn*, and offers her etymological explanation based on Old English verb *wafian* 'mit der Hand bewegen'. She proposes a starting point **wēƀ-an-*, originally a nomen agentis meaning 'das mit der Hand Bewegte'. For the weak stem she reconstructs the development **wēƀ-n´-* > **wēpp-* and the following simplification of *-pp-* connected with a restitution of *-n-*.

9.4 On the other hand, in Germanic the variant **wēk$^{(w)}$na-* (Old Norse, Faeroese *vákn*, Finnish *vaakuna*) can be more original and **wēpna-* would be a result of an assimilation comparable with the numeral 'five', cf. Gothic *fimf*, Old High German also *finf* from Germanic **fenf(e)*, instead of expected **fenh^{w}(e)*. In this case the Germanic word would reflect **u̯ēg$^{(w)}$no-* or **g^{wh}/g^{h}u̯ēg$^{(w)}$no-*. For the first case Lühr mentions that the same rule could operate here too and sees a primary root in the verb **u̯eǵ^{h}-* 'to move'. With respect to a common use of Germanic **weg-* and hypothetical **wēgna-* > **wēkna-* > **wēpna-* (e.g. Old High German *giwigan miti wabnum* 'durch die Waffen zerhauen', Old English *forwegen mid his wæpne* 'zerhauen mit seiner Waffe', see Lühr o.c.: 253, fn. 21), this explanation seems very suggestive.

9.5 The Germanic alternative **wēk$^{(w)}$na-* is also compatible with the men's name attested in Old Runic *Wakraz* (Reistad Stone, Norway, 450 AD; Antonsen 1975: 52), Old Norse *Vakr*, Old English *Wacer*, Old High German *Wacchar*, besides the compounds as Latinized Gothic *Odoacer*, Old English *Eadwacer*, reflecting **Auđa-wakraz*, which can be interpreted as 'rich in weapons' (Watkins 1986: 327; *EIEC* : 112), although the Germanic appellative **wakraz* 'brave, fresh, awake, watchful' has usually been identified in them (de Vries 1977: 639-640). Watkins (l.c.) adds the Greek name Μελέαγρος, deriving it from **Mele-wagros* 'he who cares for his weapon',

plus Old Indic *vájra-* 'thunderbolt, cudgel' and Avestan *vazra-* 'cudgel' which indicate the palatal velar. For Watkins the primary root was the verb **u̯aĝ-*, attested in Greek (ϝ)ἄγνυμι 'I break apart', Tocharian AB *wāk-* 'to burst, split apart; unfold; separate', Hittite *wāki* 'bites'. Naturally, the continuation of IE **u̯* in the Germanic word for 'weapon' excludes it from the candidates for a relationship with the Italo-Celtic isogloss 'smith'.

9.6 The alternatives **g^{wh}ēg^{(w)}no-* and **g^{wh}og^{(w)}ro-* (∼ **g^{h}u̯-*) are compatible with Paelignian *faber* (if the Latin counterpart is due to borrowing) and Celtic **gob-(e)n*°, which can also be derived from **g^{wh}/g^{h}u̯og^{w}*°. In this case, there is a tempting cognate in Greek (Crete) φάγρος 'whetstone'. Concerning the development -γρ- < **-g^{w}r-*, cf. ἀνιγρόν· ἀκάθαρτον (Hesych.) < **n̥-nig^{w}ro-* (Lejeune 1972: 52, fn. 2).

9.7 The alternative solution for Lithuanian *gabija, gubija* 'goddess of fire', or directly 'fire' in elevated speech, namely its identification with *Gabiáuja*, the goddess of wealth with the name derived from the verb *gabenù : gabénti* 'fortbringen' (see § 6.2.5), is problematic from a semantic point of view.

10. Conclusion

In the present study the following hypotheses were formulated with decreasing probability:

10.1 There was a common Celtic designation for 'smith', reconstructible as **gob-ens/n̥s-(n-)*. Projected onto the IE level, the first root consonant can reflect **g-/*g^{h}-/*g^{wh}-/*g^{h}u̯-*, the second one **-b^{h}- /*-b- /*-g^{w}-*.

10.2 Its closest cognate can be found in the Latin (& Paelignian) counterpart *faber*, derivable from **g^{wh}ob^{h}ro-* (Latin > Paelignian), **g^{wh}obro-* (common Italic) or **g^{wh}og^{w}ro-* (Paelignian > Latin); all protoforms are also reconstructible with **g^{h}u̯-* respectively.

10.3 Armenian *darbin* 'smith', the most accurate alternative parallel to Latin *faber* in semantics, may be equally convincingly explained from **d^{h}r̥b^{h}-ī̆no-* 'worker'.[2]

10.4 The Old Lithuanian goddess of 'fire' *Gabija* and the corresponding appellative *gabija* ∼ *gubija* (*/gabė/* ∼ */gubė/* in modern orthography), 'fire'

[2] Ilya Yakubovich drew my attention to the possibility to seek the origin of Armenian *darbin* in Hurrian *tabira*, borrowed into Sumerian *tabira, tibira* 'metal-worker', esp. 'copper-worker' (cf. Wilhelm 1988: 50-52).

in elevated speech, can represent a key to the semantic motivation of the Italo-Celtic isogloss *g^{wh}ob$^{(h)}$-/*g^{h}u̯ob$^{(h)}$- 'smith', hence 'ruling fire' or sim. This feature belongs to the most important functions of the Greek divine smith Hephaistos (see § 7.2.5.1). Ossetic *kurd* / *k^{w}yrd* 'smith', if its etymology based on Germanic **hurja-* 'fire, coal' is correct, and *Wærgon*, the mythical smith and fire-god, with the name corresponding to Latin *Volcānus*, confirm this semantic motivation.

10.5 The weakest member of the present etymological study remains Germanic **wēpna-* 'weapon'. There are too many alternative solutions. The starting point *g^{wh}ēb$^{(h)}$no-/*g^{h}u̯ēb$^{(h)}$no- is compatible with the Italo-Celtic isogloss 'smith' and the Baltic deified 'fire', if they are derived from the root *g^{wh}ob$^{(h)}$-/*g^{h}u̯ob$^{(h)}$. The pre-Germanic reconstruction *g^{wh}ēg$^{((w)h)}$- / *g^{h}u̯ēg$^{((w)h)}$- matches only the Italo-Celtic isogloss, if it reflects *g^{wh}og^{w}-/*g^{h}u̯og^{w}-. In this case the Germanic anthroponymical component **wakra-* and Greek (Crete) φάγρος 'whetstone' could be added. The inclusion of the Germanic parallel depends on the acceptation of the regular change *g^{wh}-/*g^{h}u̯- > Germanic **w-*.

Summing up, the most probable reconstruction seems to be *g^{wh}ob$^{(h)}$-/*g^{h}u̯ob$^{(h)}$- for both Latin (Italic) and Celtic designations of 'smith' and its primary semantic motivation 'ruling fire' indicated by the promising Old Lithuanian cognate.[3]

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[3] In regard of the conclusion determining the Italo-Celtic isogloss *gu̯^{h}/g^{h}u̯ob$^{(h)}$- 'smith' = 'fire-ruler' vel sim., it is tempting to etymologize Latin *febris* 'fever' on the basis of the same root in the *e*-grade (*gu̯^{h}/g^{h}u̯eb$^{(h)}$-ri-) and not from *d^{h}egu̯^{h}-ri- vs. *foueō* or from *d^{h}e-d^{h}ri- vs. Greek τανθαρύζω· τρέμω (Ernout & Meillet 1959: 222). Concerning the semantic relation of 'fever' and 'fire', cf. the witness of Grattius 389: *aestiuos uibrans accensis febribus ignes* for Latin or Greek πυρετός 'fever' (Hippocrates, *Aph.* 2.26; Aristophanes, *Vespae* 1038) from πῦρ 'fire'.

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THE OSSETIC CASE SYSTEM REVISITED

JOHNNY CHEUNG

Introduction

The Ossetic case system has attracted some attention from Iranists, as it is the most elaborate of all declensional patterns found in any modern Iranian language. But this is quite deceptive, some of the endings are clearly not old: the adessive goes back to the postpositional use of **upari*, whereas the comitative *-imæ* is attested solely in Iron. Scholars in the past, notably Vsevolod Miller, and present, such as Dieter Weber, Roland Bielmeier, Alain Christol and Fridrik Thordarson attributed most (oblique) Ossetic endings to endings of various PIr. nominal classes. Recently, David Testen (1996: 371f.) made a crucial point, which was further elaborated by Roland Kim 2003[1], that this approach was methodologically flawed, as it failed to explain why a case ending from the less common nominal classes would have been generalized in Ossetic. Rather, one had to consider the historical development of the morphol-

[1] This study is to some extent a response to Kim 2003, who addressed the Ossetic case system as part of a more comprehensive overview of the Ossetic historical phonology. I broadly agree with his phonological treatment, despite differences on many points. An important difference in opinion between us is the treatment of the Ossetic (historical) accent, for which I argued initial stress (Cheung 2002: 121 ff.), whereas Kim called for a Sogdian-like stress based on heavy and light stems. His quite elaborate argument in favour of this type of accent has failed to convince me, as it would not explain why not only all the final vowels, except *-*ā(h)* and *-*ai* (and subsequently, short vowels in certain *inlaut* position) in the pre-Oss. period were lost, but right down to common Ossetic, we see, in Iron, the loss of the final -*æ* that derives from *-*ā(h)*. The "rhythmic-like" accent, being determined by the quantity/quality of the vowels, which we see in modern Ossetic cannot be but of secondary origin. An annoyance in his article is that he sometimes represented the arguments of his sources rather inaccurately or imprecisely.

The Ossetic forms are cited as follows: the Iron and Digoron forms are quoted with a slash mark (/) between them, Iron being mentioned first. If only one form is mentioned, this means that the Iron and Digoron forms are identical. If a form is marked by "I." or "Dig.", it is generally meant that only the Iron or Digoron form is attested.

ogy of the language as a whole. Testen argued that in pre-Oss. there were basically two cases, a nominative "direct" (zero-ending) and oblique (ending **-i*), a situation that is still found in modern Yaghnobi. The subsequent rise of "secondary" cases (through the incorporation of postpositions) confined oblique **-i* to its basic function of marking possessive relations, the definite direct object and the locative/inessive. This thesis proves to be untenable. Moreover, it must be said that in their efforts to explain the case endings Kim and Testen have resorted to solutions that go against the (morpho)phonology of Ossetic. It is in this light that I shall take yet another, systematic look into the puzzling history of the Ossetic case system. For a complete picture both the pronominal and the nominal case system shall be considered, since they have influenced each other, yet differ in several aspects.

1. Nominal forms

sær 'head', *zærdæ* 'heart'

	singular		*plural*	
nom.	*sær*	*zærdæ*	*sær-tæ*	*zærdæ-tæ*
gen.	*sær-y/sær-i*	*zærdy/zærdi*	*sær-t-y/sær-t-i*	etc.
dat.	*sær-æn*	*zærdæ-j-æn*	*sær-t-æn*	
allat.	*sær-mæ*	*zærdæ-mæ*	*sær-tæ-m/sær-tæ-mæ*	
abl.	*sær-æj*	*zærdæ-j-æ/zærdæ-j-æj*	*sær-tæj*	
iness.	*sær-y/sær-i*	*zærd(æ-j-)y/zærdæ-i*	*sær-t-y/sær-t-i*	
adess.	*sær-yl/sær-bæl*	*zærd(æ-j-)yl/zærdæ-bæl*	*sær-t-yl/sær-tæ-bæl*	
equat.	*sær-aw*	*zærdæ-j-aw*	*sær-t-aw*	
com.	*sær-imæ*	*zærdæ-imæl*	*sær-t-imæ/-*	

1.1 Nominative

The Ossetic so-called "nominative" derives from the nom. m. **-ah* and/or the acc. m./n. *-am*. Traces of these endings can be inferred from palatalized forms such as *alğ* 'extremity, tip' (nom. sg. **agrah*), *calx* 'wheel' (**čaxrah*) and *u*-umlauted *æmbyrd/æmburd* 'meeting' (nom. acc. sg. n. **hambrtam*), v. Cheung 2002: 58 f. The old feminine **-ā* has not survived as a separate category. In forms like *cyt/citæ* 'honour' (Av. *ciθā-* f. 'punishment'), *jæfs/æfsæ* 'mare' (Av. *aspā-*, Skt. *áśvā-* f. 'id.'), final **-ā* has become POss. **-æ*, which has been retained in Digoron, but disappeared in Iron. Traces of the nom. or acc. ending in other declensional classes (which all became thematized in due course) can be deduced as well, on which see further Bielmeier 1982: 59ff. and Cheung, l.c.: 59, 61f.

1.2 Genitive

Several suggestions have been made for the origin of the Ossetic genitive. The most obvious suggestion is to derive *-y/-i* directly from the PIr. thematic genitive **-ahi̯a*. This was implicitly rejected by Miller 1903: 43 f., who connected the Oss. genitive to the relational suffix **-īi̯a-*, cf. OP *armaniya* 'Armenian' (*armina-* 'Armenia'), LAv. *aspiia-* 'equine' (*aspa-* 'horse') Semantically, this is not impossible: Gr. γυναικός, which is clearly adjectival 'female, pertaining to women', functions as the genitive of the noun γυνή 'woman'. Nevertheless, as Kim 2003: 44f. pointed out, there are typological and syntactical objections against a suffixal provenance of the genitive. The genitive case has some fundamental functions in Ossetic: not only does it indicate possessive relations such as *lægty ʒwar* 'god of men (i.e. the god Wasterji)', but it also marks the direct object (definite/animate) in a transitive sentence. The Ossetic nominative and genitive correspond more or less to the direct and oblique in many other (Indo-)Iranian languages, such as Middle Persian, Sogdian (heavy stems) or modern Kurdish and Zazaki. In Miller's analysis the old genitive **-ahi̯a* would have become the Oss. ablative, which was also accepted by Weber 1980: 130[2]. Shortly after Weber's publication Bielmeier 1982: 67 proposed to derive the genitive from the generalized relative (nom. sg. m.) pronoun **-i̯ah*[3], taking his cue from Bailey 1946: 205 and others. Bouda 1934: 65 made the observation that in certain poetic texts some syntactically unusual phrases were found, where the adjective was placed after the noun (in the genitive): *mæ fydy zærond* / *mæ fidi zærond* 'my old father', Dig. *Sirdoni nalat* 'the cursed Sirdon', (collect.) *kizgi ræsuğd* 'beautiful girl(s)'. This prompted Bailey, l.c. to derive the apparently gen. ending *-y/-i* of *fydy* from the relative **i̯a-*. In fact, the label "ezafet-construction" (NP *mard-i pīr* 'old man', etc.), attached to these phrases by Bielmeier, l.c.: 67, is misleading. The use of the genitive in these cases is merely to emphasize, or rather "topicalize",

[2] Kim, l.c.: 44 argued that this "presupposes merger of abl. with gen. in thematic nouns on the analogy of other stem classes, and subsequent replacement of the reflex of **-ahya* by that of **-iya-* in genitival function".

[3] Kim apparently misunderstood Bielmeier's argument, claiming Bielmeier "takes the Ossetic gen./iness. from the PIr. gen. sg. **-ah* of the consonant stems". On the contrary, Bielmeier, l.c., explicitly states: "Spuren der Suffix-Nullstufe beim Genitiv der alten *r*-Stämme finden sich nirgends. Es ist deshalb nicht möglich, die Bildung des nominalen Genitivs auf *-ɨ* (*-i*) mit dem Genitiv auf **-ah* in Verbindung zu bringen.".

the qualified noun: 'my father, the old one', etc., cf. Vogt 1944: 20.[4] Bielmeier's suggestion is therefore at variance with the fundamental functions of the Ossetic genitive. In his outline of Ossetic, Thordarson (1989: 470) considered the ending the reflex of **-ah*, the genitive of the consonant stem classes.[5] This ending should have disappeared though, cf. Bielmeier, l.c.: 67, Cheung, l.c.: 56ff. Besides, as Kim, l.c., rightly pointed out, it is *a priori* improbable that the inflection of (archaic) root or consonantal stem classes would have been generalized at the expense of the more ubiquitous thematic inflection. At this point, Kim sought an explanation for the Ossetic gen. *-y*/*-i* in the different stressing of Ossetic forms operating similarly along the lines of the Sogdian Rhythmic Law. The result would be that several endings merged in a single, oblique ending **i*. Without giving too many details it remains to be seen whether such a law has ever existed in the prehistory of Ossetic, on which see further Cheung: 122f. Due to the workings of the Rhythmic Law Sogdian distinguishes two main classes, "light" and "heavy", at a synchronic level, a result that is conspicuously lacking in Ossetic. Also its absence in the modern quasi-descendant of Sogdian, Yaghnobi, suggests that the Rhythmic Law might have been a relatively recent "phenomenon" in the history of Sogdian.

In my opinion the most straightforward idea of deriving the Ossetic genitive from thematic PIr. **-ahi̯a* is worth contemplating again. This derivation was discarded by Miller and more recently, Bielmeier 1982: 63, Thordarson, l.c., on the assumption that **-ahi̯a* would rather yield Oss. *-æj*. The development **-ahi̯a* > **-ii̯a* > (apocope) *-y*/*-i* may be less problematic than it appears, if we bear two other developments in mind as well. In many East Iranian languages we find frequent shortening of **ā* in front of *i̯* (which is not a regular development). Examples in Ossetic are few, but pertinent: *fæjjaw* 'shepherd' (cf. Av. *pāiiu-*), *mæj*/*mæjæ* 'moon, month' (cf. OP *māhyā*). Parallel to this shortening in front of *i̯* originally short **a* might have undergone some change in this position as well. The alternative, more preferable solution is that since **-ah* in final position became **-i* in Ossetic (in line with other East Iranian lan-

[4] It may be noted that in fact there is no formal distinction between "nouns" and "adjectives" in Ossetic, cf. Thordarson, *CLI*: 467. The genitive case is also used to topicalize the indefinite, animate object, "qui rend possible sa position emphatique au commencement de la phrase", e.g. *iw k*$_o$*yrm læǰy iw k'æbila racæjk*$_o$*ydta* 'Einen blinden Mann führte ein Hündchen' (Vogt, l.c.: 36).

[5] *Not* as depicted by Kim: "Similarly, Thordarson ... sees in this ending a merger of gen. sg. **-ah* and loc. sg. **-yā* of PIr. root nouns...". This "merger" is nowhere mentioned nor implied in Thordarson's treatment.

guages), this might also have applied to *-*ah* in *inlaut* position in front of *i̯*, which made the segment *-*ah*- tautosyllabic as well. This development would be the same or similar in Khotanese gen. sg. -*i*, -*ä* (doubted by Emmerick, 1968: 256).

1.3 Dative

The ending -*æn* cannot reflect the old dative, neither nominal *-*āi* nor pronominal **ahmāi* (Miller 1903: 44). Thordarson (1989: 470) derived the ending -*æn* from an Iranian suffix *-*ana*-, which also continues as the suffix -*æn* 'destined for, apt to' in Ossetic. The problem with this derivation is that the suffix *-*ana*- (and its Oss. continuation[6]) forms nouns or adjectives from *verbal* roots, cf. Khot. *āljsana*- 'song' (*āljs*- 'to sing'), Skt. *cétana*- 'visible' (*cit*- 'to perceive'), *vacaná*- 'speaking, eloquent' (*vac*- 'to speak'), Degener 1989: 24ff., *AiGr.* II/2: 180ff.. How would this suffix end up in the nominal declension as well? Another suggestion is to derive it from the (pronominal) instrumental *-*(a)na*, which Weber, l.c.: 131ff. put forward, citing similar forms in Khotanese (instr.-abl. sg. -*ina*, -*äna*), Wakhi (predicate gen. -*ən*) and Yidgha-Munji ("obl." sg. -*an*, -*ɛn*). Although the dative employment of the instrumental case is not without parallells (cf. Gr. dat. pl. -οις < IE instr. pl. *-*ōis*), the Oss. dative exclusively expresses comparison, the goal or destination of a deed or action: *dossanæjy ræsuğdæn čyzg zyn ssaræn wyd* 'it was very hard to find a girl equal to Dossana in beauty', *bæxæn xollag radt* 'give fodder to the horse'. The instrumental function is indicated by the ablative (1.5.). The alternative put forward by Christol 1986: 32f. is even less attractive, -*æn* being abstracted from the (consonantal) gen. sg. of **nama* 'name', **namanas*. Perhaps a more plausible suggestion is to consider a postpositional origin for -*æn*, viz. **ana* (LAv. *ana* 'upon, over, across') or **anu* (OP *anuv*, Av. *anu* 'along, after, according to').[7] These postpositions are governed by the accusative.

1.4 Allative

Weber 1980: 130ff. considered the pronominal dat. **ahmāi* the origin of the allative. The main problem is that it is somewhat arbitrary (cf. the arguments in the introduction above). Why should the dative end up as allative in Ossetic, rather than continuing the older situation? It is very well possible for the genitive and dative case to have functionally

[6] Cf. Miller, l.c.: 91f., §15.
[7] This may also apply to Wakhi -*ən*: *yi δāyən tu yi pərnəc* 'a man had a churn' (lit. 'to a man there was a churn').

merged into one (gen.-dat.) case and retained the formal appearance of the older genitive, as it is the case in OP and Khotanese. But it would be odd that a particular ending of case A has "moved" to a different case B in order, so to speak, to make room for a new way of expressing case A, especially when the dative is a more fundamental case than the allative. Thordarson (1989: 471) hesitantly derived the allative ending from **hama-* ("instr. **hamā*?") 'connected with, together with'. Although it is conceivable to develop the comitative from the allative, it is not easy to envisage it the other way round. The Russian preposition *s* 'with, and; from; at, about' seems to provide us with an example, but the situation is somewhat different, as the exhibited meaning depends on a particular case, 'from' with the genitive, 'at, about' with the accusative and 'with, and' with the instrumental case. The suggested preform **hamā* would be even more emphatically *(as)sociative*, rather than *translational*. In fact, we do have a regular continuation of **hamā* in Oss., viz. the conjunction *(æ)mæ/(æ)ma* 'and'.

Still, the pronominal explanation of the allative is an attractive one. Rather than the dative I suggest a somewhat different provenance, viz. the locative **ahmi* to which the directional particle **ā* has been added: **i̯a-ahmi-ā*[8]. The continuation of **i̯a-ahmi-ā*, with its nuance of direction, can be found in Avestan: V 3.7 ... *yat̰ ahmiia daēuua handuuarənti* 'whereto the daeva's come/crawl together', Y 60.5f. *vainīt̰ ahmi nmāne sraošō as-ruštīm āxštiš ... yaθa ahmiia aməš̄ə̄ spəṇta sraošāδa ašiiāδa paitišąn vaŋhūš yasnąsca* 'May obedience triumph over disobedience within this house ... whereto the Immortal Blessed Ones seek for good praises from the truthful Obedience'. This "enlarged locative" form **i̯a-ahmi-ā* gave rise to a new case in the pronominal class, the allative *a-mæ*. Subsequently this spread to the nominal declensional system, *-mæ*. The incorporation of the allative in the case system appears to be relative late, as it has not undergone the Iron apocope in the singular. The ending *-mæ* may still have behaved like a postposition (of direction) in the POss. period. The loss of the final vowel in the plural is not necessarily regular, as it could have been removed analogically under the influence of the dative (pl.).

1.5 Ablative

None of the proposed solutions is satisfactory. Miller 1903: 44 connected the Oss. ablative with the old thematic gen. **-ahi̯a* (accepted by Weber 1980: 130), whereas Thordarson (1989: 471) suggested that *-æj* was from

[8] For the preform **i̯a-ahmi-ā* see 2.2.

the gen.-abl. of the *ā*-stems (**-āi̯āh*) or a conflation of this and the instr. in **-ai̯ā*. It is simply inconceivable that an ending either from the consonantal or the feminine vocalic declinations would have been generalized (cf. Kim., l.c.: 45, especially fn. 7): the declination of Sogdian, the closest (documented) sister-language of Ossetic, is a case in point. The common ablative -ʾ goes back to, as expected, the *masculine-neuter vocalic* ending **-āt*. The suggestion of Testen (1997: 370, n. 18) and adopted by Kim, l.c.: 46 to derive the Ossetic ablative *-æj* from **hačā* is impossible for the following main reason.[9] Not only do we have the Ossetic reflex (*ʒy/ʒi* 'from him'), old **č* would have been preserved as *ʒ* in both Ossetic dialects, in *all* positions. Only the secondarily arisen affricate **-ʒ'* (from postvocalic PIr. **-ti*) would result in final *-j* in *Digoron* only (cf. Cheung 2002: 98 f., Miller, l.c.). When we look at the ending purely formally, it looks as if it goes back to **-ăi̯V* (*-V* is a short vowel). However, the sequence **-āi̯V* would rather yield *-æj/-æjæ*, compare *mæj/mæjæ* 'moon, month' < loc. s. **māhi-ā*[10] (Cheung, l.c.: 203), while **-ai̯V* should have become *-æ* in both dialects, cf. *ærtæ* 'three' (**θrai̯ah*), *zærdæ* 'heart' (**zrdai̯a-*). Hence, the segment *-æj* can only be secondary in nature, being the result of an "amalgamation" of two different elements: POss./pre-Oss. **æ* + **i*. POss./pre-Oss. **æ* may reflect the old thematic abl. **-āt*. Final **-t* had to disappear before the contraction with the second element **i*, but there are indications that the loss of the final dental is relatively late, cf. 3sg. fut. subj. *-a* < athem. **-āt* (Cheung, l.c.: 140). The short vowel, *-æ-*, perhaps points to influence from the pronominal ablative, **-at*, cf. Av. *mat̰* 'from me', *ahmat̰* 'from this', etc. Meanwhile, the old instr. ending **-ā* (Av., OP, Skt. Vedic *-ā*) would have become regularly POss./pre-Oss. **-æ*. No doubt, at a certain point in the POss./pre-Oss. period the formally identical abl. and instr. endings merged, cf. Christol 1986: 32. This would therefore account for the instrumental function of the modern Ossetic ablative (besides comparison, separation, etc.). Now, we have to address the problem of the final element, **i*. We can dismiss two possibilities of its origin beforehand. The first one is that *°j* reflected an enclitic particle **i* (with a presumably ablativistic value). For the latter there is little or no evidence: the Av. correspondence *ī(t̰)* is merely a particle of emphasis. Alternatively, assuming that **i* might have been compounded with the characteristic abl. adv. suff. *-tah* (cf. Skt. *á-tas* 'hence') would create more phonological complications. Perhaps, it has been im-

[9] Testen, l.c. revived a very early idea of Lerch, which was cited and discarded by Miller, l.c.

[10] With shortening of the long **ā-* in front of **i̯*, a frequent East Iranian development.

ported from *ʒy/ʒi* (*demonstrative*, q.v.). Incidentally, without this marking the abl. pl. would have been formally identical to the nom. pl. *-tæ*.

1.6 Inessive

For the origin of the Ossetic inessive *-y/-i*, Miller, l.c.: 45, suggested two possibilities: either it was imported from the pronominal system (Dig. *mi* 'in me', Dig. *di* 'in you', etc.) or it continued the (variant) loc. ending **i̯a*, *ya* (sic), loc. sg. OP *māhyā*, Av. *kəhrpiia*, etc., which was accepted by Thordarson, l.c.: 471 (corrected to *-i̯ā*). Both suggestions are problematic. The former does not account for the fact that the corresponding Iron forms are different (*mæ*, *dæ*, etc.) nor can the Dig. forms go back to the expected (enclitic) PIr. forms **mai*, **tai*, etc. The latter possibility is phonologically impossible, as the "enlarged" loc. ending would be rather *-i̯ā*, which would have yielded *-/-æ* in Ossetic, cf. Oss. *mæj* / *mæjæ* 'moon, month' (= OP *māhyā*). Kim, l.c.: 45f. assumed that the inessive had the same origin as the genitive. The distinction made in the pronominal system suggests otherwise. The *nominal* genitive and inessive case may have been formally different at an earlier stage as well. The preform preceding *-y/-i* goes back to **-ii̯V* (*V* is **a*, **i* or **u*). It is tempting to consider the relational suffix **-īi̯a-* as the ultimate source, as implicitly suggested by Miller, l.c.: 46. In both Khotanese and Skt. this suffix displays a broad range of meanings and usages, cf. Degener 1989: 153ff., *AiGr*. II/2: 435 ff., of which the following is relevant here. The Skt. suffix *-īya-* attached to locational designations has the meaning of 'being there, originating from there': *parvatī́ya-* 'growing in the mountains' (*párvata-*), *āvasathī́ya-* 'being in the house' (*āvasathá-* 'dwelling'), *samāna-grāmīya-* 'living in the same village' (*grāma-* 'village'). Also the corresponding Khotanese *-īya-* displays this usage: *ttarandarīya-* 'situated in the body' (*ttarandara-*). The Ossetic inessive case probably reflected this specialization of **-īi̯a-*. Another usage of the same suffix can be observed in Oss. *dæsny/dæsni* 'clever, expert; wizard' (**dašin-īi̯a-*, from **dašina-* 'right').

1.7 Adessive

The origin of the adessive ending is clear, the derivation from **upari* has been universally accepted, Miller 1903: 46, etc. Somewhat puzzling is the Iron form *-yl* as opposed to the transparent Dig. *-bæl*. The Iron form has apparent been contaminated with the inessive (rather than reflecting a shortened, "allegro" pronunciation).

1.8 Equative

The equative ending was not considered to be part of the case system by Miller, l.c.: 92ff., who treated *-aw* as a mere adverbial suffix. Miller suggested to connect the suffix with Skt. *-vat*, *-vant*, citing Skt. *mā́vant-* 'like me', *índravat-* 'like Indra', *pūrvavat-* 'according tradition'. According, to Weber 1980: 129 and Thordarson (1989: 471), it would reflect **-āu̯an-*, on which also the so-called "language"-suffix in Oss. and other East Iranian languages may be based, e.g. Sogd. *'w*, Khot. *-au*, Khz. *-'w* (Degener 1989: 172ff., Gershevitch 1954: 249). I would separate equat. *-aw* from the language suff. *-aw*, on account of their semantic differences. The derivation of the equative from **-āu̯an-* is rather fraught with problems: the function and meaning of *-aw* does not agree well with those conveyed by the suffix **-u̯an-*, cf. *AiGr.* II/2: 894ff. Although Skt. *-vat-*, *-vant-*, with or without a preceding long *-ā-*, displays an extraordinary range of functions and matching meanings, in most instances the most frequent meaning is 'provided with, rich in, full of', which applies to the corresponding Iranian formations as well. The meaning that also the Ossetic equative conveys, i.e. 'like to, resembling', is chiefly found in pronominal formations: OAv. *mauuaṇt-*, Skt. *mā́vant-* 'like me', OAv. *θβāuuaṇt-*, Skt. *tvā́vant-* 'like you' etc. (*AiGr.* II/2: 876, III: 876). This is even more so in Iranian (Avestan), cf. Jackson 1892: 236, n. 2. The Ossetic equative *-aw* seems most likely to have been abstracted from these pronominal formations. These originally adjectival forms probably go back to the nominative sg., on which see Cheung 2002: 62.

1.9 Comitative

The comitative *-imæ* is only known in Iron. In Digoron, the meaning of this ending 'with, together' is conveyed by the postp. *xæccæ* preceded by the noun in the genitive. It is tempting to relate the Iron ending to Av. *mat̰*, Skt. *smát* 'together, jointly' or Av. *hama-*, Skt. *samá-* 'same, equal', cf. Miller 1903: 46, also Weber 1980: 129, fn. 20, Christol 1986: 33. Although it is possible that Dig. has lost this ending, one would need to look for an internal Iron origin in the first place. Abaev (1949: 101) drew attention to *iwmæ/ewmæ* 'together', which he derived from the allative of the number *iw/ew* 'one'. *Iwmæ/ewmæ* would literally mean 'towards one' (> 'in union, united'). It is this form which would be the base of the Iron comitative, an explanation that has also been accepted by Thordarson (1989: 471). A minor, yet quite troubling point is why the bilabial has disappeared in the ending *-imæ*.

2. Pronominal forms

	first person		*second person*	
nom.	*æz*	–	*dy/du*	–
gen.	*mæ*	*mæ*	*dæw*	*dæ*
dat.	*mænæn*	*myn/min*	*dæwæn*	*dyn/din*
allat.	*mænmæ*	*mæm/mæmæ*	*dæwmæ*	*dæm/dæmæ*
abl.	*mænæj*	*mæ/mi*	*dæwæj*	*dæ/di*
iness.	–	*mæ/mi*	–	*dæ/di*
adess.	*mænyl/mænbæl*	*myl/mæbæl*	*dæwyl/dæwbæl*	*dyl/dæbæl*
equat.	*mænaw*	–	*dæwaw*	–
com.	*memæ/–*	*memæ/–*	*demæ/–*	*demæ/–*
plural				
nom.	*max*		*symax/sumax*	
gen.	*max*	*næ*	*symax/sumax*	*wæ*
dat.	*maxæn*	*nyn/nin*	*symaxæn/sumaxæn*	*wyn/win*
allat.	*maxmæ*	*næm/næmæ*	*symaxmæ/sumaxmæ*	*wæm/wimæ*
abl.	*maxæj*	*næ/ni*	*symaxæj/sumaxæj*	*wæ/wi*
iness.	–	*næ/ni*	–	*wæ/wi*
adess.	*maxyl/maxbæl*	*nyl/næbæl*	*symaxyl/sumaxbæl*	*wyl/wæbæl*
equat.	*maxaw*	–	*symaxaw/sumaxaw*	–
com.	*maximæ/–*	*nemæ/–*	*symaximæ/–*	*wemæ/–*

2.1 Personal

The first and second person singular forms are pretty obvious: the nominative and genitive continue PIr. nom. **azam*, **tuu̯am* and gen. **mana*, **tau̯a* respectively, cf. Miller 1903: 50, etc. The voiced *d-* in the second person sg. is due to sandhi. The remaining cases have the genitive ending as base.

The corresponding plural forms, on the other hand, have an identical nominative and genitive ending which go back to the gen. **ahmāxam* and *xšmāxam*. The first person *max* has lost the initial vowel, reflecting an old development, cf. Cheung 2002: 88.

The enclitic forms have evidently been adapted to the main pronominal pronouns. There are basically two "stems": *mæ* - (*)*mi*, *dæ* - (*)*di*, *næ*/(*)*ni*, *wæ*/(*)*wi*. The number of distinctive enclitic forms were also in PIr. rather limited. For the first person we may posit, on the basis of Avestan and Sanskrit, sg. acc. **mā*, gen.-dat. **mai*, abl. **mat*, and pl. acc. **nāh* (OAv. *nā̊*, gen.-dat. **nah*. The second person PIr. forms can be reconstructed as sg. acc.-instr. **θβā*, gen.-dat. **tai*, abl. **θβat*, pl. acc. **u̯āh*, gen.-dat. **u̯ah*. When we follow the developments up to Ossetic, the first person singular would end up with only one form, viz. *mæ*, whereas the plural forms would regularly yield (*)*ni* and, if the acc. form has not merged with the

gen.-dat. (as it is the case in LAv. and Skt.), possibly also _næ_. The situation also applies to the second person. In an agglutinative case system such as the Ossetic one, this proves to be unstable, since there is a strong tendency to develop distinctive forms for each case (see above). The gen. _mæ_ and _dæ_ can regularly derive from *_mai_ (OAv. _mōi_, OP -_maiy_) and *_tai_ (OAv. _tōi_, OP -_taiy_) respectively. All the other endings derive from the genitive form (as it is the case with the regular non-enclitic pronouns). The different vocalism of the (modern) dative singular ending is due to the addition of the nasal (i.e. the postp. *_ana_ or *_anu_): *_mai_ + -_n_ > pre-Oss. *_main_ > POss. *_min_ (cf. material suff. -_yn_/-_in_ < *-_aina_-), cf. Testen 1996: 370. The plural counterparts, the old gen.-dat. forms *_nah_ and *_u̯ah_, would have yielded Oss. gen. *_ni_ and *_wi_, which became subsequently the base of the other plural endings. However, afterwards, the gen. pl. *_ni_ and *_wi_ were remodelled after the singular, giving rise to _næ_ and _wæ_. These newly arisen genitive forms have managed to influence the other endings of the dialects, differently and only partially. The characteristic (*)-_i_ from the plural forms has even crept into the singular forms.

	demonstrative			_interrogative-relative_	
nom.	_a, aj/a_	_wyj/je_	–	_či/ka_	_cy/ci_
gen.	_aj_	_wyj/woj_	_jæ,æj/æj_	_kæj/ke_	_cæj_
dat.	_amæn_	_wymæn/womæn_	_(j)yn/jin_	_kæmæn_	_cæmæn_
allat.	_amæ_	_wymæ/womæ_	_(j)æm/jimæ_	_kæmæ_	_cæmæ_
abl.	_amæj_	_wymæj/womæj_	_ʒy/si, ʒi_	_kæmæj_	_cæmæj_
iness.	_am/ami_	_wym/womi_	_ʒy/si, ʒi_	_kæm/kæmi_	_cæm/cæmi_
adess.	_awyl/abæl_	_wywylwobæl_	_(j)yl/jibæl_	_kæwyl/kæbæl_	_cæwyl/cæbæl_
equat.	_ajaw_	_wyjaw/wojaw_	–	_kæjaw_	_cæjaw_
com.	_aimæ/–_	_wyjmæ/–_	_jemæ/–_	_kæimæ/-_	_cæimæ/–_
plural					
nom.	_adon/atæ_	_wydon/jetæ_	–	_čitæ/katæ_	_cytæ/citæ_
gen.	_adon(y)/ani_	_wydon(y)/woni_	_sæ_	_kæjty/keti_	_cæjty/cæjti_
dat.	_adonæn/anæn_	_wydonæn/ wonæn_	_syn/sin_	_kæmænty/ kæmænti_	_cæmænty/ cæmænti_
allat.	_adonmæ/ anæmæ_	_wydonmæ/ wonæmæ_	_sæm/sæmæ_	_kæmæty/ kæmæti_	_cæmæty/ cæmæti_
abl.	_adonæj/anæj_	_wydonæj/wonæj_	_sæ, ʒy/si, ʒi_	_kæmæjty/ kæmæjti_	_cæmæjty/ cæmæjti_
iness.	_adony/anæmi_	_wydony/wonæmi_	_sæ, ʒy/si, ʒi_	_kæmyty/_	_cæmyty/_
adess.	_adonyl/anæbæl_	_wydonyl/wonæbæl_	_syl/sibæl_	_kæwylty/_	_cæwylty/_
equat.	_adonaw/anijaw_	_wydonaw/woniaw_	–	–	–
com.	_adonimæ/–_	_wydonimæ/–_	_semæ/–_	_kæimæty/-_	_cæimæty/–_

2.2 Demonstrative

The demonstrative pronouns were less transparent, having a complicated set of endings for each gender, masculine, feminine and neuter. The pronouns also have a set of corresponding clitic forms, which will be treated hereafter.

The 'this' pronoun is also used as the third person pronoun. It has as its core element *a-* and it is tempting to derive it from the feminine form of the personal-demonstrative **hā* (Bielmeier 1982: 63) or the relative pronoun **i̯ā* (Bailey 1946: 205), which is surprising. Feminine endings are rarely generalized, see also above. The originally long *a-* may be the outcome of contraction of two pronouns, one could think of a blend of **i̯a-* and **ha-* (**ta-*): > **i̯ā-* (cf. OP *h(a)ya-* 'which'). The initial **i̯-* then disappeared, in front of the long vowel, cf. *udyn/odun* 'to exert, put effort into' (< **i̯auda-*). The nominative *a* could go back to **i̯a-ha(h)*[11] > **(i̯)ā*. It is unclear whether the I. variant *aj* has an old *-j*, which may be imported from *wyj*. On the other hand, we cannot discount the possibility either that *aj* derived from **i̯a-* + **ai̯am* 'this here': > **i̯āi̯u* > (apocope and loss of initial **i̯-*) POss. **aj*. Final *-j* could have been lost analogically (to avoid convergence with the genitive).

The pronoun for 'that' appears to be different in the two Ossetic dialects, in Iron the stem is *wy-*, but in Digoron the nominative has *je* and in oblique cases we find the stem *wo-*. Thordarson derived Dig. nom. *je* from (nom.) **ai̯am*, which is difficult. The pronoun **ai̯am* rather refers to the close proximity to the speaker, which does not agree with the oblique stem *wo-* (< **au̯a-* 'that, yonder'). Dig. *je* actually goes back to earlier (*)*we*, cf. *widag/wedagæ*, *jedagæ* 'root' (< **u̯aitākā-*, Sogd. *wyt'k* 'cord'), the loss of *w-* in front of a front vowel is a frequent development in Dig., reflecting palatalization. Also for the Iron nom. form *wyj* we may assume earlier **we*: > **wi*. This early form **wi* is realized as *uj*, *wi*, *wyj*, depending on the (sub-)dialect or individual utterance. For the vocalism, see 2.3.

The genitive continues the older situation, albeit with some (slight) modifications. The 'this' form goes back to **i̯a-ahi̯a*: > *(*i̯*)*āi̯a* > *(*i̯*)*āi̯* (apocope) > *aj*. The 'that' ending *wyj/woj* may be the result of the following developments: **au̯ahi̯a* > **au̯ii̯a* > **au̯ii̯* (apocope) > *au̯i̯i̯* (regular?, influenced by the 'this' form?) > POss. **oj* (monophthongization).

[11] Perhaps rather **i̯a-ha*: in PIr. there was also a variant **ha* in the nominative, without final *-h*, cf. LAv. (m.!) *hā* (Skt. *sá*), besides LAv. *hō* (< **hah*).

The endings with *-m-*, dat., allat., abl. and iness., derive from the PIr. acc., abl. and loc. forms of the demonstrative **a-*. The Oss. dative has been secondarily created with the postposition **ana* or **anu*: dat. **i̯a-* + **ahmāi* >> acc. **i̯āmu* + postp. **an*$^{a}/_{u}$ >(>) Oss. *amæn*, **au̯āi* (?) >> acc. **au̯u* + postp. **an*$^{a}/_{u}$ >> Oss. *wymæn/womæn*. As discussed in 1.4., the allat. ending probably does not continue the old dat. (as postulated by Weber 1980: 131), but it rather goes back to the loc. ending to which the postposition **ā* has been added, hence **i̯a-ahmi-ā* and **au̯(a)mi-ā*. The Oss. abl. forms *amæj* and *wymæj/womæj* on the other hand may indeed derive from the old abl.: **i̯a-ahmāt* > **āmā* + **i* >(>) *amæj*, **au̯āt* > **au̯ā* + **i* >> *wymæj/womæj*. The inessive forms apparently continue the old loc.: *am/ami* < **i̯a-ahmi*, *wym/womi* <(<) **au̯(a)mi*. Since final **-i* was apocopated at a certain pre-Oss. stage, Dig. *ami* and *womi* must have acquired *-i* only recently, being imported from the nominal iness. ending. *Mutatis mutandis*, this treatment also applies to the interrogative-relative dat., allat., abl. and iness. endings.

The plural stems have an element *-on* in I., which prompted Miller 1903: 42f. (accepted by Thordarson, 1989: 469) to derive from (nominal) Gpl. **-ānām*. This is unlikely, since the old Gpl. **-ānām* has completely disappeared from the nominal inflectional system (having evolved into the relational suffix *-on)* and it would be very odd to see it resurface again in the pronominal system. Besides, how should the dental be explained? The element *-don* rather goes back to the acc. pl. **tān* (voiced *d* is due to sandhi). This may well be the POss. pl. ending: **don*. In the dialects this undoubtedly peculiar form has been "regularized" differently: Iron has added *a* and *wy-* before *don*, while Digoron has opted to replace the initial segment with *a-* and *w-* respectively. Just as with the personal pronouns, the nominative and genitive pl. were *not* formally distinguished, but the dialects have attempted to differentiate the forms: Iron has an optional *-y* in the genitive, but Digoron has gone a step further, by not only adding *-i* to the genitive, but also re-analysing the nominative as *a-tæ* and *je-tæ*.

The enclitic forms *jæ*, *æj/æj*, show strong influences from the other personal and demonstrative pronouns. Again, we need to start from the genitive as the base: Iron genitive *jæ* probably derives from PIr. **hai* (OAv. *hōi*, LAv. *hē*), cf. Testen 1996: 363f. The variant *æj* seems to be influenced by the non-enclitic forms *aj* or *wyj/woj*. The *s*-forms go back to the *ruki*-variants with **š-* (cf. gen.-dat. sg. LAv. *še*, OP *-šaiy*): the gen. pl. form *sæ* may derive from a preform **šām* (OP *-šām*), with loss of the final labial nasal.

The form *ʒy/ʒi* is used for the abl. and iness. It is usually connected to the pre-/postposition OP *hačā*, OAv. *hacā*, LAv. *haca*, etc, to which presumably a pronominal form has been added (Abaev 1958: 402). Testen, l.c. pointed out though that in order to arrive at this result this would involve not only the loss of one syllable, but also an accentual "demotion" to the status of a clitic.[12] A survey of the Iranian cognate forms reveals the following,

West Iranian: Bal. *ač*, *aš*, *či*, *š-*, NP *az*, *zi*, Kurd. *ji* (dial. *až*), Hawr. *ǰa*, Parth. *'c*, *'ž*;

Eastern Iranian: Shugh. *az*, *as*, Rosh., Bart., Sariq. *az*, Bactr. *ασο*, Psh. *j*, *c-*, *s-* 'of', Yazgh. *ž-*, Yi. *ži*, *žo*, M. *žo*, *ža*, Sogd. *cn* 'from that', Khz. prep. *c* (with gen.) 'from, out of', adv. *c'* 'out, off', Khot. "postp." *jsa*, *jsä*, *jsi* 'from'.

The loss of the initial vowel in Oss. *ʒy/ʒi* merely reflects a very ancient development, which occurred in many East Iranian languages, too. Its cause is precisely this "demotion" to the status of a clitic. In my work, Cheung 2002: 86ff., I suggested that in the forms *max* (**ahmāxa-*), *dæl-* (**adari*), *ta* (**iθā*), *wa* (**au̯āt*), *wæd* (**au̯ada*), *wædæ* (**au̯adā*), *wæl-* (**au̯ari*), *wærtæ* (**au̯aθrā*) the aphaeresis was connected to their clitic character.

There is another problem, which was not noticed by Testen, l.c., lurking in the generally accepted reconstruction **hačā* for these Iranian forms. How do we explain the fact that the final **-ā* has not survived in Ossetic (and many other Iranian languages)? Although in languages such as Persian, the loss of final long **-ā*, which merged with short **-a*, is perfectly regular, this development is not applicable in Ossetic. Assuming that the disappearance may be the result of elision does not solve anything: one would expect something along the line of (P)Oss. †*ʒaj*, †*ʒæj* (or †*ʒe*, if **i* was added later on), from POss. †**ʒa*, †*ʒæ í* (*i* < pron. gen. sg. **ahi̯a*). This development would have been parallel to Khz. *cy*[3]. The Sanskrit correspondences of the Iranian forms may give us a clue. Although the formal correspondence between Skt. (adv.) *sácā* and OP *hačā*, OAv. *hacā*, LAv. *haca*, etc. has sometimes been doubted, cf. *KEWA* III: 418, s.v. *sácā*, Thieme 1971: 298, the arguments against have failed to convince most scholars, cf. *EWAia* II: 688. Since in Old Avestan the (Sanskrit) meaning '(together) with' is preserved next to 'from, off', as attested in other Iranian languages, there is no particular reason not to consider the latter meaning as secondary. The meaning might have been

[12] His alternative solution, viz. from encl. **di-*, with an *ad hoc* affrication of the voiced dental, is phonologically not admissable, cf. *mid-/med-* 'in, inside, internal' < **madi̯a-*, LAv. *maiδiia-* (Cheung 2002: 103).

"attracted" from the noun in the ablative case and reassigned to the preposition (or postposition) **hacā*. As it happens, Skt. also has *sáci*, the locative variant of (originally instr.) *sácā*, with almost the same meaning: 'together, along with'. Consequently, it seems not unreasonable to assume that there was an Iranian cognate form as well: **hači*. This form may have been the base of Oss. *ʒy/ʒi* (and NP *zi*, Kurd. *ji* et al.), hence: **hači* + **ahi̯a*.

2.3 Interrogative-relative

Bielmeier 1982: 62 ff. has treated this pronominal category in some detail. The nom. endings *či/ka*, Dig. *ke* have always been problematic, for which earlier Miller 1903: 54 could not find a solution. Bielmeier suggested that Dig. *ka* derived from the feminine ending **kā*, which possibly provided the base *kæ-* in the other cases as well. As mentioned above, this does not seem very plausible: feminine endings are not likely to be generalized. Moreover, it is telling that in the derivational forms *jes-ke* 'anybody', *al-ke* 'each, every' this *-a* is absent. The *-a* is probably secondary, being imported from the demonstrative *a*. The original form is no doubt (*)*ke*. The nominative ending would therefore be **ke* in POss.

We can now see that the nom. of both the demonstrative and the interrogative-relative has an ending with final POss. **°e* (= Dig. *°e*). How do we account for this puzzling vocalism? On the one hand, POss. **°e* reflects older diphthongal **-ai*, but on the other hand, final **-ai* (whether from older PIr. **-ai̯ah* or PIr. **-ai*) would have regularly yielded *-æ* (with seemingly lost **-i*). In this case, the apparent "loss" of the semi-vowel **i̯* would not have been very old, i.e. of the Common-Ossetic period, as the loss of *-æ* in Iron applies solely to old **-ā(h)*, but not to **-ai*, **-ai̯a(h)*. We have to bear in mind that the monophthongization of **ai* is of a much earlier, *pre-Oss.* stage. The only solution I can think of to resolve this apparent problem, is that there was indeed a general monophthongization of **ai*, thus also in *final* position: > **-e#*. After the apocope of **-æ* (< **-ā(h)*) in Iron, final **-e* became *-æ* in Iron, but in Digoron it merged with the reflex of final **-ā(h)* to become *-æ*.[13] In fact, the loss of this semivowel **i̯* has never taken place in Ossetic, as attested by the existence of final *-aj*, *-oj*, *-uj* in the modern dialects. The subsequent development of final **e* > *æ* would not have applied to *mono*syllabic (and non-enclitic !) forms, such as *či/-ke*, *wyj/je*, though.

[13] The assumption of "weakening" of final POss. **-e* > *-æ* is in line with my arguments of initial stress in (pre-)Oss. and again suggests the secondary character of vowel-dependent accent in modern Oss.

As for the *ultimate* origin of **ke*, this is another vexing problem. Since the genitive is formally identical to the nominative, it would be not too fanciful to consider it as the genitive ending **kahi̯a*, cf. Bielmeier l.c. This is difficult, one may expect the result †*čy/ki*, cf. *genitive*. Deriving it straight from the nominative is equally (if not more) difficult: nom. **kah* > pre-Oss. **ki*. At this point, I have to mention *innæ* 'the other (of two)', which is identical in both I. and Dig. In Cheung 2002: 64 I explained it as a re-interpreted form, reflecting older nom. pl. m. **ani̯ai*, cf. Dig. pl. *innetæ*. The explanation may also apply to **ke*, which would derive from the nom. pl. m. **kai*, and demonstrative *wyj/je* < nom. pl. **au̯ai* (initial **a-* was lost through aphaeresis).

The emergence of (*)*ke* in the genitive reflects another complication. It may have started in the genitive plural **keti*, which adopted the nomin. (i.e. "unmarked") case with only the plural suffix being inflected ("marked"). The POss. situation was probably as follows:

nom.	**ke*	Pl.	**ke-tæ* (< PIr. **kai* + pl. suff. **tā*)
gen.	**kæj*		**ke-ti*

The paradigmatic pressure to create a transparent system yielded different outcomes in Iron and Digoron. In Iron the genitive singular form affected the corresponding plural, thus giving rise to *kæjty*. In Digoron the shift started in the nom. sg., when **ke* adopted the vowel from the demonstrative. The new nom. sg. **ka* influenced the nom. pl.: >> *ka-tæ*. In return, the gen. plural affected sg. **kæj*, yielding (through re-interpretation) *ke*.

The genitive *kæj* probably goes back to earlier **kæji*, but since pronouns such as the interrogative/relative tend to form one accentual unit with the following word(s), **kæji* has been shortened to *kæj* (and subsequently generalized), cf. the prefigated verbs with initial (*)*i-*: *bajqusyn/bajǧosun* 'to listen to' (*qusyn/iǧosun* 'to listen'). The form **kæji* may reflect **ka-* to which the genitive (*)*-i* has been added. It cannot be excluded either that **kæji* derived from **kai̯ahi̯a*, an extended ending, similar or parallel to Skt. RV *káyasya cit* 'of whomsoever' (*AiGr*. III: 563). The (bare) stem **ka-* from which *kæ-* would have derived was perhaps frequent enough (e.g. also used for derivation and composition) to become the base of the remaining endings, but I have to admit that deriving notably iness. *kæm* straight from PIr. **kahmi* is a more attractive and elegant proposal. The development of **ah* > **i* may then have been quite specific: in final position or in front of **i̯* (cf. 1.2.).

The inanimate correspondence 'what' is quite straightforward, as it has only retained the nominative from PIr., viz. **čid* (LAv. *ciṯ*, Skt. *cit*),

but all the other endings have been modeled after the animate interrogative-relative pronoun. The genitive *cæj*, identical in both I. and Dig., also supports the original character of I. *kæj*.

Concluding remarks

The Ossetic case system is rooted in the thematic masculine-neuter declension. Although we can conclude that the elaborate case system in modern Ossetic is not old, it would be an oversimplification to assume that following a large-scale collapse of the Iranian eight-case system the Ossetic case system was based on two cases, "direct" and "oblique", as suggested by Testen 1996 and Kim 2003. Before the loss of final short vowels, pre-Ossetic probably possessed a case system similar to that of Eastern Middle Iranian languages, such as Sogdian, Khotanese or Khwarezmian. Perhaps already at this stage the indirect object was conveyed by a periphrastic construction with a postposition. It was no longer expressed by the old Ir. dative ending, which disappeared from the nominal and pronominal case system entirely.

In both the nominal and the pronominal system traces of the old minor endings can still be deduced, despite the fact that after the apocope, new endings evolved from constructions with postpositions/suffixes, thus becoming an integral part of the whole case system. No doubt, this was under the influence of neighbouring Caucasian languages. The Old Iranian ablative **-āt* and instrumental **-ā* are the two lesser cases that have survived as Oss. *-æj*, after a merger. The Ossetic pronouns appear to have preserved the PIr. endings relatively better than their nominal counterparts.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Av. = Avestan; Bact. = Bactrian; Bal. = Balochi; Bart. = Bartangi; Dig. = Digoron dialect; Gr. = Greek; Hawr. = Hawramani; I. = Iron dialect; IE = Indo-European; Khot. = Khotanese; Khz. = Khwarezmian; Kurd. = Kurdish; LAv. = Late Avestan; M. = Munji; NP = New Persian; OAv. = Old Avestan; OP = Old Persian; Oss. = Ossetic; Parth. = Parthian; PIr. = Proto-Iranian; pre-Oss. = pre-Ossetic.; POss. = Proto-Ossetic; Psh. = Pashto; Rosh. = Roshani; Sariq. = Sariqoli; Shugh. = Shughni; Skt. = Sanskrit; Sogd. = Sogdian; Yazgh. = Yazghulami; Yi. = Yidgha.

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ALB. *RRUSH*, ON *RAGUSA* UND GR. *ῥώξ*

BARDHYL DEMIRAJ

Dieser dem Jubilar gewidmete Beitrag befasst sich, streng genommen, mit der Prüfung einer etymologischen Deutung für das albanische Lexem *rrush* 'Weintraube, -beere(n)', dessen einstiger Anschluss an das gleichbedeutende gr. ῥώξ (Camarda 1864: 87) später mit Hinweis auf eine Substratbasis mediterraner Herkunft **raC-* weiter mit dem vermeintlich illyr. ON *Ragusa* (Dubrovnik/Kroatien) erweitert wurde: uralb. **rag-ús(j)-* > alb. *rrush* neben (Bogdani 1685) ON *Rushë* 'Ragusa' (Çabej 1961: 247, *SGJ* II: 102f., *SE* VI: 355f.). Dieser Ansatz findet in unserer Zeit bis auf manche kleine Abweichung bei der Rekonstruktion der albanischen Urform immer mehr Zustimmung (Orel 1998: 381: PAlb. **rāguša*; besonders Hamp 2000: 9f.: **u̯rōg-ùs-V-*) und hat somit andere etymologische Ansätze aus der wissenschaftlichen Debatte verdrängt.[1] Der Umstand, dass gr. ῥώξ (neben ῥᾱ́ξ, ῥάξ) aus der Perspektive der Gräzistik als nicht näher definierbares "Mittelmeerwort" behandelt wird[2], gibt selbstverständlich Anlass,

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[1] Diese Ansätze, die in sich nicht schlüssig sind, stellen wir im Folgenden ohne ausführlichen Kommentar zusammen: Meyer (1891: 371) verzichtet selbst auf seinen ersten Anschluss an np. *raz, razan,* kurd. *rez* 'Weintraube, -rebe' (1883: 41), indem er nicht ohne Bedenken einen etymologischen Zusammenhang mit aksl. *grozdъ* 'ds.' vorschlägt. Dieser zweite Anschluss ist bislang entweder widerlegt (Berneker I: 355), oder unter Annahme bestimmter idg. Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse (Rohr 2000: 106: idg. *g^hrēs-*, *g^hrōs-* 'Gras, Pflanzentrieb' – Pok. 454), oder einer nicht näher zu ermittelnden Substratwirkung (Oštir *Arhiv* II: 33vv.; s. auch Tagliavini 1935: 241), oder eines möglichen südslavischen Einflusses (Huld 1984: 56: "OCS *grusdъ* 'grapes', the probable source of *rrush*") wahrgenommen worden. Der Oštirs Ansicht wurde zuletzt von Polak (1967: 140) gefolgt, indem er für eine nicht-idg. Basis **raḱ-, *raǵ-* plädiert, die – so Polak – noch im georg. *rk'a* 'rejeton de vigne' eine Fortsetzung findet. Älterer Ansatz bei Kristoforidhi (1903: 7: *rrush* zu *-νυσ-* bei GN *Διό(νυσ)ος* = ὁ διδάξας τήν ἀμπελουργίαν - τροπῆ τοῦ ν εἰς ρ). Eine idg. Herkunft des Wortes mit Anschluss an lit. *rausiù, raũsti* 'pluck' überlegt Mann (1950: 384; s. auch Rasmussen 1981: 13: "Kan være **rus-i̯e/o-*").

[2] Über die Problematik von gr. ῥᾱ́ξ ῥᾱγός, neben ῥώξ ῥωγός 'Weintraube, -beere' siehe u.a. Boisacq 1916: 835; Frisk II: 642; Chantraine 1968: 966; Beekes 1969: 246; Furnée 1972: 126. Zu diesem Problemkreis gehört noch das Sinnverwandte lat. *racēmus* 'Kamm von Trauben'; siehe u.a. Walde-Hoffmann II: 414; Ernout-Meillet 1967: 562; Schrijver 1991: 306: "The alternation of Lat. *c* with Gr. γ, the vocalism of the Greek forms, the semantics, and the limited distribution of the etymon all point to a substratum word."

für das albanische Pendant die Herkunftsfrage eingehend zu behandeln, wie sonst bei mehreren sog. Substrat-, Mittelmeer- oder Wanderwörtern unklarer Herkunft, die das Albanische mit dem Griechischen und/oder anderen (Trümmer-)Sprachen des Balkan- und Mittelmeerraums aus der Zeit der Antike gemeinsam hat.

Damit sind (in)direkt alle Fragen angesprochen, die hier nach einer knappen Darstellung hinsichtlich der Bedeutungsbreite, Verwendung, Versippung und der dialektalen Verbreitung des alb. *rrush* etwas näher behandelt werden, nämlich: a) der vermeintlich formale und semantische Zusammenhang mit ON *Ragusa* (Çabej, Hamp, Orel) bzw. gr. ῥώξ (Camarda); b) die Herkunftsfrage: stammt das alb. Wort aus derselben, jedenfalls nicht näher definierbaren Sprachquelle, oder ist es ins Albanische durch griechische Vermittlung gelandet (Hamp)?; c) Die Chronologie der Entlehnung: wenn ja, wann?

Verwendung und dialektale Verbreitung

Das Bedeutungsspektrum, das grammatische Verhalten und die dialektale Verbreitung dieses Lexems deuten darauf hin, dass es sich hier um ein altertümliches Wort im albanischen Wortschatz handelt. *Rrush* fungiert überdialektal als einzige Bezeichnung für a) 'Weintraube' in kollektiver Bedeutung. Es findet zugleich breite Verwendung für die naheliegenden Begriffe von b) 'Weinstock; -rebe; -ranke', neben *hardhi* f. 'Weinstock, -rebe' und *pjergull* f. 'rankender Weinstock', sowie c) 'Weinbeere(n)', neben der attributiven Wortgruppe *kokërr rrushi* [= Wein-Beere] im Ggs. zu *vesh / vile / bistak rrushi* [= Wein-Traube].[3] *rrush* verhält sich grammatisch in der Regel als Maskulinum mit defektivem Paradigma (Sg. tantum), so wie es auch im kodifizierten Wortschatz des Standard-Albanischen aufgenommen worden ist: *rrush,-i* (*FSHS* 2002: 1157). Pluralbildungen auf (t./g.) {-ra/na}, noch seltener (g.) {-a} und (arb. Kr.) {-nje}, oder unverändert, kommen dialektal begrenzt vor, zumeist in erweiterter Bedeutung d) 'Weintraubensorten'.[4] Ansonsten weisen mehrere konservative t./g. Mundarten auf ein (paralleles) offenbar älteres neutrisches Paradigma besonders in der

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3 Hierzu noch übertr. (Kindersprache) 'Penis; Eichel als Teil des männlichen Glieds'.

4 Siehe u.a. Hahn 1854: 111: Pl. <ϱϱουσ> Kristoforidhi: 307 : Pl. *rrush*; Bashkimi: 386: Pl. *rrush-na*; Leotti 1937: 1246f.: Pl. *rrush-ëra*, *rrush-a*, Krstić 1987: 106: Pl. *rrush-nje*. Nützliche grammatische Hinweise befinden sich bei Kavalliotis: 241: <ϱοὺσσ>; Arbanas 1912: 107: <ruš>; Cordignano 1934: 178; Gazulli 1941: 364; bes. Mann 1948: 443.

kollektiven Bedeutung ‘Weintraube’ auf: *rrush,-t(ë)* n. (Sg. tantum).[5] Beide grammatischen Verhaltensweisen sind in der altalbanischen Literatur unterschiedlich vertreten, vgl.

Buzuku (1555): a) <amun de mereteh en driεaſit *russ*? o fiħ ê ξerecaſit? (75: 65-67: (?) n./m. Akk. Sg. unbest.) “Numquid colligunt de spinis uvas aut de tribulis ficus?” (Matheus 7: 16); b) <Higne seh teh vigneneh diteh ħi teh afferonete bulchɣ me coŗeſit: e aih ħi ſtupen *ruſte*: meh ateh ħi en biell: e mallte teh chulognene vene tanble> (78: 35-38: n. Akk. Sg. best.) “ecce dies veniunt dicit Dominus et conprehendet arator messorem et calcator uvae mittentem semen et stillabunt montes dulcedinem et omnes colles culti erunt” (Amos 9: 13)
Bardhi (Blanchus 1635): a) <Coſci *i-ruſcet* | qualus> (118: 20: Gen. Pl. best.); b) <veſci *i ruſcit* | racemus> (122: 3: m. Gen. Sg. best.); c) <*Rus* | vua> (188 13: Nom. Sg. unbest.)
Bogdani (1685) **:** a) <e Noeu giet sè riu ſi κiſc pèr tu nzierrè vena n’*Ruſcit* | e Noè v’aggiunſe il modo di cavar vino dall’uve> (Part I: I.VII.14: m. Abl. Sg. best.); b) <luλeεeune veneſctate, e bane *Ruſc* e ù pojnè | fiorirono le vigne, fecero vua, e ſi maturorono> (Part II: I.IV.16: (?) m./n. Akk. Sg. unbest.); c) <Ka me laam nde Vene stolen e Vet , me giaκ *te Ruſcit* peteκun’ e vet. Genesis capite 49 | lauabit in vino stolam tuam, & in sanguine vuæ pallium tuum. Gen. cap. 49> (Part. II: III.II.13: m. Gen. Sg. best.)

Formale dialektal bezogene Abweichungen für dieses Wort kommen nur im Anlaut vor: /r̄uʃ/ vs. /ruʃ/, und beziehen sich auf den Zusammenfall der Vibranten /r̄/ und /r/. Das ist eine dialektal begrenzte Erscheinung jungen Datums, die besonders im östlichen Teil der nordtoskischen und südgegischen Dialekträume wirksam ist (Gjinari 1989: 155f.). Die daraus zu gewinnende vordialektale Basis (6.-9. Jh. A.D.) bietet deshalb mehr oder weniger dieselbe Lautstruktur an, so wie sie heute überwiegend in der albanischen Sprachlandschaft fungiert: alb. (vordial.) *^{r}*ruʃ*(-).

Versippung

In der Alltagssprache kommt *rrush* (-Sorte/Art) nicht selten in der Begleitung eines Adjektivs vor, wie z.B.: *rr. i kuq / i bardhë* ‘rote/weiße Traube’, *rr. i thatë* ‘Rosine’ u.a. Ansonsten dienen attributive Verbindungen sowie Komposita dieser Art und ähnliches in der Terminologie der albanischen

[5] Siehe Bashkimi: 386; Sasse 1991: 97: nur Neutrum (Kollektivum); Giordano 1963: 428 u.a.

Pflanzenwelt für Bezeichnungen verschiedener beeren- bzw. traubenhaltiger Pflanzen (Sträucher und Bäume) samt deren Früchten und Blüten, vgl. *rr. i egër* 'Vitis silvestris, Wildrebe', *rr. gardhi / lepuri / larush / pulëz* 'Sedum dasyphyllum u. ähnl.', (g.) *rr. arushe* 'Arctostaphylos, uva ursi; Immergrüne Bärentraube', (dial. t.) *rr. gjalpërit* 'Solanum nigrum, S. humile u. ähnl.', (dial. t.) *rr. mali* 'Vaccinum myrtillus, Heidelbeere, Blaubeere', (g.) *rr. qẽni* 'Sorbos aucuparia, Vogelbeerbaum; Phytolacca decandra, Kermesbeere', (dial. t.) *rr. toke / frëngu / serezi* 'Ribes grossularia, Stachelbeere', *rr. miskodel* 'uva fragrante, aromatica', (dial. g.) *rr. fëllãnxe* 'Daphne oleoides', *rr. dhelpën* 'uva rossiccia'; *rr. brestênë* 'uva bianca dagli acini rari'; *rr. gruzhdëz* 'uva dai grappoli piccoli dagli acini o chicchi fittissimi', *rr. qelbës / çilek* 'duftende Traubensorte', (arb. Kr.) *r. i shumpiêros* 'ogrozd'. Zusammensetzungen: *rrushqyqe* f. 'Art Pflanze mit der Traubenbeere ähnlichen Früchten', *rrushkuq* m., *rrushkuqe* f. 'Judasbaum', *rrushzezë* f. 'schwarze Traubensorte' etc.; Ableitungen: (dial. g.) *rrushé* f. 'Cistus villosus, Zistrose', übertr. (dial.) 'Art Ziege', (dimin.) *rrushk* m. neben *rrushkë* f. '(echte /Schein-)Beere; bestimmte Kleinbeerenpflanzen wie: wilde Weinrebe; Erdbeere, Stachelbeere, Himbeere u.a.'; hierher offenbar auch (dial. t./g.) *lërushk* m., *larushk(ë)* m./f. 'Wildrebe' (evtl. als Kreuzung mit *larëz* f. 'Wildrebe' zu verstehen).[6] Weitere Ableitungen: (dial. g.) *rrushatak, rrushnuer* Adj. 'saftig (Obst)', (*i*) *rrushemë* Adj. 'nass (Holz)', *rrushman* m./Adj. 'männlich' (Gazulli 1941: 364) u.a.

Rrush und ON Ragusium (∼ Ragusa)

Sichere innersprachliche Anschlüsse, die eine weitere Ermittlung der leicht zu erkennenden vordialektalen Basis *ʳ*ruʃ*(-) sowie die Rekonstruktion älterer Sprachstufen beisteuern könnten, lassen sich anhand des vorhandenen Sprachmaterials im albanischen Wortschatz kaum feststellen. Den Problemkreis, wovon viele Bezeichnungen aus dem albanischen Flora- und Faunabereich betroffen sind, versucht Çabej (1961: 247, *SGJ* II: 102f.; *SE* VI: 334f.) aufzuschlüsseln, indem er Angaben aus der Toponymie der süddalmatinischen Küste für die diachrone Ermittlung älterer Sprachstufen mit einbezieht. Es handelt sich um den ON *Ragusium* (∼ *Ragusa*: heute Dubrovnik/Kroatien), dessen Form Çabej als Vorstufe des heutigen *rrush* ansehen möchte. Anlass zu diesem Ansatz gibt ihm die anscheinend Ende des 17. Jh.s geläufige volkstümliche Form alb. /r̄úʃə/ (f.) des Namens dieser Stadt, die als solche in der altalbanischen Literatur zweimal bei

[6] Siehe u.a. Cordignano 1934: 178; Leotti 1937: 1246f.; Gazulli 1941: 364; Mann 1948: 443, Krstić 1987: 106, besonders Mitrushi 1955: *passim* und *FSHS*: 1157f.

Bogdani (1685) belegt ist, vgl. <iſſiλi peteк, ndjere кeſſo кoheje gindete ruejtune nde fisniкeſcet Giɣtet*te Ruſceſsè* | *qual Vesticciola fino à quest'hora si troua custodita nella nobilissima Città di Ragusa*> (Part. II: I.IV.6); <Pietri Lucari nde Annali*tè Ruſceſsè* lib. 3. pag. 95. | *Pietro Luccari nelli Annali di Ragusa lib. 30. pag. 95.*> (Part. II: Antepenultimate: Plechienia e sctepisse Bogdanagnet).

Der Übergang des vermeintlich illyr.-alb. *Ragusium* ∼ *Ragusa* zu (Bogdani) <Ruſce> = /r̄uʃə/[7] weist nach Çabej (*SGJ* II: 102f., *SE* VI: 355f.) auf ein Bündel von Lauterscheinungen hin, die im Verlauf der historischen Entwicklung des Albanischen (römisch-romanische Zeit) stattgefunden haben sollen, darunter: a) Verstummung und Wegfall des unbetonten Vokals in der Anlautsilbe, b) Schwund des stimmhaften Verschlusslauts /g/ in intervokalischer Position sowie c) der regelrechte Übergang */s/ > /ʃ/. Anschließend bringt Çabej die volkstümliche Form (Bogdani) <Ruſce> = /r̄uʃə/ mit dem Appellativ *rrush* zum formalen Vergleich, indem er eine ursprüngliche diminutive Bildung **rag-ús(j)-* im Sinne der *'(einzelnen) Weinbeere' zur Diskussion stellt.

Ob dieser spät überlieferte Ortsname an der süddalmatinischen Küste[8] - hierzu nach Çabej noch ON *Ragusa* (Sizilien/Italien)[9] - jemals '(einzelne) Weinbeere' bedeutet hat, lässt sich anhand des vorhandenen Materials kaum ermitteln.[10] Tatsache ist, dass dieser Anschluss von der lautlichen Analyse der vermeintlich volkstümlichen alb. Form ON <Ruſce> gesteuert wird, deren Lautstruktur nach Çabejs Auffassung nicht zufällig mit

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[7] Die weite Transkription des anlautenden <R-> durch /r̄/ ist in der Tat eine ad-hoc-Entscheidung (s. Hamp 2000: 9), zumal die graphische Unterscheidung <r> ∼ <rr> zwischen den alb. Lauten mit Phonemstatus [r] und [rr] bei Bogdani, so wie in allen altalbanischen Texten in lateinischer Schrift, nicht konsequent verfolgt wird.

[8] Wissenswertes über die Gründung der Stadt (ca. 615 n. Chr.), einst unter byzantinischer und später venezianischer Herrschaft, ist u.a. in "Grande Enciclopedia de Agostini" (Bd. 18, Novara 1997: 241f.) zu finden; Fachliches bei Mayer (I: 282f., II: 94), der die wichtigsten historischen Quellen zusammenstellt und sie sprachhistorisch-philologisch interpretiert.

[9] Wissenswertes u.a. in "Grande Enciclopedia de Agostini" (Bd. 18, Novara 1997: 246f.: "Fondata probabilmente nel sec. VIII da Ragusei della Dalmazia sul luogo dell'antica Ibla Erea.". Etymologisierungsversuch in anderer Richtung bei Rohlfs (1964: 440), der den sizilianischen Stadtnamen etymologisch getrennt behandelt, bzw. andere Lösung vorschlägt: zu "ῥογός 'Garbenhaufen', latinis. **rogium*", des weiteren "τούς Ῥογούς über arab. **Rogûs* (bei Edrisi *Ragūs*) das heutige *Ragusa* (Stadt in Südostsizilien)".

[10] Siehe dazu Skok (1973: 98f.) und Mayer (I: 282f., II: 94). Volksetymologisch wird dieser Name anders gedeutet: vgl. Presbyter Docleas, c. 31 (ed. Šišić, Belgrad 1928): *in ripis marinis, quas Pidauri lingua sua 'laus' dicunt. Unde ea civitas Lausium vocata est, que postea r pro l posita, Ragusium appellata est.* Noch älter Konst. Porphyrogen. *De. adm. imp.* c. 29.

dem Appellativ alb. *rrush* ‘Weintraube, -beere’ übereinstimmt. Der Übergang von ON *Ragusa* zu alb. *rrush* wird von Orel ebenfalls als spezifisch albanisch wahrgenommen[11], während Hamp, wie aus seiner Interpretation hervorgeht, sich in diesem Zusammenhang über ein normales methodisches Verfahren äußert.[12]

Da sich der semantische Aspekt in diesem Ansatz kaum nachprüfen lässt, erweist sich die eingehende Analyse besonders auf der lautlichen Ebene als wesentlich. Dabei sind besonders zwei Anhaltspunkte zu klären, worauf sich dieser Ansatz grundsätzlich stützt, nämlich: a) das Bündel der Lauterscheinungen, die den vermeintlich spezifisch albanischen Übergang von ON *Ragusa* zu alb. (Bogdani) <Ruſce> /r̄uʃə/ ausgeprägt hat; und b) die Gleichstellung der Form- und Lautstruktur zwischen dem volkstümlichen ON (Bogdani) <Ruſce> /r̄uʃə/ und dem Appellativ *rrush* /r̄uʃ/.

Was den ersten Anhaltspunkt betrifft, scheint der Schwund des stimmhaften Verschlusslauts /-g-/ in intervokalischer Position für die Annahme des vermeintlich spezifisch albanischen Übergangs von ON *Ragusa* zu alb. (Bogdani) <Ruſce> /r̄uʃə/ ausschlaggebend gewesen zu sein. Dabei ist jedoch zu beachten, dass dieser Ortsname in verschiedenen historischen gr.-lat. Quellen in mehreren Formen mit und ohne intervokalisches /-g-/ belegt ist, wie z.B. lat.-it. *Ragusium, Ragusa* ~ *Rausium (/Lausium),* gr. Ῥαούσα, Ῥαούσιον.[13] In diesem Zusammenhang darf vorerst für alb. (Bogdani) <Ruſce> /r̄uʃə/ als zweite Option nicht ausgeschlossen werden, sie setze eine volkstümlich romanische, wenn nicht eine griechisch-byzantinische Form fort[14]. Dafür spricht: a) die ähnliche Situation bei anderen Orts-

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[11] “The form of the latter Ῥαούσα in Const. Porphyrogen. *De. adm.* reflects the early Albanian loss of the intervocalic voiced stop before the contraction of vowels.” (Orel 1998: 391)

[12] “Çabej then goes on to illustrate the fact that it is quite normal to find place names in that region derived from botanical appellatives. The conclusion, then, is that there is no reason to divorce the phonetic sequence and presumed semantic source in the attested *Ragùs-a* from the Albanian *rrush* ‘uva’.” (Hamp 2000: 9)

[13] Ausführlich bei Mayer I: 282f.

[14] Skok (1973: 93f.) rechnet damit, dass beide Formpaare (mit und ohne intervokalisches -g-) in der romanischen Sprache der Stadt und Umgebung geläufig hätten gewesen sein können: *Ragusa = Ragusi* neben *Rausa = Rausi*. Unentschieden ist auch Mayer (II: 94), indem er mit Recht auf den dalmatinischen ON Τϱαγούϱιον, lat. *Tragurium* neben *Traorensis (Urbs)* hinweist (s. auch Anm. 15). Wenn es sich um einen späteren Schwund des intervokalischen /-g-/ in den beiden Ortsnamen handelt, hätten wir hier eher an einen griechischen Vorgang denken können, der offenbar nicht so selten in verschiedenen griechischen Dialekten vorgekommen ist (s. Thumb 1964: 20f.). Für einen umgekehrten

namen an der dalmatinischen Küste, die der albanische Sprachraum im ausgehenden Altertum allem Anschein nach nicht erfasst hat, vgl. ON gr. Τϱαγούϱιον, lat. *Tragurium* neben *Traorensis (Urbs),* it. *Traù* < *Traùr, Traòr* neben kroat. *Trogir*[15]; und nicht zuletzt b) die Tatsache, dass das sog. Meyersche Gesetz über den Schwund der intervokalischen Media im Albanischen zumindest in Bezug auf das intervokalische /-g-/ im albanischen Erb- und Lehnwortschatz kaum nachweisbar ist (B. Demiraj 2000: 60f.). In diesem Zusammenhang dürfte der Übergang von ON *Ragusa* zu alb. (Bogdani) <Ruſce> /r̄uʃə/, bzw. der vermutliche Schwund des intervokalischen /-g-/, wenn nicht durch Annahme einer griechischen oder (?) romanischen Vermittlung (s. Anm. 14), dann nur als volkstümliche, jedenfalls nichtlautgesetzliche Einzelerscheinung verstanden werden.

Abgesehen davon, welche von den beiden Alternativlösungen bevorzugt wird, stören in beiden Fällen beides die formale Angleichung zwischen (ON Ragusa >) alb. <Ruſce> /r̄uʃə/ (f.) und dem Appellativ alb. *rrush* (n./m.) erheblich[16] in dem Sinne, dass keine der beiden die diachrone Ermittlung von alb. *rrush* aufhellen kann. Die erste Alternative (gr.-rom. *Rausa* > alb. *r̄uʃə*) setzt einen parallelen, jedoch kaum nachweisbaren griechischen oder latein-romanischen Lehnvorgang für dieses Appellativ voraus. Dafür dass auch die zweite Alternative auszuschließen ist, sorgt die Quantität des Wurzelvokals /-u-/ des Lexems *rrush*, der nicht nur in der gesamten altalbanischen Literatur, sondern noch heute überdialektal nur als Kurzvokal fungiert (s. oben). Das wäre gewiss nicht der Fall, wenn die rekonstruierte Basis uralb. **rag-ús(j)-* (Çabej) neben **rāguša* (Orel) oder **u̯rōg-ùs-V-* (Hamp) eine jedenfalls als Einzelerscheinung anzusehende Kontraktion der Silbenstruktur hätte erfahren können. Es handelt sich hierbei um die sog. historische (= kompensatorische) Länge im albanischen Lautsystem, d.i. die durch Verschrumpfung der Silbenstruktur verursachte Verlängerung des unter Akzent stehenden Vokals (Çabej *SGJ* III: 141), die besonders in der lateinischen Lehnschicht des Albanischen auftritt,

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Vorgang plädiert Orel (1998: 391 – s. Anm. 11). Dabei ist jedoch noch zu beachten, dass diese Erscheinung in der salentinischen Gräzität sogar noch die Fortsetzer von gr. ῥᾱ́ξ ῥᾱγός (∼ ῥώξ ῥωγός) erfasst hat, vgl.: ngr. ῥᾶγα (∼ ῥόγα) neben gr. salent. *vráva, vrá, grá* (Rohlfs 1962: 136f.).

[15] Siehe dazu Mayer II: 118 und Skok 1973: 93f.

[16] Einen weiteren Nachteil bewirkt die Tatsache, dass neben der Silbenstruktur noch ein formaler Genusunterschied zwischen ON <Ruſce> /r̄uʃə/ (f.) und *rrush* (n./m.) vorliegt. Unklar Çabej (*SGJ* II: 103; *SE* VI: 336), der den zweiten Beleg bei Bogdani (Part. II: Antepenultimate: Plechienia e sctepisse Bogdanagnet: <Pietri Lucari nde Annali*tè Ruſceſsè* lib. 3. pag. 95.) mit *Rush* (= /r̄uʃ/) m. wiedergibt.

wo der Schwund eines intervokalischen lat. /-d-/, neben /-w-/ (= lat. <-b->) regelrecht vorkommt, vgl. a) vereinzelt in der altererbten Wortschicht: _*d^{h}eu̯b-(e)to-_ : alb. (nordt., St.-Alb.) _det_, (dial. südt./nordg.) _dēt_, altalb. Literatur: (Buzuku, Budi, Bardhi) <deet> = /dēt/ neben (Bogdani) <det> = /det/; b) lat. Lehnschicht: lat. _*padūle-_ > alb. (nordt., St.-Alb.) _pyll_, (dial. südt./g.) _pȳll_ „Wald', altalb. Literatur: (Buzuku, Budi, Bardhi) <pɣɣl> = /pȳł/ neben (Bogdani) <pɣλ> /pył/ (s. B. Demiraj 2000: 60f., 83).[17]

Diese beiden lautlichen Gründe führen klar zum Verzicht auf den formalen Vergleich zwischen alb. _rrush_ und der einst volkstümlichen alb. Form des ON (Bogdani) <Ruſsce> /r̄uʃə/, was zugleich zum Aufgeben der Rekonstruktion einer ursprünglichen (dimin.) Bildung uralb. _*rag-ús(j)-_ (Çabej), _*rāguša_ (Orel) oder _*u̯rōg-ùs-V-_, _*rā̆g-ùs-V-_ (Hamp) zwingt.

Alb. _rrush_ und gr. _ῥώξ_

Mit Blick auf das Etymon von alb. _rrush_ lässt Hamp immerhin eine Option offen in dem Sinne, dass dieses Lexem im Albanischen auch Ergebnis eines nicht näher bestimmbaren Entlehnungsvorganges sein könnte: "Furthermore the presence of such ancient Greek garden products in Albanian as _pjepër_ 'melon' and _lakër_ 'cabbage' teaches us not to exclude the grape as a possible early borrowing from Greek or the southern Balkans." (S. 10).

Diese Option birgt manche Schwierigkeit in sich wie sonst bei der diachronen Behandlung vieler sog. Substrat-, Mittelmeer-, Kultur- oder Wanderwörter, die das Albanische mit dem Griechischen und/oder anderen (Trümmer-)Sprachen der Balkan- oder Mittelmeerregion aus der Zeit der Antike gemeinsam hat. Hinsichtlich der griechisch-albanischen lexikalischen Konkordanzen wird in diesem Zusammenhang in der Regel nach einer gemeinsamen Urquelle erst dann gesucht, wenn die jeweiligen Lautstrukturen voneinander abweichen bzw. nur durch die Rekonstruktion einer gemeinsamen Ausgangsbasis hergeleitet werden können, vgl. alb. _bathë_ 'Saubohne' ∼ gr. φακός 'Linse' (Demiraj 1997: 94); alb. _shegë_ ∼ gr. σίδη, σίβδην 'Granatapfel(baum)' (Frisk II: 702f.). Kann die albanische Lautstruktur des jeweiligen Lexems ohne Verstoß gegen den gesicherten albanischen Lautwandel in Raum und Zeit aus dem griechischen Pendant hergeleitet werden, dann wird dem Griechischen unter Voraussetzung

[17] Dass bei Bogdani die sog. historische Länge graphisch durch Verdoppelung der Vokalgrapheme – bis auf wenige Ausnahmen (vgl. <κuut> /kūt/ 'Längenmaß, etwa 80 cm' < lat. cubitus 'Elle: 44 cm') - nicht verzeichnet wird, beeinträchtigt unsere Überlegungen nicht. Der Wurzelvokal des Appellativs _rrush_ fungiert überdialektal im Albanischen nur als Kurzvokal.

gut bekannter kulturgeschichtlicher und siedlungsgeographischer Gründe die Vermittlerrolle zugemutet: vgl. *mollë* 'Apfel' < gr. (dor.) μᾶλον (∼ μῆλον) 'ds.' (woraus auch lat. *mālum, mēlum*; Frisk II: 226).

Von der Diskussion abgesehen, wie stichhaltig dieses methodische Vorgehen für jeden einzelnen Fall sein kann, möchten wir nun trotzdem die Option einer möglichen griechischen Beeinflussung bzw. Vermittlung für unser Wort verfolgen. Anlass dafür gibt der erste Anschluss Camardas an das gleichbedeutende gr. ῥώξ. Die Ausschaltung des formalen Vergleichs mit ON *Ragusium* ∼ *Ragusa*, (Bogdani) <Ruſce> beeinträchtigt diesen Anschluss an und für sich nicht. Er verfügt hingegen über den Vorteil, dass die beiden Vergleichsgrößen: alb. *rrush* (= Camarda <ῥούσς>) und gr. ῥώξ in ihrer Hauptbedeutung 'Weinbeere, -traube' eindeutig bzw. nachweislich miteinander vollständig übereinstimmen. Sie rücken auch formal in deren einsilbigen Stammstruktur aneinander näher.

Welches Ergebnis bringt die diachrone Ermittlung der einzelnen Segmente in der jeweiligen Lautstruktur? Der Anlaut bereitet in diesem Zusammenhang keine Schwierigkeiten in dem Sinne, dass gr. [^{h}r-] (= <ῥ->) und alb. [rr-] (= <rr->) grundsätzlich auf dieselben (nicht)idg. Quellen zurückgeht: idg. */sr-/, */u̯r-/, (?)*/r-/, nichtidg. */r-/, im Ggs. zu idg. */Hr-/ > gr. */Vr-/ = uralb. */Vr-/ > alb. */r-/ (B. Demiraj 1994: 57f.).[18] Dabei ist jedoch zu beachten, dass die Verhärtung des anlautenden */r-/ > /r̄/ im Albanischen chronologisch noch in der ersten Phase des südslawischen und romanischen Einflusses (7.-10. Jh. n. Chr.) wirksam gewesen ist, vgl. alb. *rrugë* f. < it. *ruga* 'Strasse', *rrafsh* m. < südsl. **ravos* < ursl. **orovъ* (alter *s*-Stamm) (Topalli 2001: 265f.).

Hinsichtlich des Vokalismus bringt Camarda die gr. Variante ῥώξ zum formalen Vergleich, ohne einen Grund dafür zu benennen. Das mag vorerst als ad-hoc-Entscheidung eingestuft werden[19], zumal das Griechische mehrere Varianten mit abweichendem Wurzelvokal aufweist: ῥᾱ́ξ ῥᾱγός, ῥάξ ῥαγός, ῥώξ ῥωγός; ngr. (dial.) ῥᾶγα, ῥόγα, (salent.) *vráva, vrá, grá* (Frisk II: 642; Rohlfs: 1962: 136). Den ersten Versuch zur Rekonstruktion eines anfänglich einheitlichen griechischen Paradigmas macht Hamp (2000: 7f.), indem er in den gr. Stammvarianten ῥᾱ̆γ- und ῥωγ- wohl richtig "the remains of a single old noun" erkennt: (Nom. Sg.) **u̯rṓhg-s* > *ϝρώξ, (Gen. Sg.) **u̯rhg-ós* > *ϝρᾱγός oder *ϝραγός u.a.

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[18] Für die Situation im Griechischen s. Rix 1969: 79 f.; 1992: 62, 66, 76.

[19] Dass sich Camarda für einen formalen Vergleich mit der Wortvariante gr. ῥώξ entschieden hat, mag rein Zufall gewesen zu sein. Er bringt diese Variante, wie weiter unten besprochen wird (Anm. 23), bei der Behandlung des Spiranten */s/ (> alb. /ʃ/) in verschiedenen Verbindungen zur Sprache.

Hamp zufolge setzt also gr. ῥώξ die Hauptform des einst einheitlichen griechischen Paradigmas fort: (Nom. Sg.) **u̯rṓhg-s* > *ϝρώξ > ῥώξ. Diese Sachlage begünstigt im Falle des Wurzelvokals den formalen Vergleich zwischen alb. *rrush* und gr. ῥώξ, jedenfalls nur, wenn hier im Rahmen der alten Sprachkontakte bzw. Substratwirkung ermittelt wird. Proportionale Verhältnisse dieser Art: */ō, o/ : alb. /u/ sind im Albanischen kontextfrei nur in seinem nichtidg. bzw. im agr. Lehn-Wortschatz gesichert[20], vgl. alb. *gjuhë* f. 'Zunge; Sprache' < gr. (dor.) γλῶσσα 'ds.' (Çabej 1996: 338), *hutë* f. '(dial. t./g.) Aegypius, Geier; Weihe; Taubenstosser; Wanderfalke etc.' : gr. ὦτος 'Berg-, Horneule', lat. *ōtus* 'ds.' (Çabej *SE* 2002: 384: altgr. Entlehnung; Meyer 1891: 460: lat. Entlehnung); (*më*) *duket* v. 'es scheint mir' < agr. δοκεῖ μοι (Çabej *SE* III: 354) u.a.[21] Relativ chronologisch lässt sich diese Erscheinung in einer bestimmten Entwicklungsphase des Albanischen vermuten, als in seinem Vokalsystem eine Lücke in der mittleren Reihe des Velarastes entstanden, bzw. als der Quantitätsunterschied im griechischen Vokalsystem phonologisch in Schwankung geraten war.[22]

In diesem Rahmen und zwar nur unter Annahme einer direkten gr. Vermittlung lässt sich ohne weiteres Camardas empirische Gleichsetzung der Auslaute: alb. /-ʃ/ : gr. /-ks/ (1864: 381= <-σς> : <-ξ>)[23] erklären in dem Sinne, dass die auslautende Phonemgruppe /-ks/ (= {°K-s}) im Verlauf des Entlehnungsprozesses mehr oder weniger als phonotaktisch festgebundene Lautgruppe, bzw. die gesamte Wortform /^{h}rŏ̆ks/ (= {^{h}rŏ̆k-s}) als eine morphologisch untrennbare Einheit empfunden und aufgenommen wurde. Sie ist dann als solche der innersprachlichen Entwicklung der Lautgruppe */ks/ > alb. /ʃ/ unterworfen: vgl. (PN) *Llesh* < gr. (byzant.) Ἀλέξ-ις, neben *Llezhdër* < Ἀλέξανδρ-ος (Çabej 1972: 34).

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20 Für die Problematik der vermeintlich lateinischen Lehnwörter, die im Albanischen so wie im (byzant.) Griechischen die Hebung [o:, o] > [u] aufweisen, siehe zuletzt Bonnet 1998: 75f.

21 In der altererbten Wortschicht lassen sich für die beiden Sprachen andere kontextfreie Proportionen feststellen: agr. (= idg.) /ō, o/ ~ alb. /e, a/, vgl. alb. *te(të)* : gr. ὀκτώ Zw. 'acht' neben *asht(ë)* m./n. : gr. ὀστέον 'Knochen' u.a. (Demiraj 1997: 43, 82f.).

22 Rix (1992: 56): zwischen hellenistischer Zeit und Ende der Antike.

23 Camarda bringt beide Wörter im formalen Vergleich, als er die Quellen des alb. /ʃ/ untersucht. Ihm zufolge: "La σ (= *s – B.D.) non solamente semplice, ma anche compresa nella ψ soggiace facilmente al detto raddolcimento, p. e. in πσςέχ-e (= *pshehë* – B.D.) tosk., *io nascondo*, cf. ψέφ-ας [...] Del pari la ξ risente spesso di questo vezzo albanico, ed in molti casi è profferita σς (= *sh* – B.D.), come in [...] ῥούσς (- *rrush* – B.D.), *uva*, ῥώξ *acino d'uva, uva*" (S. 87).

Schluß

Aus den obigen Ausführungen ergibt sich folgender Schluss: Alb. *rrush* ‘Weintraube, -beere’ ist ein isoliertes Wort im albanischen Wortschatz, wie auch sonst viele Bezeichnungen aus dem albanischen Flora- und Faunabereich, worauf die etymologische Forschung zumeist auf den äußeren Sprachvergleich angewiesen ist. Der bislang als sicher geltende formale Vergleich mit ON *Ragusa*, der offenbar im 17. Jh. unter den Albanern in der volkstümlichen Kurzform /r̄uʃə/ (Bogdani: <Ruſce>) fungierte, erweist sich anhand der jüngsten Ergebnisse der diachronen Phonologie des Albanischen als unhaltbar. Der einstige Anschluss an das gleichbedeutende gr. ῥώξ (Camarda 1864: 87) bleibt hingegen erhalten. Er weist jedoch unmissverständlich auf altgriechischen Einfluss hin.

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QUANTITY PATTERNS IN THE UPPER SORBIAN NOUN

RICK DERKSEN

1. Introduction

According to the prevailing view (e.g. Halle 2001: 807), acute length has under certain conditions been preserved in part of the West Slavic language area, notably in Czech. Even if we leave the question to what extent the Proto-Slavic acute actually reflects length out of consideration, the Czech evidence suggests that length in originally acute syllables is secondary. The possibility of a recent lengthening was already considered by Stang (1957: 35), who pointed out that lengthening also seems to occur in the case of non-acute rising vowels, e.g. *můžeš* 2sg. 'can'. The first explicit formulation of what we could call "the Czech lenghtening" seems to have been presented by Kortlandt, who claims that "a short rising vowel in an open first syllable of disyllabic words was lengthened in early Czech unless the second syllable contained a long vowel" (1975: 19, see also 1978: 278, Verweij 1994: 504-505). This sound law accounts for quantative alternations such as *rána* 'wound', Gsg. *rány*, Dsg. *ráně*, Asg. *ránu*, Lsg. *ráně*, NApl. *rány* vs. Isg. *ranou*, Gpl. *ran*, Dpl. *ranám*, Ipl. *ranami*, Lpl. *ranách*.[1] Moreover, the fact that the lengthening operated after the loss of the weak jers, e.g. *psáti* 'to write' < **pьsàti*, shows that it is a comparatively late development (Kortlandt 1978: 278 fn.).

In Kortlandt's view (1975: 31, 1978: 278 fn.), the reflex of length found in USrb. *kruwa* 'cow' and *kłóda* 'stocks, fetter, jail' cannot be separated from the one in Cz. *kráva* and *kláda*. In fact, he assumes that the conditions under which the lengthening operated were identical (1989: 55 = 1994: 109-110). In this article I intend to examine to what extent the Upper Sorbian quantity patterns can be linked to the situation found in Czech. I shall try to reconstruct the developments which determined Upper Sorbian vowel quantity and establish their relative chronology.

[1] In Verweij's classification (1994: 495) this is quantity pattern F. Pattern E has additional length in the Isg. and pattern D has a short root vowel in the Gpl. only. In pattern C, length is limited to the NAsg., while quantity patterns A and B have a short and a long vowel throughout the paradigm, respectively.

2. Upper Sorbian *ó* and *ě*

In Upper Sorbian, evidence of vowel length at an earlier stage is limited to the diphthongs *ó* [u^{o}] and *ě* [i^{e}], which only occur in stressed syllables. Since Upper Sorbian has acquired fixed initial stress, this means that old length distinctions can only be observed in initial syllables. Orthographically, *ě* may occur in unstressed syllables for etymological reasons,[2] e.g. *we jstwě* [wéjstw'e] 'in the room', *wohrěwać* 'to warm' (Schaarschmidt 1997: 82). In the modern standard language the sound change **ě* > *y*, which is connected with the depalatalization of fricatives and affricates (e.g. *syno* 'hay', where *s* < **ś*), is not represented in a few lexical items, e.g. *rěč* [y] 'language, speech' (o.c.: 81fn.).

Very important to the subject of the present article is the fact that in part of the Upper Sorbian dialects, including the ones underlying the standard language, *ó* has been monophthongized before labials and velars (cf. already Hórnik 1891). Disregard for this comparatively recent development[3] makes a correct historical interpretation of the Upper Sorbian quantitative distinctions impossible, as was, unfortunately, illustrated by Rytarkowska (1927). If one wishes to study the distribution of *ó* and *o*, it is therefore imperative to include evidence from dialects and old texts. This was done in an exemplary fashion by Dybo (1963, 1968), who applied modern accentological insights to Upper Sorbian. Dybo's articles have been a major source for this study.[4]

Regrettably, Lower Sorbian is of little value for the reconstruction of prosodic features of an earlier period. The diphthong *ó*, for instance, is regular in non-final position after labials and velars unless followed by a labial or velar. This change occurred before *ł* > *w* and must have been completed before the mid-sixteenth century. Traces of old length distinctions are rare and limited to the dialects (Schaarschmidt 1997: 103-104, cf. Schuster-Šewc 1958).

3. Upper Sorbian quantity patterns and their relationship to Czech

I shall now discuss the quantity patterns that we find in the Upper Sorbian noun, i.e. patterns involving *ó*, *o*, *ě* and *e* reflecting earlier quantitative distinctions. I distinguish three basic types: nouns with *ó* or *ě* in the root

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2 USrb. *ě* basically continues **ě*, but in a number of cases we find *ě* < **ē*.

3 Schaarschmidt (1997: 141) dates the beginning of the Upper Sorbian monophthongization of *ó* to the first half of the 19th century.

4 If no reference is provided, the Upper Sorbian forms mentioned in this article can be found either in Dybo's articles or in Schuster-Šewc's etymological dictionary (*HEW*).

throughout the paradigm, nouns which display an alternation *ó* : *o* or *ě* : *e* in the root, and nouns with *o* or *ě* throughout the paradigm. The vowels *ó/o* and *ě/e* will be dealt with in separate sections. Special attention will be paid to sequences that arose from the metathesis of liquids.

3.1 *ó* throughout the paradigm

In etyma which originally belonged to AP (b) and contained non-initial[5] *oR or *eR before consonant we expect to find the reflex of *Rō, e.g. *bróna* 'harrow', *brózda* 'furrow' *črjóda* 'multitude', *Stróža*[6] placename (German Wartha), *črjósło* 'ploughshare', *mlóč* 'dandelion', cf. Slk. *brána, brázda, trieda, trieslo, stráž, mlieč*, LSrb. (dial.) *brůzda, brou̯zda* (Schuster-Šewc 1958: 268). The form *mloko* 'milk' has *o* < *ó* before a velar, cf. *mlóč* above. Variants with *ó* are attested in dialects, cf. also Cz. *mléko*, Slk. *mlieko*.

If Upper Sorbian underwent the same lengthening as Czech, we would also expect to find *Rō from liquid metathesis in nouns which originally belonged to AP (a). In the majority of cases this is indeed what we find, e.g. *dróha*[7] 'street', *kłóda* 'jail', *kruwa* (*krówa*) 'cow', *płóna* 'plane', *pluwa* '(pl.) chaff', *próca* 'trouble, effort', *wróna* 'crow', *błóto* 'mud', *mróz* 'frost'. Alongside *słoma* 'straw', *sroka* 'magpie', *włoha* 'humidity' and *hroch* 'pea', we find forms with *ó*. Here the variants with *o* can be attributed to the monophthongization of *ó* before labials of velars,[8] with the exception of *włoha*, which may be comparable to *droha*. The noun *próh* 'threshold', which has *ó* in the NAsg. against *o* in the other case forms, has apparently been transferred to the quantity pattern of the mobile *o*-stems. Alternatively, one may assume that in spite of the pervasive reflex of length in the words mentioned above the quantity pattern of *próh* is not only formally but also historically identical with pattern C of Cz. *práh*.

Originally mobile nouns containing **Co/eRC* generally have *Ro* instead of *Ró* unless the root underwent compensatory lengthening originating from the loss of a weak jer in the following syllable. An exception is *płómjo* 'flame' (19th c.). The reflex of length here may be analogical after

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[5] In initial position we find *Ra* in the case of originally acute syllables in paradigms with fixed stress and *Ro* elsewhere (see section 4.). In the latter case Upper Sorbian offers no indications for a distribution between *Ro* and *Rō*.

[6] The Standard Upper Sorbian form *straža* is a borrowing from Czech (*HEW* III: 1363).

[7] Alongside *droha*. In colloquial and dialectal Upper Sorbian, we find loss of intervocalic *h* and insertion of a *u̯*-glide (Schaarschmidt 1997: 131). According to Schuster-Šewc (*HEW* I: 174), *droha* may have been influenced by the variant *drou̯a*.

[8] The words *kruwa* and *pluwa* apparently escaped the monophthongization of *ó* because the root vowel had already shifted towards *u*.

morphologically similar immobile nouns with an acute root such as *brěmjo* 'burden', Cz. *břímě*.

Comparison of the originally acute nouns with their Czech counterparts seems to confirm that Upper Sorbian and Czech are in agreement: all corresponding forms in Czech show length, except for *straka* (against USrb. dial. *sróka*), which appears as *stráka* in Old Czech, and *pleva* (against USrb. *pluwa*), which has variants *pléva* and *plíva* in Old Czech and South Czech dialects, respectively (Verweij 1994: 506). We must keep in mind, however, that the Czech forms may belong to various quantity patterns. Whereas *kláda*, *vláha* and *bláto* have a long root vowel in all case forms, *kráva* has a short root vowel in the Gpl., Dpl. and Ipl. (pattern E, see fn. 1) and *práce* has the quantity pattern F of *rána* mentioned above. Furthermore, we have *sláma* D, *dráha* D/F, *vrána* D/E, *mráz* C and *hrách* C.

The quantity pattern of Cz. *mráz*, *hrách* and the above-mentioned *práh* is problematic, as an alternation *mráz* : Gsg. *mrazu* is the opposite of what we would have expected on the basis of the lengthening rule formulated by Kortlandt. Verweij (o.c.: 526-527), who points out that OCz. *hrách* is attested with a long vowel in the oblique case forms (cf. the alternative Npl. *hráchy* in the modern standard language), sketches a scenario which may account for the rise of pattern C in *o*/*u*-stems originally belonging to (a). He reconstructs an intermediate stage with generalization of the long vowel in the singular and assumes that nouns such as *mráz* subsequently adopted the quantity pattern C of certain oxytone *o*-stems, where he considers the pattern to be regular. The rise of pattern C, however, is not entirely clear. The material presented by Verweij points to a connection with *o*-vocalism in the root. Furthermore, quantity pattern C is quite frequent in original mobilia as well.

The fact that in nouns originally belonging to AP (a) Upper Sorbian has *ó* throughout may be linked to the compensatory lengthening connected with the loss of the ending *-ъ/ь of the N(A)sg. of the (*j*)*o*-stems and the Gpl. of a number of stem classes (see below). Another possibility is that the conditions of the Upper Sorbian lengthening were different.

3.2 *ě* throughout the paradigm

The reflex of PSl. **ě* is generally *ě* or *y* in Upper Sorbian, irrespective of the original accent paradigm, e.g. *měra* 'measure', *pěna* 'foam', *řěpa* 'turnip', *wěda* 'knowledge', *dźěło* 'work', *město* 'city, place', *hněw* 'anger', *wětr* 'wind' (a), *běda* 'woe', *cywa* 'reed', *hwězda* 'star', *hrěch* 'sin', *lěk* 'medicine', *měch* 'bag, bellows', *šćěp* 'crack' (b), *rěka* 'river', *ćěsto* 'dough', *syno* 'hay', *wěno* 'dowry', *kwět* 'flower', *lěp* 'glue', *rěč* 'speech', *slěd* 'trace', *spěch* 'haste', *swět*

'world', *wěk* 'age' (c). Exceptions are *mjedź*[9] 'ore' < **mědь* and *mjeza* 'sap' < **mězga*, which has a variant *měza*, however. There are no traces of old quantitative distinctions as reflected in Cz. *bída* (b) vs. *řeka* (c). Therefore, there is no point in saying that **ě* does not undergo any form of pretonic shortening (pace Timberlake 1985: 418) because USrb. *ě* only reflects the quality of inherited **ě*, not its original quantity.

A more varied pattern can be observed in the case of nouns which originally contained a sequence **eRC*. Here we find *brěza* 'birch', *brěmjo* 'burden' (a), *drěn* 'dogwood' (b), but *wrjećeno* 'spindle' (b), *srjeda* 'Wednesday', *črjewo* 'intestine', *drjewo* 'wood' (c). Thus, the development of **eRC* seems to run parallel to the development of **oRC*.[10] In AP (b), where length was preserved in syllables which carried the ictus before the operation of Dybo's law, we find *RěC* < **RēC*. In the case of *wrjećeno*, where the initial syllable was always pretonic, it is difficult to connect the presence of a short vowel with the shortening of pretonic long vowels prior to Dybo's law because the metathesis of liquids in Lekhitic and Sorbian must be dated after the rephonemicization of quantitative distinctions in pretonic syllables (Kortlandt 1975: 31).[11] The short vowel in Cz. *vřeteno*, SCr. *vretèno*, on the other hand, could in principle be due to pretonic shortening, as here the metathesis of liquids was earlier. The easiest solution is to assume that the vowel lengthening before tautosyllabic resonants which preceded the metathesis (see section 4) was limited to stressed syllables. The fact that we find *RěC* < **eRC* in AP (a) as well must be attributed to the Upper Sorbian lengthening of short rising vowels, cf. also *pluwa* < **pelva*. The short vowel in mobile nouns such as *srjeda* results from the West Slavic shortening of falling long vowels. In section 4, we shall try to place these developments into a chronological perspective.

The *ě* of *jěž* 'hedgehog', Gsg. *jěža*, is presented by Schaarschmidt (1997: 49) as an instance of a long vowel that originated before a cluster *Cj* and was subsequently preserved under the "new rising pitch". If we assume that this etymon originally belonged to AP (b), cf. Sln. *jẹ̑ž*, one might be tempted to connect the rise of *ě* with the lengthening of short rising vowels. Since other originally oxytone *jo*-stems such as *nóž* 'knife' only show lengthening in the NAsg. (see 3.3), any such attempt is bound to be

[9] According to Schuster-Šewc (*HEW* II: 920), the variant *mědź* is of Czech origin, as is the meaning 'copper'.

[10] Note that the reflex of **eRC* may be *RoC* or *RóC* (e.g. *brjóh* 'shore, bank', Gsg. *brjoha*), while it is unusual for **ě* to develop into *o*/*ó* (see 3.4).

[11] One might argue, however, that there is no need to assume that the metathesis would have reintroduced phonemic length in pretonic syllables.

unconvincing.[12] Therefore, I assume that the vocalism of *jěž* is due to a recent Upper Sorbian development, cf. *jězer* 'lake' < **jezerъ* (c).

3.3 ***ó*** **:** ***o*** **(*ó*** **:** ***ø*)**

A very common quantity pattern involving an alternation *ó* : *o* is found in masculine *(j)o*-stems. Here the Nsg. has *ó*, while the other case forms have *o*, e.g. *nós* 'nose', Gsg. *nosa*. This pattern is found in old mobilia, such as *bóh* 'god', *brjóh* (**bergъ*) 'shore, bank', *bród* 'ford', *chłód* 'coolness, shade', *hłód* 'hunger', *hłós* 'voice', *hród* 'castle', *kłós* 'ear', *móst* 'bridge', *nós* 'nose', *płót* 'fence', *ród* 'birth, kin', *włós* 'hair', *wóz* 'cart', *wrjós* (**wersъ*, dial. *wrěs*) 'heather', *wróh* 'murderer', but also in nouns which originally belonged to AP (b), e.g. *dwór* 'courtyard, court', Gsg. *dwora*, *kóń* 'horse', Gsg. *konja*, *nóž* 'knife', Gsg. *noža*.[13] In neither case the Upper Sorbian lengthening of rising short vowels applied: in old mobilia there were no rising stem syllables and in most oblique cases of old oxytona the stress was on the ending. The long vowel in the Nsg. seems to result from compensatory lengthening connected with the loss of the jers. Length is also found in *i*-stems such as *nóc* 'night', Gsg. *nocy*, or *sól* 'salt', Gsg. *sele*.[14] The long vowel of Gpl. *hór*, *pól* and *hód* (*hora* 'mountain', *polo* 'field', *hody* 'Christmas') may result from compensatory lengthening, but may just as well reflect the older length that arose upon the retraction of the stress from final stressed jers, cf. Sln. *gọ́r* Gpl. < **gorъ̀* (Kortlandt 1975: 15-16). Examples of compensatory lengthening due to the loss of a medial jer are Gsg. *wórła* (Nsg. *worjoł* 'eagle'), *pósła* (Nsg. *posoł* 'messenger') and derivatives such as *kónc* 'end', *złósć* 'anger, wrath' (cf. Faßke 1981: 481).

It is interesting that nouns with a root containing a jer partly exhibit the same pattern as *nós*, e.g. *són* 'dream, sleep', Gsg. *sona*, dial. *móch* 'moss', Gsg. *mocha*, *šów* 'seam', Gsg. *šowa*.[15] The vocalism in the oblique cases is

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[12] In the case of **nožь*, by the way, we find *no̯už* in Lower Sorbian dialects (Schuster-Šewc 1958: 270). Rather than regarding this as a rare case of Lower Sorbian compensatory lengthening (Schaarschmidt 1997: 58), I attribute the vocalism of the root to the special status of short rising *o* in Late Proto-Slavic (cf. Cz. *nůž*, Slk. *nôž*, SCr. *nôž*, Gsg. *nóža*), cf. Verweij 1994: 514-515, 560-561.

[13] If the root originally contained **oRC* (**eRC*), there is, of course, a difference between AP (b) and (c), e.g. *mlóč* (b), Gsg. *mlóča*, vs. *włós* (c), Gsg. *włosa*.

[14] With *o* > *e* before a palatalized consonant.

[15] USrb. *o*/*ó* < **ъ*/*ь* is assumed to have developed through an intermediate stage **e* (cf. Schaarschmidt 1997: 59-64). The dialect of Neustadt never has *ó* from labialized *e*, e.g. *boz* 'elder', *won* 'smell' (o.c.: 111).

obviously secondary. The question is whether the *ó* of the Nsg. is secondary as well, i.e. whether it is analogical after the pattern *nós* : *nosa*. The word *pos* 'dog', Gsg. *psa*, seems to point in this direction, but *pós*, Gsg. *psa*, is attested in dialects, cf. also (arch.) *rót* 'mouth', Gsg. *rta*. On the other hand, we find *woš* 'louse', Gsg. *wše*, and (arch.) *rož* 'rye', Gsg. *ržě*.

Dybo (1968) has claimed that the long reflex of the jers, i.e. *ó* or *ě,* is limited to originally neo-acute syllables. Since most of Dybo's examples have either *ó* or *e*, one is initially inclined to wonder if *e* could reflect **ē* < **ь* (but see below). With respect to *ó* : *o*, Dybo's rule seems to work, though the evidence for *o* < **ъ*/*ь* in mobile nouns is limited. I am not convinced, however, that the long reflex of rising jers must be viewed in connection with compensatory lengthening, but would rather prefer to attribute the long rising tone to the Upper Sorbian and Czech lengthening of short rising vowels, even though this implies that the conditions of the Upper Sorbian lengthening were different. As shown by Verweij (1994: 505, 517-518), Czech seems to offer some examples of lengthening of rising strong jers, e.g. *méně*[16] 'less', *dvéře* (*dveře*) Npl. 'door'. The latter example can be compared with *dwěrja*[17] Npl. (Megisero 1703) 'id.', which may therefore be considered an addition to Dybo's list of instances of *ě* from jer. In Upper Sorbian, however, the lengthening seems to have affected jers in monosyllabic forms as well, e.g. *rót*, *són*, (dial.) *pós* vs. Cz. *ret*, *sen*, *pes*.

3.4 ***ě*** **:** ***e*** **(*ě*** **:** ***ø*)**

The alternation *ě* : *e* is relatively rare. Analogous to *nós*, Gsg. *nosa*, we find *měd* 'honey', Gsg. *mjedu*, and *pěc* 'stove', Gsg. *pjecy* < **medъ* (c) and **pektь* (c). It seems plausible that the length in the NAsg. results from compensatory lengthening. A convincing example of *ě* originating from this development is, in my view, *šěsć* 'six' vs. *šesty* 'sixth'.[18] Compensatory lengthening due to the loss of a medial jer is found in *mězny*, the adjective to *mjeza* 'border, balk' < **medja*, and *mězník* 'boundary-stone, corner-stone'.

As mentioned in 3.3 above, examples of *ě* < **ъ*/*ь* are rare. According to Dybo (1963: 66-67), *e* is regular in the old mobilia *krej* 'blood' (Gsg. *krwě*), *wjes* 'village' (Gsg. *wsy*), *lesć* 'cunning' (Gsg. *lesće*), *česć* 'honour' (Gsg. *česće*), *dźeń* 'day' (Gsg. *dnja*), *ćest* 'father-in-law' (Gsg. *ćesta*), *pjeń* (arch.)

[16] It must be admitted, however, that the long vowel of *méně* could very well be analogical after other comparatives of this type, e.g. *výše* : *vyšší*, *hůře* : *horší*. I owe this observation to Willem Vermeer, to whom I am grateful for many valuable comments.

[17] For the usual *durja*.

[18] The variant *šesć*, which in older texts occurs alongside *šěsć* (*HEW* III: 1432-1433) could easily be analogical.

'trunk' (Gsg. *pjenja*) and *len* 'linen, flax' (Gsg. *lena/u*), but Dybo's evidence for *ě* from rising **e* is limited to *miecʒ* 'sword' in Matthaei's grammar (1721), otherwise attested as *mječ*. The problem with this etymon is the fact that only SCr. *mȁč* points unambiguously to **mьčь*, cf. OCS *mečь*.[19] Furthermore, there is the counterexample *dešć* 'rain' < **dъzdjь* (b).[20] On the other hand, *dwěrja* 'door' may be considered another example of *ě* continuing a rising jer. Schaarschmidt (1997: 57), who accepts Dybo's hypothesis that lengthening of strong jers only occurred in conjunction with rising tone, mentions *ćěmny* 'dark' < **tьmьnъjь* (cf. *ćma* 'darkness') and the archaic form *wiednio* (Matthaei 1721) 'in daylight' (Standard USrb. *wodnjo*) as instances of compensatory lengthening caused by the loss of a medial jer (cf. Dybo 1963: 64, 1968: 70). All things considered, Dybo's rule that only rising jers were lengthened must be accepted.

The number of instances of *ě* < **ē* (< **e*) or rising **ъ/ь* has obviously been reduced by the developments **e/ē* > *o/ó* and **ъ/ь* > *o/ó*, e.g. *lód* < **ledъ*, *són* < **sъnъ*. Labialization of PSl. **ě* seems to be a recent development conditioned by following *w*, which in part of the dialects caused monophthongization at a later stage, e.g. *dźowka* 'daughter', *sowjer* '(high altitude) haze',[21] dial. *kl'ow/klow* 'pigsty' (Schaarschmidt 1997: 150). Schuster-Šewc

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[19] Kortlandt (1984-1985) attributes this variation to the raising of pretonic **e* in a palatal environment. The raising apparently occurred before the operation of Dybo's law (see also fn. 17).

[20] Curiously, this etymon occurs with a long root vowel elsewhere in West Slavic, e.g. Cz. *déšť* (alongside *dešť*), Slk. *dážď*, Pl. (dial.) *déšč* (cf. Dybo 1963: 81fn., Topolińska 1968: 77fn.) as well as in South Slavic, e.g. Čak. *dãš* (Orbanići, see Kalsbeek 1998: 432). I wonder if the long root vowel could be attributed to the retraction of the stress from jers in final syllables, assuming that in this word final stress had been preserved after a closed syllable, cf. OCz. *šél*, Slk. *šiel* 'went' < **šьdlъ̀* (cf. Bulaxovskij 1953: 26). The raising in the latter example and in etyma such as **žьzlъ/*žezlъ* (Kortlandt 1984-1985) implies that prior to Dybo's law there must already have existed an oxytone class (see Derksen 1996: 66-128 with respect to the neuter *o*-stems). The one-time existence of this class can actually be postulated on the basis of Kortlandt's formulation of the Balto-Slavic development which he baptized "Ebeling's law", viz. the retraction of the ictus from final open syllables of disyllabic word forms unless the preceding syllable was closed by an obstruent (1975: 4-7). Proto-Slavic stressed final syllables containing a jer lost their stressability before the progressive shift. The retraction of the ictus yielded a long rising tone on the preceding syllable (o.c. 14-17).

The connection between the hypothesis advocated in Derksen 1996 and the phenomenon described in Kortlandt 1984-1985 was pointed out to me by Arno Verweij in a private letter dated 26 May 1996.

[21] *Sewjer* 'north' is a nineteenth century loan from Czech (l.c.).

(1982: 130-131), however, has a few examples of *o/ó* < **ě* in a different environment, e.g. *susod* 'neighbour', *Swótlik* PN.

3.5 *o* throughout the paradigm

In the preceding sections we have encountered various instances of USrb. *ó* reflecting long **o*, **e*, **ъ* or **ь*. The origins of the vowel quantity in these cases are diverse: retraction of the ictus from a final jer, metathesis of liquids in nouns belonging to AP (b), lengthening of short rising vowels, compensatory lengthening resulting from the loss of weak jers. Leaving the monophthongization of *ó* before labials and velars out of consideration, the quantity pattern with *o* throughout the paradigm is basically found in mobile *ā*-stems and neuter *o*-stems, e.g. *broda* 'beard, chin', *strona* 'side', *hłowa* 'head', *hora* 'mountain', *złoto* 'gold', as well as in mobile *o*- and *i*-stems of which the root contained a jer (see 3.3). Furthermore, we find *o* in *ā*-stems and neuter *o*-stems belonging to AP (b), e.g. *kosa* 'scythe', insofar as we are not dealing with an original sequence **-oRC*.

3.6 *(j)e* throughout the paradigm

As we have seen, the development **e* > *ě* is found in nouns which originally contained a sequence **erC* and belonged to AP (a) or (b). Furthermore, *ě* can reflect compensatory lengthening resulting from the loss of a weak jer. Finally, there is a possibility that rising **ъ/ь* developed into *ě*. If none of this applies, we find *e* (or *o*, of course, see above) throughout the paradigm, e.g. *wječor* 'evening', *njebjo* 'sky', *česć* 'honour'. In nouns containing *e* < **ъ/ь* in the root, the alternation between *e* and *ø* has occasionally been preserved.

4. Relative chronology

In his article on the metathesis of liquid diphthongs, Timberlake (1985: 427) concludes that the metathesis of liquids, the development *e* > *o*, pretonic shortening and "voice lag"[22] were simultaneous, at least in their phonetic phases. Furthermore, he considers the possibility that the phonetic phase of the fall of the jers and compensatory lengthening were also simultaneous with aforementioned developments (ibidem). The origin of these remarkable conclusions lies in Timberlake's decision to start from a Late Common Slavic dialect without phonemic length distinctions. Timberlake argues that it is implausible that quantity was distinctive for the

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[22] In Upper Sorbian, **r* > *ř* [š'] after a voiceless obstruent, e.g. *křiwy* 'crooked', *přećiwo* 'against'. Sequences of voiceless obstruent + *r* arising from the metathesis of liquids did not undergo this development, e.g. *prědni* 'foremost', *črjewo* 'intestine'.

whole vowel system of this particular Late Common Slavic dialect because there is no evidence for length oppositions such as /ī/ : /i/. On the other hand, a system in which only *e* and *o* could be phonemically long or short would be typologically improbable. For this reason Timberlake prefers to reconstruct a system with tense and lax vowels. After compensatory lengthening the tense vowel *ě* received a counterpart *ó*. The opposition tense vs. lax was only relevant for /ě ó/ vs. /e o/ (o.c.: 419).

In my view, Timberlake's starting-point is problematic. From the fact that only in mid vowels old quantitative distinctions are reflected as qualitative distinctions it does not follow that vowel length was not distinctive at an earlier stage. One only needs to compare Standard Polish *pochylenie* with the Old Polish or the Slovincian situation to dismiss this reasoning.

Schaarschmidt (1997: 38-39) traces an (Early) Old Sorbian system without distinctive vowel quantity to a Late Common Slavic phonological system in which every vowel could be either long or short. Since his Old Sorbian stage is not necessarily fundamentally different from Timberlake's Late Common Slavic dialect underlying Upper Sorbian, Schaarschmidt's view would be more or less in agreement with Timberlake's, were it not for the fact that the former assumes that phonemic quantity was reintroduced before the fall of the jers (l.c.: 48).

I shall now present a relative chronology of developments relevant to the Upper Sorbian reflexes of vowel length, for which Kortlandt's relative chronology (1989, 1994) will serve as a point of reference. With respect to those instances where the metathesis of liquids seems to yield long vowels, however, I have adopted Kortlandt's recent view (2003: 232), in which metathesis is preceded by vowel lengthening before tautosyllabic resonants rather than accompanied by lengthening. Unlike Verweij (1994: 556), who for typological reasons places the Czech lengthening of short rising vowels before the shortening of long falling vowels, I am inclined to regard the Czech and Sorbian lengthening as a later development. In any case, the shortening of long falling vowels, which affected a large part of the Slavic linguistic area, cannot have been posterior to compensatory lengthening because otherwise one cannot explain the contrast between *měd* and *krej*. Whether the lengthening of short rising vowels preceded compensatory lengthening is not easy to decide.

(1) Metathesis of liquids in initial syllables, e.g. USrb. *radło* 'plough', *ramjo* 'shoulder', *łakomy* 'greedy, overly ambitious', *łochć* (dial. *łóchć*) 'elbow', *łoni* 'last year', *rola* 'field'. Metathesis in syllables containing a glottal stop generated sequences of the structure **Ra*ˀ, which eventually yielded *Ra*.[23]

In Upper Sorbian, I find no evidence for length under the rising and falling tones. In South Slavic and Central Slovak, where the metathesis was not limited to initial syllables, the latter development was preceded by the lengthening of short vowels before tautosyllabic resonants, which may explain why relics of the situation prior to the metathesis have *a* instead of *o*, e.g. OCS *al(ъ)dii* 'boat', *al(ъ)kati* 'be hungry', *alъnii* 'doe', Bulg. (dial.) *álne* 'young chamois' (cf. Shevelov 1964: 394).[24] The lengthening has a parallel in the dialects underlying Standard Latvian, where the vowel in **aRC* and **eRC* is lengthened under the sustained and falling tones but not under the broken tone. The Latvian dialects which did not carry through lengthening in these sequences but developed an anaptyctic vowel instead may be compared with East Slavic (cf. Endzelin 1922: 101-106).

(2) Rise of the new timbre distinctions and pretonic shortening. In pretonic syllables quantitative distinctions were reinterpreted as qualitative distinctions with the result that length became redundant. The glottal stop became a feature of the preceding vowel.

(3) Lengthening of non-glottalized stressed vowels before a tautosyllabic resonant in Sorbian and Lekhitic.

(4) Non-initial metathesis of liquids in Sorbian and Lekhitic, e.g. USrb. *kruwa*, *wróna*, *brózda*, *hłowa*, *brěza*, *srjeda*, *wrjećeno*. Pl. *krowa*, *wrona*, *bruzda*, *głowa*, *brzoza*, *środa*, *wrzeciono*. Quantitative differences between Sorbian and Lekhitic result from development 12 below.

(5) Retraction of the stress from final jers. This development, which generated new long vowels, may be the origin of the long vowel in the Upper Sorbian Gpl. forms *hór*, *pól*, *hód*.

(6) Dybo's law: rising vowels lost the stress to the following syllable. The progressive shift restored distinctive vowel length in pretonic syllables. Newly stressed long vowels received a falling tone.

(7) Lengthening of short falling vowels in monosyllables.

(8) Acute (i.e. glottalized) syllables lost their glottal element and received a short rising tone.

(9) Stang's law: the stress was retracted from long falling vowels in final syllables, e.g. *Stróža* < **strožâ* (cf. OPl. *stróżå*, Čak. (Novi) *stráža*), *móžeš* <

[23] To my knowledge, there are no reliable examples of metathesis of initial **erC*.

[24] Interestingly, the lengthening appears to have been followed by anaptyxis instead of metathesis.

**možêšь* 2sg. 'can' (cf. Cz. *můžeš*, SCr. *mȍžēš*), or *hórje* 'worse' < *goȓê*, (cf. Cz. *hůře*). The newly stressed syllable received a rising tone ("neo-acute").

(10) Shortening of long falling vowels. This is ultimately the origin of the pervasive short vocalism of *srjeda*, *drjewo*, *strona*, *złoto* as well as the oblique cases of *hłós*, *wrjós*, etc.

(11) Weak jers were lost, while strong jers merged with **e* (Schaarschmidt 1997: 64). The loss of the jers was accompanied by compensatory lengthening, which did not affect strong jers, however, cf. *bóh*, *bród*, *hród*, *měd*, *pěc* vs. *wjes*, *dźeń*, *woš*, *rož*.

(12) Lengthening of short rising vowels in Upper Sorbian and Czech, e.g. USrb. *kruwa*, *hórje*, *brěza*, *dwěrja*, Cz. *kráva*, *hůře*, *bříza*, *dvéře* (*dveře*). The lengthening did not operate in Lower Sorbian (cf. Taszycki 1928, Stieber 1934, Schuster-Šewc 1958[25]). In Czech, the lengthening was limited to open syllables of disyllabic words. The exact conditions of the Upper Sorbian lengthening are not easy to determine, but in my view it is plausible that the lengthening was neither limited to open syllables nor to disyllabic words, cf. *rót*, *són*, (dial.) *pós* vs. Cz. *ret*, *sen*, *pes*.

(13) Labialization of **e* and **ē* after palatalized consonants before non-palatalized consonants and in auslaut, e.g. *wrjós*, *polo*. The oldest layer seems to consist of instances with *o* < **e* before a hard dental. The labialization after palatalized consonants shows considerable variation in both Upper and Lower Sorbian and did not reach the NW Lower Sorbian dialects, while it only marginally affected the SE Upper Sorbian area (Schaarschmidt 1997: 84f.). The labialization of *e* after non-palatalized consonants (for the greater part instances of *e* < **ъ*) is rare in Lower Sorbian, but almost general in the Upper Sorbian standard language (l.c.: 110f.), e.g. *woš*, *bóz*. In certain dialects labialization is limited to the position after labials and velars.

(14) Merger of **ē* and **ě*, e.g. *brěza*, *měd*, *drěn* with the same vocalism as *rěka*, *swět* or *ćěsto*.

According to Schaarschmidt (1997: 82-83, 134-135), whose absolute chronology is largely based on toponymical data, the raising of **ě* was completed in the course of the 11th century in Upper Sorbian and cannot have occurred before the middle of the 17th century in Lower Sorbian. A

[25] In the classical doctrine, of course, the short reflexes of the acute in Lower Sorbian are considered the result of an early shortening.

radically different chronology is advocated by Kortlandt, who dates the raising of **ě* from *ä* to *ie* in Sorbian, Slovene, Czecho-Slovak and East Slavic to approximately the same stage the as the retraction of the stress from final jers, which was Proto-Slavic. I have refrained from incorporating the raising of **ě* in my relative chronology.

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LUVIAN -*TAR* AND HOMERIC *Τ' ἌΡ*

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1. C. Watkins has proposed identifying Cuneiform Luvian *-tar*, usually considered to be equivalent to the Hittite "locatival/modal" postposition *-šan*, with Iliadic ταρ, a rare transmissional variant of the vulgate enclitic sequence τ᾽ ἄρ,[1] with especial emphasis on the formal agreement between Cuneiform Luvian *kuiš=tar* (in 3 of 34 attestations of *=tar*) and the Iliadic variant τίς ταρ[2] (Watkins 1995: 150-151). Watkins proposed a preform **-tr̥* which he took as an ablaut-variant of IE **tor* and Proto-Germanic **þēr*, both meaning 'there'.

Although this proposal has begun to gain currency[3], C. Ruijgh's explicit argument against the reality of Iliadic ταρ has not been answered, nor has the two expressions' utter dissimilarity of function been accounted for. Since in addition the suggested preform is aptotologically difficult, a systematic philological examination seems to be called for.

2. Cuneiform Luvian[4] *-tar* always (in over 30 attestations at present) occurs at the absolute end of its word- or particle-group, like the more frequent *-ta*. Luvian *-tar* and *-ta* are on occasion translated by[5] Hittite *-šan* and *-kan* respectively, members of a closed set of enclitics about which little can be safely said; their function has been variously interpreted as local, aspectual and /or discourse-marking. One may safely say, however, that none of

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1 ταρ is written only in the Venetus A but was discussed by Herodian (2.22; schol. to *Il.* 1.65, 93) and Apollonius Dyskolos (*Conj*. 254.2: relation to αὖταρ). D. Monro (*Homeric Grammar*[2] (1891): 304, 316-9, 402), W. Leaf (*The Iliad*[2] (1900-1902), notes on *Il.* 1.8, 65, 93), and M. West write ταρ, while Allen and van Thiel retain τ᾽ ἄρ. See also *LSJ* s.v. ταρ and Denniston 1950: 533. ταρ is not attested in the *Odyssey*, Hesiod, or in any other Greek text.

2 Five times for the Vulgate τίς τ᾽ ἄρ, e.g. *Iliad* 1.8.

3 E.g. H.C. Melchert, *Anatolian Historical Phonology* (1994): 260; *The Luvians* (2003): 201.

4 For attestations and literature see E. Laroche, *Dictionnaire de la langue louvite* (1959): s.v., O. Carruba, *Die satzeinleitenden Partikeln* (1969): 35f., and C. Melchert, *Cuneiform Luvian Lexicon* (1993): s.v. An equivalent *-tar* has not as yet been identified in Hieroglyphic Luvian, although see Carruba 1985: 96 fn. 4.

5 Which would not preclude the etymological identification of Luvian *-ta* with Hittite *-šta*.

these so-called *Ortsbezugspartikeln* has ever been taken as conjunctive in function.

Semantically I find C. Watkins' derivation of Luvian *-tar* from an earlier 'there' not only unobjectionable but *a priori* quite plausible in view of the fact that many Anatolian sentence-particles seem to have arisen by semantic fading from free adverbs, e.g. Hittite sentence-inital *nu-*, *šu-*, and *ta-* from IE **nú* 'now', **h_1s-ú-ø* 'well' and 2.**tó* 'then'[6] and Luvian sentence-initial *a-* from IE sentence-initial bebaiotic **é-h_1* and **ó-h_1* (Greek ἦ and ὦ, Vedic *ā́*, etc.: Dunkel 1997: 18-23 and fn. 10 below), or the above-mentioned Hittite *-kan* and *-šan* from the preverbs **kó-m* and **só-m* 'together; altogether'.[7] Less plausible in comparison seems a connection with the IE verbal root **terh₂-* 'penetrate, cross' and its preverbal derivatives like Vedic *tirás* 'through' or with the contrastive suffix **-tero-*, as proposed by O. Carruba.[8] I mention prophylactically that the **-ter* of IE **en(s)-ter, *éǵʰ-s-ter* and the like is an adverbial ending, not a particle.

We return to the etymology and pre-form in section 5. Turning now to Greek we must treat the two distinct questions separately: are Iliadic τίς τ᾿ ἄϱ and Luvian *kuiš=tar* historically related at all, and: was τ᾿ ἄϱ on its way to univerbation?

A. Are Iliadic τίς τ᾿ ἄϱ and Luvian *kuiš=tar* historically related?

3a. We begin with the allomorphy of simple ἄϱα, which in Homer means 'as is generally known, as one would expect' (J. Grimm, *Glotta* 60 (1962): 3-41), i.e. marks information as based on shared presuppositions. In Homer and Attic, where ἄϱα remains lively (Denniston 1950: 32-43), it is normally elided to ἄϱ᾿ before a vowel.[9] Hexameter attests a further allomorph: enclitic ῥα, prevocalically always elided to ῥ᾿.[10]

[6] Differently E. Rieken, *MSS* 59 (1999): 86.

[7] On the final nasal of these two see my contribution to *Sarnikzel, Studien zum Gedenken an E. O. Forrer*, hsg. D. Groddek, S. Rössle 2004: 285-295.

[8] In: *Sprache und Kultur der Indogermanen*, ed. W. Meid 1998: 509 (with a further link to IE **tri-* 'three'); in 1969 he had already proposed **tēr* or **tr̥* (Carruba 1985: 93).

[9] Elision occurs in 89% (582) of ἄϱα's 652 occurrences before vowel in Homer (§9).

[10] Often with bebaiotic ἦ, whether emphatic 'Indeed, ...' (*Il.* 3.183, *Od.* 24.193, ἦ ῥ᾿ *Il.* 4.82) or interrogative 'Do you mean that ... ?' (*Il.* 5.421, 13.446, ἦ ἄϱ᾿ *Od.* 20.166; in Attic contracted to ἆϱα, see Denniston 1950: 44-45, 284); contrast ἦ ῥα 'he spoke (as expected)' where ἦ is the imperfect to ἄνωγα.

Since the Greek dialect inscriptions seem not to attest free ἄρα, no other formal variants are known. In contrast to dialectal παρο, κατο and ἀνο/ὀν, nothing speaks for *o*-vocalism of either syllable of ἄρα.

The textual basis for the supposed Cypriote ἔρ(α), distilled from the Hesychian emendation κἀτ᾽ ἔρ<᾽ ἕζ>εαι· κάθησαι· Πάφιοι was vaporised by K. Latte, Hesych II (1966): 618, who emended the transmitted κ 1668 κατέρεαι· κάθισαι. Πάφιοι to κατέζεαι· κτλ., comparing κ 1377 κατ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἕζετο· ἐκαθέσθη and (with further corruption) κ 1671 κατερέζετο· ἐκαθέζετο. A Cypriote ἔρ(α) is also indirectly contradicted by Cypriot *a-u-ta-re* αὐταρ[11] and *o-wo-ka-re-ti* οὐ γάρ or οὐκ ἄρ᾽[12] and Arcadian αταρ (Schwyzer *DGE*: 665 C1.6), since these are in origin particle sequences whose final element was ἄρ. Cypriote †ἔρ(α) seems thus to be a *vox nihili* without linguistic reality.

While all investigators agree on the existence of the four allomorphs ἄρα, ἄρ, ῥα and ῥ' in hexameter Greek, two basic approaches to the historical relations between them are possible, depending on whether the allomorph ἄρα is seen as secondary (the *communis opinio*) or as original.

3b. Accepting, as do most, the traditional equation with Lithuanian *ir̃* 'and' on the basis of a pre-form *$*\mathring{r}$*[13], H. M. Hoenigswald took ἄρ and ῥα as its regular phonologic outcomes after heavy and light syllable respectively, comparing e.g. ἧπαρ and ὑπόδρα.[14] ἄρα he saw, with Brugmann and others, as a contamination of these two.

This attractive line of thought arose as a result of Hoenigswald's remarkably coherent interpretation of IE semivowel-sequence behavior. This presumed a mechanical, automatic distribution of phonemic "syllabicity". Hoenigswald paid especial attention to overlength and its avoidance and to non-uniform, asymmetric or gradient developments among the resonants.[15] However, his interpretation of ἄρα leaves unmentioned i.)

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11 O. Masson, *Inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques*² (1983): 235, 236, 242, 245; on 253 see G. Neumann, *Kadmos* 26 (1987): 116 = *Kl. Schr*.: 445.

12 See G. Neumann, *Kadmos* 13 (1974): 151 = *Kl. Schr*.: 530.

13 On R. Thurneysen's attempt to connect IE **re* 'back, away' see Dunkel 2002.

14 "ῥα, δασύς, δέδαε and the semivowels", *Language* 29 (1953): 288-292, following M. Grammont, *Phonétique du grec ancien* (1948): 285f.

15 See Hoenigswald's contributions to *Evidence for Laryngeals*² (ed. W. Winter 1965): 97-9; *Pratidānam* (Festschrift F. Kuiper, ed. J. Heesterman *et al*. 1969): 20-23; *Bulletin of the Department of Comparative Philology, Univ. of Calcutta* 1978: 14-18; *Die Laryngaltheorie* (ed. Bammesberger 1988): 199-211; *Nomodeiktes* (Festschrift M. Ostwald, ed. R. Rosen, J. Farrell 1993): 459-466.

the possibility that the conjunction might have begun with a laryngeal, thus perhaps neutralising the difference between the Sievers- and the non-Sievers environments / CC _ and / C _ of the preceding word. When he did explicitly take up this topic (in the last work cited in footnote 15, p. 462f.), he made no mention of ἄρα;[16] ii.) that ῥα is enclitic, ἄρ orthotone; iii.) that ἄρ usually occurs before vowel, ῥα before consonant. This was due to his focus on the preceding syllable, relevant as it is for the "Sievers-Edgerton" law.

A variant of this approach supposes that *r̥ generally became αρ before vowel and ρα before consonant, and that this held for the supposed particle *r̥ as well.[17] As above, ἄρα would be a contamination of the two regular outcomes.

3c. Though I too previously accepted the comparison with Lith. *ir̃*[18], systematic investigation has lead me to prefer grouping Lith. *ir̃* instead with Homeric and Cypriot ἰδέ and Slavic *i*, all meaning 'and'.[19] These continue adverbial extensions of copulative 2.*h_2i*, to wit *h_2í-r*, *h_2í-de*,[20] and *h_2í-i*[21] respectively. Positing the laryngeal allows connecting 2.*h_2i* with the better-known suppletive copulative 2.*h_2o/u*, used both alone (singly, then doubly), e.g. Luvian *-ḫa*, Hittite geminating *-a*, Vedic conjunctive *u*, Greek αὖ, and variously extended: Vedic *utá*, Greek αὖτε, Gothic *-uh* etc. Copulative *ir̃*, ἰδέ and *i* from *h_2í-r*, *h_2í-de*, and *h_2í-i* fit here perfectly.

Historically, copulative 2.*h_2o/u/i* is a semantically faded variant of local 1.*h_2o/u/i* 'beside, to'. The allomorph 1.*h_2i* is found in the secondary root *h_2e̯i̯zd-* 'revere, worship' (αἴδομαι, Vedic *īḍ*, Gothic *aistan*), a univerbation and lexicalisation of an earlier 1.*h_2i sed-* 'sit beside', compare the Rgvedic synonym *upa sad-*. 1.*h_2i* is also the basis of the relative stem *h_2i̯-o-* (cf. Greek ἵ-να 'where' (rel.), Lith. *ì-t* 'like', *i-kì* 'until' (< *h_2i k^wid*)), whose initial laryngeal is thereby identified.

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16 In fact after 1953 he never mentioned ἄρα in this context again.

17 C. Watkins 1969: 194f.; R. Beekes, *Development of the PIE Laryngeals in Greek* (1969): 33f., García-Ramón, *Minos* 19 (1985): 215. Watkins further connected the verbal primary mediopassive mark *-r* with our particle, cf. e.g. *Il.* 23.128 ἥατ᾽ ἄρ.

18 Dunkel 1988: 55 (with further literature).

19 Cypriot *ide* can also serve to introduce an apodosis.

20 Cf. Gathic Avestan *naēdā* < *ue-*h_2i-de*.

21 Also possible would be an āmreḍita *h_2í-h_2i*; a full-grade *$h_2$ei̯* is otherwise unknown (seeming *$h_2$ei̯-zd-* 'revere' arose through secondary ablaut after the lexicalisation mentioned in the next paragraph).

3d. We are now free to try a different approach to Greek ἄρα 'as is expected': instead of seeing it as a blend of the monosyllabic allomorphs, we equate it directly with Hittite *a-a-ra* /āra/ '*fitting, (morally) proper' > 'divine law'[22] and with Vedic *áram* 'fitting, suitable, sufficient, enough',[23] except for the latter's hypercharacterising **+m*.[24] Both of the latter often co-occur with the dative.

ἄρα, *a-a-ra*, and *áram*, then, would continue an IE root-adverb **$h_1$ár-a* 'fittingly' which could originally be construed with the dative. As for the ending, syllabic *-*m̥* (whether accusatival or instrumental) would be possible for Greek and Vedic but not for Hittite, where it would have given "*arun*". The IE adverbial ending *-*a* recurs in e.g. **s(m̥)m-a* 'at one time, at once' (Vedic *sma*, Greek ἅμα) and **al̯i-a* 'but, however' (Greek ἀλλά, Gothic *alja*, Armen. *ayl*); compare further the instrumental adverbial ending *-*na*.

The assumption of *a*-vocalism and initial **h_1*- in the root allows equating Greek meliorative ἐρι-/ἀρι- with the Vedic ethnic/meliorative prefix *ri-/ari-*.[25] Note that in this case ἐρι- is not, as usually presumed, a full-grade.

That ἄρ is, as has long been suspected, the elided (and on occasion apocopated) variant of orthotone ἄρα is demonstrated by the full distributional statistics (section 8). ῥα seems to be an early incidence of aphaeresis[26] in enclisis, a burgeoning "drift" phenomenon with wide ramifications in Modern Greek. However ῥα will no longer concern us in this study.

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[22] See Y. Cohen in *Akten des IV. internat. Kongresses für Hethitologie*, ed. G. Wilhelm 2002 (*StBoT* 45): 72-82, and *Taboos and prohibitions in Hittite Society* (2002): 23-25 (compares Vedic *áram* without mentioning Greek ἄρα).

[23] Also used preverbally with *kr̥*- 'treat right, prepare, serve', with *bhū*- 'belong, accrue to' and with *gam*- 'attend, serve'.

[24] Whether this is understood as accusatival (as in *vā́c-a+m, pā́da+m*) or as instrumental (see my contribution to *Berthold Delbrück y la sintaxis indoeuropea hoy*, ed. E. Crespo and J.-L. Garcia-Ramon 1997: 63-83; S. Scarlata points out *nákta+m*, used parallel to *dívā*).

[25] Differently P. Thieme, *Der Fremdling im Rgveda*, 1938 (to IE **al̯io*- 'other'; on *ri*- pp. 157-159), C. Ruijgh, *Mélanges Leroy* (1980): 196 = *Scripta Minora* I: 568 fn. 40 (ἐρι- = ἀρι- X εὐ-), M. Peters, *Die Sprache* 32 (1986): 368-370, 381-382 (**$h_2$ri*- > ἀρι- and **ri*- (with conditioned laryngeal loss) > ἐρι- (with "true" prothetic vowel!)), and A. Willi, *HS* 112 (1999): 87 fn. 7 (etymologically separates ἐρι- from ἀρι- and from Vedic *ari/ri-*).

[26] Cf. E. Schwyzer, *Griech. Grammatik* I (1939): 401-403; M. Lejeune, *Phonétique historique du grec* (1972): 223. From related languages compare Plautine *(e)st, (e)s* and post-imperial hieroglyphic Luvian *(a)mu, (a)mi-, (a)ba-, (a)stu, Hijawa-*, sentence-initial *(a=)wa*- (A. Morpurgo Davies in a lecture at the June 2003 East Coast IE Conference, Harvard Univ.); on aphaeresis in IE personal pronouns see J. Katz, *Topics in IE personal pronouns* (Harvard Univ. dissertation, 1998): 102-106, 111, 139f., 187f., 261.

4. Returning now to τ᾽ ἄρ and the alleged ταρ, Ruijgh has shown that the τε of τ᾽ ἄρ after interrogatives, εἰ and οὐ can always be understood as (clause-) conjunctive; for him τίς τ᾽ ἄρ is equivalent to καὶ τίς (Ruijgh 1971: 55, 804-809). The τε of τ᾽ ἄρ is never generalising – that peculiarly epic usage which he calls "digressif-permanent", and which is etymologically distinct from conjunctive -τε (see fn. 28). Ruijgh sees no reason to deviate from the vulgate sequence τ᾽ ἄρ.

The single shortcoming of Ruijgh's analysis is that he discusess only the 15 instances of τ᾽ ἄρ after interrogatives, εἰ and οὐ, making no mention (e.g. p. 57) of the 14 attestations of τ᾽ ἄρ after a verb or the two after pronominal ὁ.[27] Happily, however, τε is clearly clause-conjunctive in all of these passages as well, so that Ruijgh's conclusion is also supported by the half of the material he didn't consider as well.

If τε in τ᾽ ἄρ is always (clause-)conjunctive, then it most likely continues IE conjunctive 1.*_-(s)k_^{w}_e_,[28] followed by orthotone ἄρ (for τ᾽ ἄρα see section 13). If the phrase τ᾽ ἄρ is also conjunctive in function, this is an extremely bad match for the local / aspectual Cuneiform Luvian _-tar_.

5. Watkins sees his preform *_þr̥_ as ablauting with the IE *_tor_ behind Vedic _tár-hi_ 'there' and Proto-Germanic *_tēr_ (NHG _dar-_, NE _there_), comparing Palaic _kuwar_ : Vedic _kárhi_ : NE _where_, supposedly reflecting *_k_^{w}_r̥_, *_k_^{w}_or_, and *_k_^{w}_ēr_ respectively (1995: 151 fn. 28). Though coherent and attractive, this view is problematic from an aptotological viewpoint,[29] since the IE deictic/anaphoric stems *_tó-_ and enclitic *_so-_ as well as interrogative / indefinite *_k_^{w}_ó/í-_ seem not to have been subject to quantitative ablaut at all.

Derivatives containing putative zero-grades of *_tó-_ and *_so-_ are more likely to be due to Sievers-converse reductions involving the suppletive allomorphs in *_-i-_ and *_-u-_.[30] Palaic _-kuwar_ and Luvian _kuwar(-i)_ are more likely simply to continue the *_k_^{w}_o-r_ of Vedic _kár+hi_ than a zero-grade *_k_^{w}_r̥_.

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[27] 11 of θάμβησέν/ ᾤμωξέν/ ῥίγησέν/ κώκυσέν/ γήθησέν/ τ᾽ ἄρ ἔπειτα (_Il._ 3.398, 10.552, 11.254, 15.397, 18.37, 23.178, 24.591, 24.703, _Od._ 13.198, 13.353, 21.414), three of μίστυλλόν τ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἐπισταμένως (_Il._ 7.317, 24.623, _Od._ 18.422), and two of ὅ(ἱ) τ᾽ ἄρ (_Il._ 2.584, 8.251).

[28] On the verbal preform **_-sk_^{w}_-o_ 'follows' see my contribution to _Anusantatyai_ (Festschrift Johanna Narten, ed. E. Tichy, A. Hintze 2000): 11-29. Generalising 3.*_-k_^{w}_e_, which arose from the indefinite instrumental *_k_^{w}_e-_h_1 'somehow', is unrelated.

[29] I wish to acknowledge that my being able to make such a statement at all is in large part due to Professor Watkins' teaching at the LSA Summer Linguistic Institute of 1972, which inspired me to devote myself to the IE particles.

[30] On Vedic deictic _tyá-_, _tva-_, and _syá-_ and the enclitic third plural dative-locatives Proto-Anatolian *_-smas_ and Greek σφι see Dunkel in: _General Linguistics_ 40 (2003): 3-17.

The IE interrogative adverb *kú 'where?' is neither a zero-grade of *k^wo- nor a delabialised suppletive *k^wu- but rather the original source of interrogative / indefinite *k^wo/i-, formed by thematisation in early IE, just as was relatival *h_2i̯-o- < 1.*h_2i (section 3c). Nor does the IE word for 'today' preserve, as often alleged, a vowel-less form of an IE demonstrative stem *g^ho-.[31]

The long-grades of demonstrative stems are also in my opinion nonexistent: *tēr would have become "tīr" in Luvian, and Proto-West-Germanic *$þē_2$r is historically a recharacterised instrumental, as are *h^wēr 'where?' and *hīr 'here' as well. In any case, neither pre-Luvian *te-h_1+r[32] nor *to-r (in my opinion still the most likely pre-form for Luvian) would produce an Iliadic ταρ.

The aptotological difficulty, then, lies not in the adverbial ending but in the reduction of the pronominal stem: since pronominal *to- did not otherwise ablaut quantitatively, an IE adverb of the structure *t-r̥ is impossible. When this aptotological aporia is added to the semantic difference between the clause-conjunctive Homeric τ᾽ ἄρ and the local / aspectual Luvian -tar, to ascribe the surface resemblance of Iliadic (τίς) τ᾽ ἄρ with Luvian (kuiš)-tar to chance assonance rather than to the existence of a common pre-form is no evasive manoeuvre but rather an explicit linguistic hypothesis, namely the merger into a surface /tar/ in Greek and Luvian of pre-Greek 1.*-k^{w}' ár' (itself reduced from an earlier 1.*-(s)k^we $h_1$ár-a) with pre-Luvian *to-r by regular phonological rules.

6. Had the sequence τ᾽ ἄρ(α) existed already in proto-Greek, a phrase like *k^wís k^{w}' ár' might have been univerbated to "τίς πάρ", cf. *$h_2$oi̯u-Ø k^wi-d > οὐκί. Analogic restoration (as in οὔτις, οὔτε) need not have occurred had "πάρ" no longer been felt to contain either τε or ἄρ, compare γάρ and ἀτάρ.

If τ᾽ ἄρ(α) arose after dentalisation of the labiovelars, its origin would be post-Mycenaean but pre-Homeric in date.

B. Was Homeric τ᾽ ἄρ on its way to univerbation?

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31 This deictic stem is limited to Latino-Faliscan in any case. – I have argued that the IE word for 'today' was *$ǵ^h$és, subsequently extended to *$ǵ^h$z-d^hí (Greek χθί+ζα) and further to *$ǵ^h$z-d^hi̯-és (χθές, Vedic *hyás*) in my contribution to *Per aspera ad asteriscos* (Festschrift Jens Rasmussen, ed. A. Hyllested *et al*. 2004): 127-128.

32 *te-h_1+r might conceivably have developed in Luvian from the expected "-tār" (cf. u̯ār- (nt.) 'water' < *u̯eh_1-r-: C. Watkins, *Festschrift H. M. Hoenigswald* (1987): 412 = *Selected Writings* I: 302) to *-tar* in enclisis.

7. The above in no way precludes the possibility that τ᾽ ἄρ was indeed on its way to becoming a single word (like γάρ and ἀτάρ) when it died out, i.e. sometime between the composition of the *Iliad* and that of the *Odyssey*. To judge this we need to exhaustively examine the sentence phonetics of ἄρα, its allomorphs and its relatives, in these texts (hereafter "Homer").

8. The sentence-phonetic distributional statistics[33] of the four allomorphs of Homeric ἄρα strongly suggest that ἄρ is an elided or (before consonant) apocopated variant of orthotone ἄρα, and similarly with ῥ᾽[34] beside enclitic, aphaeretic ῥα.

The crucial environment is the consonantal versus vocalic nature of the following word.[35]

Raw totals (*Iliad* and *Odyssey* together, regular distribution in boldface):

		/ _ V	/ _ C	Total
orthotone:	ἄρα	70	**513**	583
	ἄρ(᾽)	**582** (ἄρ᾽)	53 (ἄρ)	635
enclitic:	ῥα	35	**272**	307
	ῥ᾽	**309**	—	309
Total		996	838	1834

The same expressed as percentages of the total 1834:

orthotone:	ἄρα	3.8%	**28**%	31.8%
	ἄρ(᾽)	**31.7**%	2.9%	34.6%
enclitic:	ῥα	1.9%	**14.8**%	16.7%
	ῥ᾽	**16.8**%	0%	16.8%
Total:		54.2%	45.7	99.9%

We note first that orthotone ἄρ(α) is twice as common as aphaeretic enclitic ῥ(α), with (31.8 + 34.6 =) 66.4% of the total 1834 versus (16.7 + 16.8 =) 33.5%.

Next, ἄρα and ῥα are normal before consonant, with (28 + 14.8 =) 42.8% of the total 1834, while exceptions (i.e. ἄρα and ῥα before vowel) comprise only (3.8 + 1.9 =) 5.7% of the total, i.e. 1 out of 7 instances. Their elided

33 Arrived at using the TLG CD-ROM and Pandora software.

34 Except that ῥ᾽ never occurs before consonant.

35 And not the weight of the preceding syllable, as in Hoenigswald's Sievers-based approach.

(prevocalic) variants are ἄρ᾽ and ῥ᾽, with (31.7 + 16.8 =) 48.5% of the total, while exceptions (i.e. ἄρ᾽ before consonant, see fn. 34) make up 2.9% thereof, or 1 out of 17 instances.

The 158 exceptions (altogether 8.6% of the total 1834) just mentioned resolve themselves into two groups: i. ἄρα and ῥα before vowel are almost always[36] due to digamma (ϝεῖπεν, ϝοί/έ, ϝηΐδη, ϝἄναξ, ϝἕκαστος ....), i.e. they are regular for an earlier stage of the language. ii. The 53 instances of ἄρ before consonant cannot be demonstrated to be analogical generalisations of prevocalic ἄρ' by recombination of formulas; none of the original environments seems to have been preserved. They thus seem to reflect an early apocope of orthotone ἄρα.

9. We can now successively examine the sequences of ἄρ after the five particles γε, δε, *ἀτ(ο), αὖτε, and τε. The point of reference will be the percentual distribution of the 635 instances of simple ἄρ(᾽) presented below. To allow comparison with δ᾽ ἄρα and τ᾽ ἄρα,[37] we shall include ἄρα as well. On the other hand aphaeretic ῥα is of no further interest to us.

	/ _ V	/ _ C	Total
ἄρα	70 = 12%	513 = 88%	583
ἄρ(᾽)	582 = 92%	53 = 8%[38]	635

10. Semantically the ubiquitous γάρ and the utterly marginal γ᾽ ἄρ are very distinct. The clearly causal γάρ contrasts unmistakably with its parent sequence,[39] used only in the line-initial formula ἀλλ᾽ ὁ γ᾽ ἄρ ... 'But he at least, as expected, ...' (six times). Their distributions in terms of the following sound in Homer[40] are quite distinct as well:

[36] Only 8 of the 70 passages with ἄρα and one of the 35 with ῥα before vowel do not involve digamma, e.g. ῥα ἔπειτα *Od.* 14.233.

[37] Whereas the presumable *γ᾽ ἄρα, *ἀτ᾽ ἄρα and *αὐτ᾽ ἄρα did not survive.

[38] The statement of Liddell-Scott s.v. (repeated by Denniston 1950: 32) that "ἄρ is often used in Epic before consonants" must be understood in this light.

[39] Ruijgh 1971: 719f., 805. – The same elements occur in the reverse order in Lithuanian interrogative *ar̃gi, ar̃gu* 'whether'.

[40] Compare Hesiod:

	/ _ V	/ _ C	Total
γ᾽ ἄρ(᾽)	1	–	1
γάρ	218	450	668

	/ _ V	/ _ C	Total
γ᾽ ἄρα	—	—	—
γ᾽ ἄρ	6 = 100%	—	6
γάρ	533 = 38%	873 = 62%	1406

That is, whereas the sequence γ′ ἄρ never occurs before consonant (as is only natural since ἄρ is elided from ἄρα), the univerbated and lexicalised γάρ is no longer perceived as containing ἄρ[41] and is thus entirely free of this restriction. In fact, in contrast to simple ἄρ (which occurs before consonants in less than one tenth of its attestations) γάρ is more than one and a half times as common before consonants as before vowels (62 vs. 38 per cent).

11. The sequence δ᾽ ἄρ is semantically parallel to τ᾽ ἄρ: a postpositive enclitic copulative conjunction plus ἄρ. The sentence-phonetic distribution in Homer could not be clearer:

	/ _ V	/ _ C	Total
δ᾽ ἄρα	42 = 12%	294 = 88%	336
δ᾽ ἄρ(᾽)	267 = 100%	—	267

The most striking innovation here is of course the 12% occurrence of δ᾽ ἄρα before vowel.[42] The sequence δ᾽ ἄρ never occurs before consonant as the distribution of simple ἄρ would lead us to expect. Unlike γάρ then, δ᾽ ἄρ was not felt to be a single word; both components were still perceived as distinct. The second element kept the sequence out of preconsonantal position, where a word not synchronically related to ἄρ would have been allowed.

12. ἀτάρ and αὐτάρ are a typical instance of particle-syncretism:[43] originally meaning 'but' and 'again' respectively, they fell semantically together to become mere metrical variants of each other for hexametric purposes (Dunkel 1988:54-6). Outside of epic, adversative ἀτάρ survived

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[41] As shown by the otherwise pleonastic line-end formula Verb (⏑–) γάρ ῥα#: *Il.* 13.352 (ἤχθετο), 21.468 (αἴδετο): Watkins 1969: 196.

[42] Similarly in Hesiod: / _ V 3 = 33%, / _ C 6 = 66%, total 9.

[43] See my study of Greek μέτα and πεδα in the Festschrift G. Klingenschmitt, ed. G. Schweiger (to appear).

only in colloquial Attic, αὐτάρ only in Cypriot. Their distributions in Homer[44] are quite distinct from each other:

	/ _ V	/ _ C	Total
ἀτάρ	46 = 35%	84 = 65%	130
αὐτάρ	717 = 93%	52 = 7%	769

Since αὐτάρ occurs overwhelmingly before vowels, it patterns like a sequence (αὐτ᾽ ἄρ).[45] On the other hand ἀτάρ patterns like a word, since it is preconsonantal in fully 65% of its occurrences – more often even than the totally univerbated γάρ (62%).

13. We are now finally in a position to appreciate the distribution of the alleged ταρ.

	/ _ V	/ _ C	Total
τ᾽ ἄρα	**10 = 53%**	9 = 47%	19
τ᾽ ἄρ	21 = 100%	—	21
ταρ	6 = 66%	**3 = 33%**	9

While the sequence τ᾽ ἄρ (*Iliad* 14x, *Odyssey* 7x), as expected, never occurs before consonant, the univerbation ταρ of the Venetus A occurs there one third of the time.[46] This is more than the tenth that simple ἄρ would lead us to expect, but still less than the three-fifths or two-thirds of γάρ and ἀτάρ.

14. In sum: if taken seriously where it is attested, Iliadic ταρ would stand halfway on the continuum between a particle-sequence and a single word:

44 In Hesiod:

	/ _V	/ _ C	Total
ἀτάρ	—	1	1
αὐτάρ	25	3	28

45 Although note the pleonastic *Il.* 2.103 αὐτὰρ ἄρα Ζεὺς δῶκε διακτόρῳ ἀργεϊφόντῃ˙.

46 The passages are: *Il.* 1.8 τίς τὰρ σφωε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι; 2.761 τίς τὰρ τῶν ὄχ᾽ ἄριστος ἔην σύ μοι ἔννεπε Μοῦσα, and 13.307 Δευκαλίδη πῇ τὰρ μέμονας καταδῦναι ὅμιλον;.

		/ _ V (Archaisms)	/ _ C (Innovations)	Total
(par-	τ᾽ ἄϱ	100%	—	21
ticle	δ᾽ ἄϱ	100%	—	267
	γ᾽ ἄϱ	100%	—	6
sequ-	αὐτάϱ	93%	7%	769
ences)	ἄϱ(᾽)	92%	8%	635
	ταϱ	**66%**	**33%**	**9**
(single	γάϱ	38%	62%	1406
words)	ἀτάϱ	35%	65%	130

Given that the equation with Luvian *-tar* is in any case both functionally and morphologically unlikely, no practical benefit at all would accrue from presuming a Homeric univerbation ταϱ beside the sequence τ᾽ ἄϱ in the *Iliad*. Going further and segmenting αὐτάϱ as αὖ ταϱ rather than as αὖτ᾽ ἄϱ (Watkins 1995: 151 fn. 27) needlessly abandons the parallelism of αὖτ᾽ ἄϱ and ἀτ᾽ ἄϱ (for which no other analysis than ἀτ ἄϱ is plausible),[47] again with no linguistic gain to show for it.

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47 Despite Dunkel 1988: 54f., 62.

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ERERBTES UND ERSATZKONTINUANTEN BEI DER REKONSTRUKTION VON INDOGERMANISCHEN KONSTRUKTIONSMUSTERN: IDG. *Ǵ*^{h}*EU̯-* UND HETH. *LĀḪU-ḪḪI* 'GIESSEN'

JOSÉ L. GARCÍA RAMÓN

1. Die Rekonstruktion der indogermanischen Syntax sieht sich der inhärenten Schwierigkeit ausgesetzt, dass sich oft die semantischen Entsprechungen nicht auf formale Entsprechungen stützen können. Der Vergleich der Ausdrucksmittel diverser Sprachen für denselben Inhalt erlaubt es, neben bedeutenden Übereinstimmungen auch Unterschiede festzustellen, die Strunk (1977) mit dem glücklichen Ausdruck "heterogene Entsprechungen" bezeichnet hat. Diese Schwierigkeit ist mit der Einbeziehung der Daten des Tocharischen und der anatolischen Sprachen noch deutlicher geworden, denn in diesen für die Rekonstruktion in einigen Aspekten entscheidenden Sprachen sind Lexeme nicht belegt, die im Lichte des Materials des Indoiranischen, Griechischen und im allgemeinen der Sprachen, auf denen die Rekonstruktion der Grundsprache beruht, als zweifelsfrei gesichert gelten können. Ebenso häufig finden wir Unterschiede in der Kasus- bzw. Verbalsyntax zwischen dem Vedischen und Griechischen einerseits und dem Hethitischen und Tocharischen andererseits. Es kann auch vorkommen, dass die etymologischen Entsprechungen eines Lexems im Hethitischen oder Tocharischen eine andere Bedeutung und / oder andere Konstruktionsmuster haben als in den anderen Sprachen.

Es muss in diesen Fällen zunächst versucht werden, für jedes einzelne Lexem im Hethitischen oder im Tocharischen die entsprechende "Ersatzkontinuante" zu bestimmen. Ist dieses Lexem einmal erkannt, stellt sich die Frage, welche Formen und Funktionen in diesen Sprachen als ererbt gelten können und welche als einzelsprachlich und / oder als Ergebnis paralleler Entwicklungen anzusehen sind. Denn bekanntlich kann in jeder Einzelsprache ein bestimmtes Lexem durch ein anderes ersetzt worden sein und / oder seine ererbten Konstruktionsmuster verändert bzw. erweitert haben: Solche Prozesse formaler Erneuerung ohne Veränderung des Inhalts sind in allen Sprachen belegt.

Der vorliegende Beitrag geht in letztere Richtung und setzt sich zum Ziel, einerseits heth. *lāhu-ḫḫi* 'gießen' im Lichte seiner Bedeutung und Konstruktionen als Entsprechung von *ǵʰeu̯-* zu bestimmen, andererseits die Konstruktionsmuster von 'gießen' im Indogermanischen zu rekonstruieren. Die Untersuchung wird ebenso deutlich machen, dass die Bedeutung von ved. *hav* / *hu* nicht mit der von idg. *ǵʰeu̯-* übereinstimmt, welche de facto von *sec* / *sic* übernommen wurde.

2. Betrachten wir zunächst einen Fall, der die Rekonstruktion einer idg. Satzstruktur erlaubt, obwohl eine der Sprachen keine entsprechende Form belegt, die mit denen der anderen Sprachen etymologisch verwandt ist: Es handelt sich um die Konstruktion mit Ind. Präs. und Adverb der Vergangenheit zur Bezeichnung einer Tätigkeit, die bereits einige Zeit vor dem Sprechzeitpunkt ausgeführt wurde.

Die Konstruktion ist in verschiedenen Sprachen gut belegt:[1] die Adverbia sind je nach Sprache unterschiedlich (ved. *purā́*, hom. πάρος,[2] auch kl.-gr. πάλιν, lat. *ōlim*), sie haben aber gemeinsam, dass sie in den jeweiligen Sprachen auch mit einem Vergangenheitstempus belegt sind und dass die Konstruktion mit Ind. Präs. zum Ausdruck einer Handlung gebraucht wird, die in der Vergangenheit wiederholt bzw. gewohnheitsmäßig stattgefunden hat:

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[1] Dieser Beitrag entstand im Rahmen des Projektes PPP-VIGONI/DAAD (Dipartimento di Glottologia de la Università degli Stranieri di Siena, Institut für Linguistik/Historisch-Vergleichende Sprachwissenschft, Universität zu Köln: 2003-2005). Er fußt auf Vorarbeiten, die in Gastvorträgen an den Insitituten fü Sprachwissenschaft der Universitäten zu Salzburg und Wien (Januar 1990) präsentiert wurden. Für Diskussion und Hinweise bedanke ich mich bei Marina Benedetti und Paola Dardano (Siena), Heinrich Hettrich (Würzburg) und Joshua Katz (Princeton), sowie bei Antje Casaretto, Alexandra Daues und Daniel Kölligan (Köln). Für den Inhalt des Beitrags bin nur ich verantwortlich.
Die vedischen Übersetzungen fußen auf denjenigen von Geldner, die homerischen auf denen von Schadewaldt. Standardwerke werden nach herkömmlichen Abkürzungen zitiert.

Delbrück, *AiSynt.*, 502 und *Grdr.* IV:2, 265ss.; Kühner-Gerth II:1, 134f.; Schwyzer-Debrunner, *Gr.Gr.* II, 273f. Dazu und zu den Verhältnissen zwischen πάρος und πρίν vgl. García Ramón 1986: 68ff.

[2] Auch mit Negation: ∑ 386-7 πάρος γε μὲν οὔ τι θαμίζεις./ ἀλλ᾽ ἕπεο προτέρω, ἵνα τοι πὰρ ξείνια θείω 'früher kamst du nicht häufig! (d.h. 'seit langem besuchst du uns nicht'), aber komm herein! Dass ich dir Bewirtungen vorsetze', Plin. *Ep.* 1,11,1 *olim mihi nullas epistulas mittis* 'seit langem sendest du mir keine Briefe'.

(1) *saṃhotráṃ sma purā́ nā́rī sámanaṃ vā́va gachati*
vedhā́ ṛtásya vīríṇī́ndrapatnī mahīyate … (RV X 86, 10ad)
'früher zog die Herrin zu gemeinsamen Opfern oder zum Kampf aus. (Da) ward sie als die Meisterin des rechten Wandels, als Heldenweib und Indras Gattin gefeiert'

(2) …, κούρω δὲ δύω καὶ πεντήκοντα
κρινάσθων κατὰ δῆμον, ὅσοι πάρος εἰσὶν ἄριστοι (θ 35)
'lass uns … zweiundfünfzig junge Männer auslesen in dem Volke, die schon von früher her die besten sind'[3]

Hinzufügen lassen sich noch Beispiele mit den Synonymen πάλαι (3) und *ōlim* (4):

(3) κεῖνον γάρ, οὐδέν' ἄλλον, ἰχνεύω πάλαι (Soph., *Ai.* 20)
'diesem, und keinem anderen, bin ich seit langem auf der Spur'

(4) *hoc nunc primum profiteor, sed olim scio* (Curt. 10,3,10)
'das sage ich jetzt zum ersten Mal, ich weiß es aber seit langem'

Im Hethitischen lässt sich kein direkter Vertreter von ved. *purā́* bzw. hom. πάρος erkennen, jedoch ist die gleiche Konstruktion und Funktion durch das Adverb *karū* (mit Ind. Präsens, des öfteren auch mit Präteritum)[4] belegt, wie Strunk[5] überzeugend gezeigt hat, vgl.

(5) SAL-*za-ma-az ku-u̯a-pí ú-i-ú-i-iš-ki-u-u̯a-an d[a-a-i] DUMU-an pí-ra-an kạ-ru-ú ha-an-da-a-an-zi* (StBoT 29 KBo XVII 62 + 63 I 14′-15′)
'aber als die Frau zu schreien beginnt, haben sie für das Kind schon frühere Vorbereitungen gemacht'

Die Adverbien des Vedischen und Griechischen gehen auf eine gemeinsame Vorform zurück, wenn auch mit verschiedenen Kasusendungen:

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3 Üblicher ist die Konstruktion mit Vergangenheitstempus, vgl. Λ 825-6 οἳ μὲν γὰρ δὴ πάντες, ὅσοι πάρος ἦσαν ἄριστοι,/ ἐν νηυσὶν κέαται βεβλημένοι οὐτάμενοί τε 'denn schon alle, so viele vorher die Besten waren, liegen bei den Schiffen, durch Wurf oder Hieb verwundet …'.

4 Wie V. Cambi (im Druck) festgestellt hat, ist die Wortstellung eindeutig: *karū* 'schon' steht unmittelbar sowohl vor dem Präs. als auch vor dem Prät. als Verbmodifikator, demgegenüber als 'früher' am Satzanfang immer mit Prät. als Satzmodifikator. Auf die Implikationen dieser (m.E. sekundär, d.h. einzelsprachlichen) Verteilung wird hier nicht eingegangen.

5 Strunk 1993: 35f.

ved. *purā́* geht auf den Instr. **pr̥h$_2$-éh$_1$* (etwa 'im Laufe früherer Zeit'), hom. πάρος auf den Gen.-Abl. **pr̥h$_2$-és* (etwa 'seit früherer Zeit') zurück.[6] Auch gr. πάλαι (**pl̥éh$_2$-i*) und lat. *ōlim*[7] haben idg. Etymologien und lassen sich als Ersatzkontinuanten der erwähnten Formen verstehen. Demgegenüber hat heth. *karū* 'zuvor' keine sicher ins Indogermanische zurückführbare Etymologie,[8] doch steht aufgrund der vollkommenen Synonymie der Adverbien (und dementsprechend ihrer Konstruktionen) die Entsprechung außer Zweifel, die auf kaum etwas anderes als auf eine ererbte Konstruktion hinweist. In jeder der genannten Sprachen kann man mit einem Prozess der formalen Erneuerung des Adverbs durch Synonyme rechnen. Im Avestischen lebt das Syntagma durch ein Aequabile, nämlich durch die Konstruktion mit prädikativischem Adjektiv *pauruua-* 'früher',[9] fort. Die so hergestellte syntaktische Gleichung erlaubt nun ferner die Rekonstruktion eines Satztyps Ind.Präs. + [Vergangenheitsadverb] und, damit in Zusammenhang stehend, den Ansatz eines temporal nicht markierten Ind. Präs. für das Indogermanische, wie M. S. Ruipérez[10] es für das Griechische erkannt hat.

Fazit: heth. *karū* erweist sich als die Entsprechung von ved. *purā́*, hom. πάρος u.ä. und bestätigt für das Indogermanische die Existenz einer Konstruktion, die den Ansatz eines temporal nicht markierten Präsens rechtfertigt.

3. Eine ähnliche Situation finden wir im Fall der Konstruktionen vom Typ 'jemandem (Dat.) zu Hilfe (Dat.) kommen' bzw. 'sein', die zumindest im Vedischen und im Lateinischen gut belegt sind und eine vollkommene syntaktische Entsprechung mit den Konstruktionen von heth. *u̯arr-* bilden:[11] ved. *ávase / ūtáye gam* (6), ebenso wie aav. *auuaŋhe gam* (7), entspricht genau lat. *adiūmentō* (bzw. synonym *auxiliō*) *uenīre* (8), und dasselbe gilt für ved. *ávase / ūtáye as* bzw. *bhavi / bhū* (9) so wie jav. *auuaŋ́he ah* (10) und lat. *adiūmentō esse* (11):

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6 Die Bedeutung des Abl. bei πάρος läßt sich noch bei Homer erkennen (García Ramón 1985: 67ff.).

7 Besser aus Instr. **ol-n(o)-im* (Dunkel 1997: 77f.) als aus Lok. **ōl-i* mit *-m* nach *im, exim* herzuleiten.

8 Joshua Katz weist mich freundlicherweise auf jav. *zruuan* hin.

9 Vgl. Strunk 1993: 35 mit Verweis auf Yt. 13,30 *yōi vō vaŋuhīš … nōit̰ pauruuå āzāraiieṇte* '(jene [Männer], die euch, ihr Guten, als früheren / zuvorigen nicht erzürnen' (d.h. 'sie machen euch seit langem zornig').

10 Ruipérez 1954: 94, 100; Strunk 1993: 37f.

11 Ausführliche Darstellung bei García Ramón 1996, 2006.

(6) *śivó arkásya hómany asmatrā́ gantv ávase* (RV III 63,4cd)
'(Indra) soll freundlich bei der Darbringung des Preisliedes zu uns zum Beistand kommen'

(7) *mošu mē jasa auuaŋhe* (Yt. 5,63)
'komme mir sofort zur Hilfe'

(8) *si Romanus auxilio suis uenisset* (Sal. *Iug.* 81,3)
'wenn der Römer seinen Leuten zur Hilfe käme'

(9) *tá ū ṣú ṇo mahó yajatrā bhūtá devāsa ūtáye sajóṣāḥ* (RV X 61, 27ab)
'Ihr verehrungswürdigen Götter, seid ihr uns fein einmütig zu grosser Gnade'

(10) *… azāϑā mahmāi x́iiātā auuaŋ́hē* (Y. 50, 7d)
'mögest du mir zur Hilfe sein'

(11) *nec mihi plus adiumento ades quam ille qui nunquam etiam natust* (Plaut. Epid. 336)
'du bist mir nicht mehr zur Hilfe (v.l.: *adiumenti* als einer, der noch nicht geboren ist'

Die Entsprechung ist aber auch hinsichtlich der Lexeme vollkommen, denn die Verbalabstrakta sind jeweils Derivativa von idg. *$h_2$eu̯h_1- 'den Vorzug geben', 'helfen': ved. *ávas-* (Dat. *ávase*) und *ūtí-* (Dat. *ūtáye*) gehen auf *$h_2$éu̯h_1-es- bzw. *h_2uh_1-tí-, lat. *ad-iūmentum* (Dat. *adiūmentō*) auf *h_2e/ou̯h_1-men- (ved. *omán-*), mit aus dem redupl.-Präs. (*ad*)*iūuō* übernommener Reduplikation, zurück. Die vergleichbaren Konstruktionen mit lat. *auxiliō* lassen sich als Ergebnis eines Prozesses der Erneuerung mittels einer synonymen Ersatzkontinuante verstehen. Synonyme Konstruktionen mit Nom. des entsprechenden *Nomen agentis* finden sich im Vedischen mit *avitā́* (12) und im Griechischen, wo die Konstruktion mit Dat. nicht belegt ist, mit den Synonymen ἀμύντωρ, βοηθός u.ä. (13)

(12) *sá tvám̐ no adyá sumánā ihā́vitā́ bhávā vā́jeṣu santya* (RV I 36,2cd)
'sei du heute uns ein wohlgesinnter Helfer in den Entscheidungskämpfen, du Wahrhaftiger'

(13) … αὐτὸς γάρ οἱ ἀπ' αἰθέρος ἦεν ἀμύντωρ / Ζεύς, … (O 611-612)
'denn selbst war ihm vom Äther ein Helfer Zeus'

Der Vergleich mit dem Hethitischen erlaubt es, eine ähnliche Konstruktion mit Nominalformen von *u̯arr-* 'Hilfe' (immer in militärischem Kontext) zu

erkennen, die von R. Gusmani (1967) überzeugend als Entsprechung von hom. ἦρα erkannt wurde, konkret mit Dat. *u̯arri* (und Direkt. *u̯arra*) und Adj. *u̯arri-* (mit Nom. *u̯arriš*). Für den Typ 'zu Hilfe (*u̯arri*) kommen' (*uu̯e-*, *pāi-*, *ār-*) (14) lässt sich eine Konstruktion mit Dativ annehmen, für den Typ 'zu(r) Hilfe sein' (15) (ebenfalls eine Konstruktion mit Dat.), obwohl ein substantiviertes Adjektiv nicht auszuschließen ist. In jedem Fall aber entspricht der Typ *u̯arriš aš-* mit seinem unverkennbaren Nominativ (16) ved. *avitā́ as* bzw. dem Äquabilen ἀμύντωρ εἶναι vgl. (12-13):

(14) *zi-ik-mạ-ạš-šị u̯a-a[r-r]i ku-u̯a-at ú-ịt* (KUB XXXI 47 Vs. 9')
'Warum bist du ihm zu Hilfe gekommen?'

(15) *nu I-aš Ị-e-da-ni u̯a-ar-ri šar-di-i̯a-aš GÉŠPU-aš-ša e-eš-du* (KUB XXI 1 Rs. III 43-4)
'und einer sei dem anderen zur Hilfe (eine Hilfe) gegen die Gewalt'

(16) … *nu-za A-NA* ^{d}*UTU*^{ŠI} / *u̯a-ar-ri-iš GÉŠPU-áš-á šar-di-i̯a-áš e-eš* (KBo V 13 Vs. II 8-9)
'möge die Sonne Hilfe und Stütze gegen die Gewalt sein'

Die vollkommene syntaktische Entsprechung läßt vermuten, dass heth. (luv.?) *u̯arr-* (vgl. hom. [ἐπὶ] ἦρα φέρειν) die anatolische Entsprechung zu **h$_2$eu̯h$_1$-* darstellt. Auf dieser Basis erlaubt es das Konstruktionsmuster des Vedischen, bei dem die jeweils verwendete Kasusform immer eindeutig zu bestimmen ist, die Konstruktionen des Hethitischen zu bestimmen, insbes. die der Form *u̯arri*, die prinzipiell sowohl als Dat. von *u̯arr-* als auch als Neutrum des Adj. *u̯arri-* verstanden werden kann.

Fazit: heth. *u̯arr-*, deriv. *u̯arr-*, *u̯arri-* hat dieselbe Bedeutung bzw. Konstruktionen wie ved. *av^i/ū*, lat. [*ad*]*iuuāre* und erweist sich als anatolische Entsprechung von idg. **h$_2$eu̯h$_1$-* 'den Vorzug geben, helfen'. Darauf basierend erweisen sich die Kollokationen [jdm. – zu Hilfe – kommen], [jdm. – zu Hilfe – sein], [jdm. – Helfer – sein] als ererbt.

4. Idg. **ǵ^{h}eu̯-* 'gießen' ist in einer Reihe von Sprachen belegt, darunter auch im Tocharischen (ved. *hav/hu*, gr. χέειν, toch. *ku-*). Daneben findet sich auch eine mit Dental erweiterte Variante **ǵ^{h}eu̯-d-* (lat. *fundere*, got. *giutan*, ae. *gēotan*).[12] Die Wurzel ist jedoch nicht im Hethitischen belegt: welches das Lexem im Anatolischen ist, das **ǵ^{h}eu̯-* entspricht, lässt sich

[12] Vgl. auch eine Variante **ǵ^{h}eu̯-s-* mit *-s*-Erweiterung, vgl. aisl. *gjósa* 'hervorbrechen', *geysir* 'Geysir', air. *guss* (**ǵ^{h}us-tu-*) 'Kraft' (urspr. sexuell), auch 'Gefahr' und 'Tod', vgl. García Ramón 2005.

nur anhand der Konstruktionsmuster der Verben mit gleicher Bedeutung ermitteln. Somit ergibt sich als erste Aufgabe, (a) den Lexemtyp und (b) seine Konstruktionen (Aktanten bzw. Kollokationen) zu bestimmen, mit denen die einzelsprachlichen Vertreter von *$\acute{g}^h$eu̯- und *$\acute{g}^h$eu̯d- (im folgenden konventionell *$\acute{g}^h$eu̯[d]-) belegt sind.

Zu (a): **$\acute{g}^h$eu̯(d)-* 'gießen' lässt sich als momentatives Lexem verstehen, wofür die Existenz eines Wz.-Aor. *$\acute{g}^h$éu̯-t* (hom. χύτο) und eines *-s*-Aorists (hom. ἔχευα)[13] neben wenigstens einem charakterisierten redupl. Präsens (ved. *juhóti*) spricht, vielleicht auch eine *-s*-Bildung (toch. BA Präs. */kus-/*), die als ererbt gelten dürfen. Das Lexem ist auch telisch, denn es setzt die Erreichung des Zieles voraus (etwa wie **d^heh$_1$-* 'setzen, stellen', **sed-* 'sich hinsetzen' oder **pet*[*H*]- 'fallen'), d.h. der Ort, wohin gegossen wird.

Zu (b): Allen Sprachen, in denen **$\acute{g}^h$eu̯[d]-* belegt ist, sind zwei Aktanten gemeinsam, die jedoch nicht unbedingt ausgedrückt werden müssen, nämlich (C_1) Objekt, das "inkorporiert" sein kann: es handelt sich um eine Flüssigkeit (nur im Griechischen und Latein kann es auch ein fester Gegenstand sein, vgl. § 5) und (C_2) Ziel, d.h. der Ort, wohin die Flüssigkeit gegossen wird. Die Stelle (C_2) kann durch ein Ortsadverb oder durch Ortsbezeichnungen, nämlich (a) eine Örtlichkeit, (b) ein Gefäss bzw. ein Behälter oder (c) ein Körperteil bzw. (d) ein Lebewesen ausgefüllt werden. In den folgenden durchnumerierten Beispielen werden (a)(b)(c)(d) gemäß dieser Unterteilung an die Nummer angefügt, z.B. (17a) für Örtlichkeit als Ziel, (17d) für Lebewesen usw. Grundsätzliche Füllungsmöglichkeit ist der Lokativ ("des erreichten Zieles"), der im Vedischen (17a, 17d) und im Latein (19a) belegt ist, auch im Griechischen[14] im "Dativ" (18b, 18d), auch mit Präpositionen bzw. Präverbien recharakterisiert, fortlebt. Ebenso findet sich der Akk. mit Präposition im Griechischen (18c), im Lateinischen (19d) sowie im Gotischen (20b). Einzelsprachlich belegt sind ferner zwei spezifische Lokalkasus (bzw. Postpositionen): der Direktiv bei Homer (ἔραζε 'auf die Erde' (18a)), der mit dem Lok. ohne erkennbaren Bedeutungsunterschied konkurriert (18a), und der "Perlativ" (1mal) des Tocharischen (21c); mit Lebewesen als (C_1) wird das Personalpronomen *-ne* an die Verbalformen von *ku-* angehängt (21d). Es seien hierfür einige Stellen erwähnt:

[13] Zur Vorgeschichte von Aor. **$\acute{g}^h$eu̯-s-* und zur internen Rekonstruktion des Paradigmas vgl. Jasanoff 2003: 209ff.

[14] Belege aus Conti 1996: 215ff.

(17a) *tásmā íd āsyè havír juhótā mádhumattamam* (RV VII 102, 3ab)
'Ihm opfert in den Mund die süßeste Spende'

(17d) *tásminn agnaú sūktavākéna devā́ havír víśva ā́juhavus tanūpā́ḥ* (RV X 88, 7cd)
'in diesem Agni opferten alle Götter unter Liedervortrag die Spende, die sie selbst schützt'

(18a) αἱματοέσσας δὲ ψιάδας κατέχευεν ἔραζε (∏ 459)
'… doch blutige Tropfen schüttete er hinab zur Erde'

(18b) δῶκε δ' ἄρα σπλάγχνων μοίρας, ἐν δ' οἶνον ἔχευεν
χρυσείῳ δέπαϊ· δειδισκόμενος δὲ προσηύδα (γ 40-41)
'und gab ihnen Stücke von den inneren Teilen und füllte Wein in einen goldenen Becher und bot ihn zum Gruß'

(18c) μίσγον, ἀτὰρ βασιλεῦσιν ὕδωρ ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἔχευαν (Γ 270)
'und mischten Wein im Mischkrug und gossen den Königen Wasser über (= in) die Hände'

(18d) ἔνθά μιν ἐξ ἵππων πέλασαν χθονί, κὰδ δέ οἱ ὕδωρ / χεῦαν (Ξ 435-6)
'dort legten sie ihn vom Gespann auf die Erde und schütteten Wasser über ihn'

(19a) *hic duo rite mero libans carchesia Baccho / fundit humi* (Verg. *Aen*. 5,77-78)
'hier gießt er, nach der Vorschrift opferend, zwei Becher auf den Boden'

(19b) *ex cortinis in labra fundendum* (scil. *oleum*) (Plin. *Nat*. 15, 22)
'aus den Kesseln soll man es in Wannen gießen'

(19c) *ipsa tenens dextra pateram pulcherrima Dido candentis uaccae media inter cornua fundit* (Verg. Aen. 4, 60-61)
'Dido, über die Maßen schön, hält selbst in der Rechten die Opferschale und gießt den Wein mitten zwischen die Hörner einer weißen Kuh'

(20b) *jah ainshun giut wein niujata in balgins fairnjans*
"οὐδὲ βάλλουσιν οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς (*in balgins*) παλαιούς" (L. 5.37)

(21c) *kapśi wär puttiśparṣināṃ kapśiṃña śosāṃ* (A 24 a5 [15])
'(und) das Wasser goss er auf den buddhahaften Körper' ("perlat." *kapśiṃñā*)

(21d) *wär śār kuṣänne* (B BPK 13D 12 Ja 2)
'er gießt ihm Wasser'[15]

Dass (C_1) grundsätzlich eine Flüssigkeit ist, geht aus dem Gebrauch für das Gießen von Metallen mit gr. χέειν (22) und lat. *fundō* (23) hervor:

(22.1) (τα τὰγαλματα …) … εχε[εν] / δ' αυτα Ισιλκης (Dittenberger, *Syll.* 3g.1.4-5 Susa aus Didyma, 6.Jh.?)
'(diese Statuen) … sie goss Isikles'

(22.2) …· καὶ καθαρίσει τοὺς υἱοὺς Λευι καὶ χεεῖ αὐτοὺς ὡς τὸ χρυσίον καὶ ὡς τὸ ἀργύριον (LXX Ma 3,3)
'und wird reinigen die Söhne und wird sie wie zum Gold und wie zum Silber gießen'

(23) (*fulmen*) *ferrum et aes fundit* (Sen. *Nat*. 2,52,2)
'(der Donner) macht Eisen und Kupfer schmelzen' Vgl. auch *ad aes fundendum maximas utilitates* (Vitr. 2,7,4; *cum fundendo plumbum* 8,6,11).

Besonders relevant ist die metaphorische Kollokation[16] [Lieder/Wörter gießen], wobei die Wörter als Fließendes gelten, die im Vedischen, im Griechischen und im Lateinischen belegt sind (z.B. RV II 27,1ab *imā́ gíra ādityébhyo … juhvā̀ juhomi* 'diese Lobreden opfere ich den Adityas mit der Zunge', B 41 θείη δέ μιν ἀμφέχυτ' ὀμφή 'und um ihn ergossen war die göttliche Stimme', Verg. *Aen.* 6, 55 *funditque* **preces** *rex* 'und der König gießt seine Gebete') wie L. Kurke erkannt hat und als ererbt gelten dürfen.[17]

[15] Beispiele aus Hackstein 1995: 50, Carling 2000: 51 (mit Diskussion).

[16] Metaphorisch können der Schlaf (ε 490-491 … τῷ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνη / ὕπνον ἐπ' ὄμμασι χεῦ'[ε]), Wurfgeschosse (δούρατα 'Speere' E 618, βέλεα 'Geschosse' Θ 159) oder Truppen (B 465 ἐς πεδίον προχέοντο et al.), Acc. *trag.* Frg. 126 *qui aut illorum copias fundam in campo*) gegossen werden.

[17] Kurke 1989: 113ff. Dazu gehört auch die altirische Kollokation *feraid fáilte* "pours welcome", wie von Watkins 1995: 16 (*feraid* : *do-fortai* 'gießen' aus **to-u̯ort-éi̯e-*), *fáilte* "gaudium" betont wird. Im Rahmen dieser idg. Metapher lässt sich air. *guth* 'Stimme' auf idg. **ǵʰeu̯H-* (ved. *hvā* / *hū*) bzw. auf urkelt. **gʰuH-tu-* 'Aufrufung' zurückführen. Ausführlicher andernorts.

5. Eine Besonderheit, nämlich die Füllung von (C_1) mit nicht-flüssigen Objekten, bieten die Vertreter von **ǵʰeu̯(d)-* im Griechischen (24) und Lateinischen (25):

(24) ἧς τε πλείστην μὲν καλάμην χθονὶ χαλκὸς ἔχευεν (T 222)
'wo die meisten Halme das Erz zu Boden schütten'. Vgl. auch ἀμφὶ πυρήν· εἶθαρ δὲ χυτὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἔχευαν, χεύαντες δὲ τὸ σῆμα πάλιν κίον … (Ψ 256) 'und schütteten dann gehäufte Erde darüber. Und als sie das Grabmal aufgeschüttet, gingen sie wieder…'

(25) *segetem … corbibus fudere in Tiberim* (Liv. 2,5,3)
'um das Korn körbeweise in den Tiber zu schütten'

Diese Situation lässt sich als Ausweitung der ursprünglich auf flüssige Objekte beschränkte Verwendung auf feste Objekte verstehen. Die umgekehrte Erklärung, dass Griechisch und Latein die voreinzelsprachliche Situation widerspiegeln und dass die Einschränkung auf Flüssigkeiten in den anderen Sprachen auf einzelsprachlichen Entwicklungen beruht, lässt sich kaum nachvollziehen, insbes. angesichts des Materials aus den anderen Sprachen, in denen nur Flüssigkeiten als (C_1) belegt sind, und v.a. angesichts der Situation im Vedischen, wo *hav*/*hu* (oft mit Inkorporierung des flüssigen Objekts) schon relikthaft ist (§ 7).

6. Die ausgewählten Stellen lassen trotz evidenter Unterschiede in den Einzelsprachen das am Anfang als ererbt befürwortete Muster für idg. **ǵʰeu̯(d)-* '(eine Flüssigkeit) gießen' rechtfertigen: (C_1) Objekt (eine Flüssigkeit): Akk. explizit oder inkorporiert, (C_2) erreichtes Ziel des Gießens (Ortschaft, Gefäß, Körperteil, auch Personen): Lokativ bzw. präpositionelle Konstruktion (Typ hom. χθονί → ἐπὶ χθονί…). Die damit konkurrierenden Konstruktionen, die synonym sind und "heterogene Entsprechungen" bilden (vgl. z.B. (18) ved. *āsyè juhótā* 'opfert in den Mund', (18c) hom. ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἔχευαν 'gossen in die Hände', ε 491 ὕπνον ἐπ' ὄμμασι χεῦ'(ε) '(ihm) goss einen Schlaf auf die Augen' und (21c) toch. A *kapśiṃñā śosāṃ* 'goss auf den Körper'),[18] müssen nicht alle auf parallelen Neuerungen beruhen: Das Syntagma mit Präverb und Akk. (Griechisch, Latein, Gotisch) beruht auf der Verstärkung eines unpräverbierten Akk. der Richtung, der bei momentativ-telischen Lexemen des Typs **ǵʰeu̯-*, die von sich aus die

[18] Vgl. auch den Gebrauch von χθονὶ, ἐπὶ χθονὶ und Direkt. ἔραζε ohne erkennbaren Unterschied, vgl. (24) πλείστην μὲν καλάμην χθονὶ … ἔχευεν, (28.2) νιφάδες … / ἅς τ' ἄνεμος … / ταρφειὰς κατέχευεν ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ und (18a) ψιάδας κατέχευεν ἔραζε.

Erreichung des Zieles implizieren, mit dem Lok. konkurriert, vgl. bei ved. *sad* 'sich setzen'[19] mit Lok. *yónau* und Akk. *yónim* (26.1-2):

(26.1) *ágne víśvebhiḥ svanīka devaír ū́rṇāvantam prathamáḥ sīda yónim* | (RV VI 15,16ab)
'schöngesichtiger Agni, mit allen Göttern setze dich als Erster auf den wolligen Schoß'

(26.2) *gr̥ṇānā́* jamádagninā yónāv r̥tásya sīdatam (RV III 62,18)
'von Jamagdani gepriesen setzet euch in den Schoß des rechten Brauches'

Eine ähnliche Situation spiegelt sich bei den verschiedenen Verba für 'fallen, zu Boden gehen' wider (ved. *pad*, gr. πίπτειν, heth. *mauš-*, toch. B *klāy* A *klā*[*w*]), wobei der Lok. im Vedischen (27), im Griechischen (28.1) und im Hethitischen (29.1), der Direktiv im Griechischen (28.2) und im Hethitischen (29.2), der Perlativ im Tocharischen (30) gebraucht wird:

(27) *mahó druhó ápa viśvā́yu dhāyi vájrasya yát pátane pā́di śúṣṇaḥ* (VI 20,5ab)
'des großen Unholdes ganze Lebenszeit war zu Ende, als im Fallen der Keule Śúṣṇa hinsank'

(28.1) αἱματόεσσα δὲ χεὶρ πεδίῳ πέσε, … (E 82)
'und der blutige Arm fiel zu Boden …'

(28.2) … νιφάδες δ' ὥς πῖπτον ἔραζε,
ἅς τ' ἄνεμος ζαὴς νέφεα σκιόεντα δονήσας
ταρφειὰς κατέχευεν ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ (M 156-158)
'und wie Schneeflocken fielen sie zur Erde, die ein heftiger Wind, der die schattigen Wolken schüttelt, in Mengen niederwirft auf die vielnährende Erde'

(28.3) ἣ μὲν ἀποπλαγχθεῖσα χαμαὶ πέσε … (N 578)
'und der, weggeschlagen, fiel zu Boden, …'

(29.1)]*da-ga-a-an Ú-UL ma-u*[*š* (KUB XLIII 65,3' = StBoT 12)
'auf die Erde fällt er nicht'

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[19] Vgl. auch Minimalpaare mit *ā́-ruh* 'besteigen' I 119,2d *ā́ vām ūrjā́nī rátham aśvinā́ruhat* 'Die Urjāni hat euren Wagen bestiegen, ihr Aśvin' neben VIII 22,9a *ā́ hí ruhátam aśvinā ráthe* 'steiget darum, o Aśvin, auf … in den Wagen, in den goldenen Wagenkasten' (García Ramón 1995: 41f.). Für die unterschiedlichen Konstruktionen im Gr. und im Ved. vgl. Conti 1996: 153ff., 325ff.

(29.2) [*n*]*a-aš-kán an-da u̯a-ri-ši-i̯a-aš* [*pa-*]*aḫ-ḫu-e-na-aš-ša še-li* [*m*]*a-uš-ta-ru* (KBo XIII 260 III 39ff.)
'und wenn er zurücktritt, soll er in einen Haufen von *u̯arišii̯a* und Feuer fallen'

(30) [*t*]*kanā klā* 'er fiel zur Erde' (A 356 b4)
kentsaklāya 'er fiel zur Erde' (B 86 a2)

Wie auch immer die Beziehungen der toch. Lokalkasus zu interpretieren seien, kann der "Perlativ" in der Funktion *Allativ*[20] im Tocharischen gebraucht werden, wobei eine Überlappung mit dem Obliquus (= idg. Akk.), mit dem "Adlativ" und mit dem Lokativ möglich ist.[21] Wichtig ist in unserem Zusammenhang nur, dass der toch. Perlativ gerade bei Verba wie 'gießen' und 'fallen' die Stelle (C_2) füllen kann, und dementsprechend als Variante bzw. Kontinuante der Konstruktion mit Lok. gilt.

7. Für die Bestimmung der Ersatzkontinuante von **ǵʰeu̯-* im Anatolischen ist die einzelsprachliche Entwicklung im Vedischen von Interesse, denn sie exemplifiziert die Ersetzung von **ǵʰeu̯-* (ved. *hav* / *hu*) , das noch relikthaft belegt ist, durch ein anderes Lexem, mit Übernahme seiner Bedeutung bzw. Konstruktionen.

Im Vedischen ist die absolute Konstruktion von *hav* / *hu* mit Inkorporation des Objekts (immer eine Flüssigkeit) und ohne Angabe des Orts, wohin sie gegossen wird, sehr häufig: 'einen Opfertrank gießen, opfern'. Die etymologische Bedeutung 'gießen' ist zugunsten von 'opfern' aufgegeben worden. Von den ererbten Konstruktionsmustern[22] bleiben nur (C_1) *havíḥ, havyám, hótrām* und (C_2) *asyè* 'in den Mund' (17a) und mit *agnaú* 'auf Agni, ins Feuer' (17d). Die ererbte Konstruktion wird von einem anderen Lexem, nämlich *sec* / *sic* (auch mit *ā-, ní-, pári-*) übernommen.[23] Ved. *sec* / *sic* (: jav. *haec* / *hic*), das auch ererbt ist (vgl. ahd. *sīhan*, nhd. *seihen*, aksl. *sьčǫ* [*sьcati*], toch. A *sik* 'überschwemmen') darf also als Ersatzkontinuante von *hav* / *hu* gelten, z.B. mit Lok. (a) von Örtlichkeiten bzw. unbelebten

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20 Vgl. Carling 2000: 50 ("woraus eine Bewegung in einer *ad*-Position resultiert").

21 Vgl. Kölver 1965: 32, 83 (zu B *klāy*), Carling 2000: 67ff., 79ff.

22 Daneben ist auch eine Konstruktion mit Instr. des Opfers und Dat. des empfangenden Gottes (ohne Akk. als Objekt) vom Typ *samānéna vo havíṣā juhomi* 2mal belegt (RV X 79,5 und 191,3), die auf ein früheres Konstruktionsmuster zurückgeführt werden könnte (Haudry 1977: 345ff.). Auf diese Frage soll hier nicht weiter eingegangen werden.

23 Die Konstruktion mit Akk. des Gegossenen und Instr. der Flüssigkeit ist auch bei *sec* / *sic* (wie bei *hav* / *hu*) belegt, vgl. RV IV 43,6ab *síndhur ha vāṃ rasáyā siñcad áśvān* 'Sindhu mit der Rasa, benetzte eure Pferde'.

Konkreta (*suté* 'in den Saft' (31a)), (b) von Gefäßen (*kumbhé* 'in einen Krug' (31b))[24] und (c) von Körperteilen (*upásthe* 'in den Schoß'(31c)):[25]

(31a) *ā́ suté siñcata śríyaṃ ródasyor abhiśríyam* (RV VIII 72, 13ab)
'Gießet die Herrlichkeit in den ausgepressten Saft, die beide Welten überstrahlt'

(31b) *satré ha jātā́v iṣitā́ námobhiḥ kumbhé, rétaḥ siṣicatuḥ samānám* (RV VII 33, 13ab)
'bei einem langen Somaopfer durch die Huldigung erregt geworden vergossen beide gemeinsam Samen in einen Krug'

(31c) *ā́ tū́ ṣiñca hárim īṃ drór upásthe* (RV X 101,10a)
'gieß doch den goldgelben (Soma) in den Schoß des Holzes ein'

Eine ähnliche Entwicklung ist für das Avestische anzunehmen: **ǵʰeu̯-* ist als Verb nicht (mehr) vertreten, die ererbte Bedeutung lebt in *hic* (Präs. *hiṇca-*) fort, allerdings mit präpositionellen Konstruktionen (u.a. mit *auui* + Akk. (32a)) bzw. mit Adv. + Dat. *personae*) (32d):

(32a) *nā.taṯ āpəm hiṇcaiti auui yauuō.carānīm* (V. 5,5)
'da lässt einer Wasser über ein Getreidefeld laufen'

(32d) *yezi nairiiō aŋhaṯ pasca hē pourum paiti.hiṇcōiš* (V. 8,58)
'ist es ein Mann, so sollst du ihn erst hinten, dann vorn angießen'

Fazit: Die urspr. Bedeutung und Konstruktionen von idg. **ǵʰeu̯-* bleiben relikthaft im Vedischen, werden aber durch *sec* / *sic* (und mit formaler Erneuerung der Konstruktion in jav. *hic*) ersetzt. Eine ähnliche Entwicklung lässt sich für das Anatolische vorstellen, das keine Spur von **ǵʰeu̯-* aufweist.

8. Jetzt zur Frage, welche die **ǵʰeu̯-* entsprechende Form im Hethitischen war. Im Prinzip kommen als Kandidaten zwei Verba in Betracht: Einerseits *lāḫu-ḫḫi (im folgenden lāḫu-)* 'gießen' (und redupl. *lilḫu(a)-ḫḫi* (mh.+), immer mit Flüssigkeiten als Objekt, andererseits *šuḫḫ(a)-ḫḫi* 'schütten, hinwerfen' (und redupl. *išḫu(a)-ḫḫi* (ah.), mit etwas abweichender Bedeutung

[24] Auch mit *pavitré* 'auf die Seihe' (RV IX 17, 4a *pavítre pári ṣicyate* 'er wird auf die Seihe umgegossen' (auch IX 42, 4a, IX 27, 2).

[25] Auch *jaṭháre* 'in den Bauch' (RV III 47,1c *ā́ siñcasva jaṭháre mádhva ūrmím* 'gieß dir das Gewoge des Metes in den Bauch').

'verstreuen',[26] 'sprenkeln', das ausschließlich feste Gegenstände als Objekt hat (33):[27]

(33) EGIR-*an-da-ma* IM-*aš iš-nu-u-ri-in i-i̯a-az-zi* [b] *na-aš-ta* Ì-*an* /23/24 *an-da la-a-ḫu̯-i* [c] … *kar-aš-kán an-da šu-uḫ-ḫa-a-i* … (KBo XXXIX 8 + KBo XXXIX 10, Rs. III 22).
'aber dann macht er ein … für die Lehmpaste und gießt Öl hinein, … und schüttet Korn hinein'

Beide Verben haben dieselben Füllungsmöglichkeiten und praktisch identische Kollokationen:[28] mit Lokativ bzw. mit Direktiv, ferner mit vor- oder nachgestellten Lokaladverbien auf *-an* (Lok.) und auf *-a* (Direkt.), die zur Verstärkung der Lokalverhältnisse dienen[29]. Heth. *šuḫḫa-* (nur mit Nichtflüssigem) muss jedoch als Kontinuante von idg. *$\acute{g}^h$eu̯-* ausscheiden. Einerseits würde dies implizieren, (a) dass *$\acute{g}^h$eu̯-* schon voreinzelsprachlich auch Festes als Objekt hatte und dass die alte Situation nur im Griechischen und Latein aufrechterhalten bleibt: Dies würde seinerseits implizieren, dass die Einschränkung auf Flüssigkeiten in den anderen Sprachen auf einzelsprachlichen Entwicklungen beruht, was sich kaum nachvollziehen lässt (§ 4) und dass im Hethitischen ein neues Verbum *lāḫu-* für Flüssigkeiten kreiert werden sollte. Andererseits ist die Wurzel, auf die heth. *šuḫḫa-* zurückgeht (**sh$_2$eu̯-* oder **seu̯h$_2$-* 'schütten')[30], im Griechischen und im Tocharischen mit der spezifischen Bedeutung 'regnen' gut belegt: gr. ὕει (**sū-i̯o/e-*), ὑετός 'Regen', toch. B /*su*-/, wohl /*swa-s*-/ 'regnen' (auch

[26] Vgl. Melchert 1984: 99 mit n. 49.

[27] Die Verteilung *lāḫu-* in Verbindung mit Flüssigem :: *šuḫḫa-* in Verbindung mit Festem wird nur in heterogenen Listen nicht respektiert, wobei sowohl *lāḫu-* als auch *šuḫḫa-*, *išḫu(a)-* gebraucht werden können (Belege bei Puhvel HED Vol. 5, 23).

[28] Vgl. mit *tagan* (KUB XXV 23 IV 56 *ta-ga-an … la-ḫu-u-u̯a-an-zi* vs. IBoT II 44 4′ *da-ga-a-an šu-uḫ-ḫa-i*). Heth. *šuḫḫ(a)-* und gr. χέω haben gemeinsame Konstruktionen, vgl. KUB XXVII 67 Rs. III 13 [*nu-u*]*š- ša-an hal-ki-in kar-aš*[GI] *pád-da-ni šu-uḫ-ḫa-i* 'er gießt Gerste und Weizen in einen Korb' und ἐν δέ μοι ἄλφιτα χεῦον ἐϋρραφέεσσι δοροῖσιν 'und schütte mir Gerstenmehl in gutgenähte Beutel'.

[29] Vgl. zuletzt die Darstellungen von Starke 1977 und Francia 2003.

[30] Melchert 1984: 99 mit n. 49. Nicht zu **suH-* 'füllen', vgl. heth. *šunna-* 'dass.', ved. *sunóti* 'presst'.

A *su-, swās-*: Präs. 3pl. *swiñc*) mit Präs. V */s(u)wā-/*, Kaus. XIb */swāsäsk-/*[31], auch B *swese-*, A *swase* 'Regen'.[32] Diese Tatsachen machen wahrscheinlich, dass idg. **su̯eh$_2$-* bzw. **seu̯h$_2$-* sowohl Flüssiges als auch Festes als (C_1) haben könnte (und daher als nicht markiert gegenüber **ǵ^{h}eu̯-*, das sich auf Flüssigkeiten beschränkte, gilt). Die Spezialisierung als 'regnen', welche voreinzelsprachlich sein kann, weist darauf hin, dass es sich um eine kontinuierliche und wiederholte Bewegung handelt,[33] wie beim Regen, der fällt, oder beim Korn, das ausgestreut wird. Im Rahmen dieser Erklärung würde die Einschränkung von heth. *šuḫḫ(a)-* auf feste Gegenstände eine Verengung der ursprünglichen Bedeutung der Wurzel reflektieren.

9. Heth. *lāḫu-*[34] erweist sich als anatolische Kontinuante (wie luw. *laḫuna-*) von **ǵ^{h}eu̯(d)-*. Seine Konstruktionen (Lok., mit / ohne Adv., Dir., mit / ohne Adv.) stimmen völlig mit denen von **ǵ^{h}eu̯(d)-*, auch in den Worttypen von (C_2) überein, wie folgende Beispiele zeigen:
(a) mit Ortschaften:

(34) *nu* I ^{DUG}*ḫu-up-pár* KAŠ *ta-ga-an da-pí-an la-ḫu-u-u̯a-an-zi* (KUB XXV 23 IV 56)
'und eine Terrine Wein gießen sie ganz auf die Erde'[35]
Vgl. hom. (18a) ψιάδας κατέχευεν ἔραζε, lat. (19a) *duo … carchesia Baccho fundit humi* .

(b) mit Gefäßen: mit Dir. ((35) (*ḫurtii̯alii̯a* 'in das Becken'):

[31] Vgl. dazu Hackstein 1995: 18 (auch Adams, Dictionary s.u., 693f.): Präs. B */su(w)ā-/* aus **suh$_2$-e-* (< **sh$_2$u-* mit Laryngalmetathese, vgl. u.a. Jasanoff 1978: 89 n. 7, 90 n. 11); LIV^2 s.u. **sh$_2$eu̯-* (Th. Zehnder). Die übrigen Stämme beruhen auf dem Denom. **su̯esā-* (Konj. V */swāsā-/* = Prät. Ib). Ihrerseits geht A Präs. 3pl. *swiñc* (**sh$_2$u̯-énti*) auf athem. **suh$_2$-* (**suh$_2$-C-*) zurück. Vgl. auch Ptz. Med. Präs. *sūmam* (B *swāmane*).

[32] Aus **suh$_2$oso-* oder **sh$_2$u̯oso-* (dazu Denom. **su̯esā-*, B **su̯āsā-* vgl. Adams, Dictionary, 694).

[33] Dass im Toch. ein Wz.-Präs. belegt ist, spricht für durativ-iterativen Verbalcharakter.

[34] Heth. *lāḫu-* ist höchstwahrscheinlich ein *-u-*Präsens von **leh$_2$-* (auch heth. Ipv. *lāḫ* 'gieße'), das lat. *lāma* 'Pfütze' zugrunde liegt (vgl. Schmitt-Brandt 1967: 65; Oettinger 1979: 424, zuletzt M. Kümmel in LIV^2 s.u. **leh$_2$*, Jasanoff 2003: 143, Katz 2004: 201 n. 21 mit Lit., 206 mit Noten). Eine etymologische Zugehörigkeit zu gr. λούω (myk. *re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo /lewotrok^{h}owos/* :: hom. λοετροχόος mit Metathese vom Typ **stero- > store-*, vgl. Ruipérez 1950), lat. *lauāre* ist lautlich unmöglich (*pace* zuletzt Puhvel, HED vol. V, s.u. *laḫ(ḫ)u(w)a-* mit unwahrscheinlichem Ansatz **leA$_2$-w-*).

[35] Vgl. auch mit Lok. *āpi* und *katān*: KBo XVII 94 Rs. III 24'-25' EGIR-*an-ta-ma* KAŠ.GEŠTIN Ì.DÙG.GA [… -]*xi̯a ANA a-a-pí kat-ta-an la-a-ḫu-u̯a-a-i* 'aber danach gießt er "Bier-Wein", gutes Öl und … in die Grube'.

(35) SAL. LUGAL-*ša* 3-*ŠU a-i-iš-še-it* [(*a-a*)]*r-ri na-at ḫu-ur-ti-i̯a-li-i̯a la-a-ḫu-i* (StBoT 8 I 16′-17′)
'Auch die Königin wäscht dreimal ihren Mund und gießt es (d.h. das Wasser) in das Becken'. Auch mit Adverb *katta* vgl. [(*n*)]*a-aš-ša-an kat-ta* $^{\text{DUG}}$GÌR.KIŠ-*i̯a la-ḫu-e-ni* 'Dann gießen wir es hinab in den Mischkrug?' KBo XVII 25 Vs.? 9′.

Vgl. hom. (18b) ἐν δ᾽ οἶνον ἔχευεν χρυσείῳ δέπαϊ, lat. (19b) *in labra fundendum*, got. (20) *giutand wein niujata in balgins fairnjans.* (c) Mit Körperteilen: mit Lok. ((36) ŠU$^{\text{MEŠ}}$-*aš* 'in die Hände', (37) *tuikkišši* 'auf seinen Körper'):[36]

(36) *nu-uš-ša-n ANA* LUGAL ŠU$^{\text{MEŠ}}$-*as u̯a-a-tar pa-ra-a la-a-ḫu-*$^{!}$*u̯a-a-i* (KUB XXVIII 82 II 8′-9′)
'er gießt Wasser auf die Hände des Königs'

(37) *na-at-ša-an tu-ik-ki-iš-ši la-a-ḫu-u-u̯a-a-i nu-za* Ì.DÙG.GA *iš-ki-iz-zi* (KUB IX 28 Rs. IV 7-8)
'er gießt es (d.h. Wasser, *u̯a-ta-ar* .5) auf seinen Körper und salbt sich mit Salbe'
Vgl. hom. (18c) ὕδωρ ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἔχευαν, lat. (19c) *inter cornua fundit*, toch. A (21c) *kapśiṃña śosāṃ*

Auch in der Bedeutung 'Metalle gießen':

(38) *ku-u̯a-at-u̯a* URUDU-*an ku-in la-a-ḫu-un nu-u̯a-mu a-ap-pa ḫu-u-ur-za-ki-zi* (KBo XXXII 14 II 53-54)
'warum verflucht mich hinterher immer wieder das Kupfer, das ich gegossen habe?' (E. Neu StBoT 32, 82f.)
Vgl. bibl.gr. (23) χεεῖ αὐτοὺς ὡς τὸ χρυσίον καὶ ὡς τὸ ἀργύριον, lat. (22) *ferrum et aes fundit, ad aes fundendum, cum fundendo plumbum.*

Fazit: Heth. *lāḫu-* bildet mit **ǵ*^{h}*eu̯(d)-* eine vollkommene Entsprechung sowohl in der Bedeutung wie im Konstruktionsmuster. Die Übereinstimmung erstreckt sich darüber hinaus auch auf die einzelnen als (C_1) und (C_2) verwendeten Lexeme.

[36] Auch mit SAG.DU-*ši* 'auf das Haupt' (VBoT 1, 14 *nu-uš-ši li-il-ḫuu̯a-i* Ì-*an* SAG.DU-*ši* 'er soll Öl auf ihr Haupt gießen'), ebenso mit Adv. *šarā* (Belege und Diskussion bei Francia 2002: 139f.).

10. Es lässt sich also feststellen, dass heth. *lāḫu-* als Ersatzkontinuante von *$*\acute{g}^h$eu̯(d)-* gelten darf, etwa in derselben Weise wie ved. *sec* / *sic* die ursprüngliche Bedeutung und Konstruktionen von *hav* / *hu*, die im Rig Veda nur relikthaft belegt sind, übernommen hat. Die Füllungsmöglichkeiten für (C_2) stellen eine Besonderheit des Hethitischen dar: Neben dem zu erwartenden Lokativ finden sich hier auch der Direktiv auf *-a* (mit oder ohne Ortsadverbia auf *-an* und / oder *-a*). Im Tocharischen ist die Konstruktion (C_2) nur einmal mit dem Lokalkasus Perlativ belegt, der als synonym des Lokativs gelten darf. Der Gebrauch des Direktivs im Anatolischen und des Perlativs (bzw. des "Adlativs") im Tocharischen, ist eine Frage für sich, die sich im Rahmen der Problematik der alternativen Füllungen von (C_2) bei momentativ-telischen Lexemen des Typs *$*\acute{g}^h$eu̯(d)-*, sowohl in den Einzelsprachen als auch voreinzelsprachlich, bewegt. Auf diese Frage wird hier nicht eingegangen.

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INDO-EUROPEAN *SǴ^{H}ÉD^{H}LĀ

ERIC P. HAMP

I have reconstructed (Hamp 1979: 168-9 §2) a related, and nearly common, Indo-European background for Welsh *haeddel* (fem.) and Greek ἐχέτλη as (Welsh) **sagedlā* < **sǵ^{h}ed^{h}lā* and (Greek) **seǵ^{h}etlā*, which could be revocalised from **sǵ^{h}etlā*. This is plausible, but it still requires two related, yet different suffixes. We know that in Greek the state **sǵ^h-* from the base **seǵ^h-* would be at home; we also know that ἐχ- underwent Grassmann's Law, and therefore **seǵ^{h}etlā* or *hεχετλᾱ would antedate the time of Grassmann, as would also **sǵ^{h}etlā*. Therefore, let us assume **sǵ^{h}éd^{h}lā* > pre-Greek *σχέθλᾱ. Then an early dissimilation led to *σχέτλᾱ, with an acceptable synonymous suffix; on distributions of these suffixes see Hamp 1989.

At this point I would claim that *σχ- was replaced not by the allomorph *σεχ-, but by allomorphic *hεχ- which was overtaken then by Grassmann dissimilation. I believe that *σ- was not available to preGreek at that time because **s*, except when final or before obstruent, was weakened to aspiration (somewhere on the eastern Pontus) during the distant common Helleno-Armenian period, *pace* Clackson 1994, esp. 53ff.

Welsh and (pre-)Greek (*hεχετλᾱ), then, share an exact common inheritance, thus obeying Occam's razor. It is of course possible that within Indo-European that we here reach, i.e. after the departure of Indo-Iranian, there had been a prior development of **sǵ^{h}éd^{h}l-eH$_a$*, or **sǵ^{h}éd^{h}lo-*, from **seǵd^{h}lo-*, which in turn would be a normal Bartholomae product of **seǵ^h-tlo-*. We thus reach completely rule-governed forms on all levels, chronological[1], morphological, and phonological.

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[1] On which see Hamp 2003; note that the erroneous reference there to Hamp 2003 is properly to this present paper in its 2005 form.

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IS CASE A LINGUIST OR A FREDERIK?

ANDRIES VAN HELDEN

When Frederik Kortlandt entered the field of linguistics in the late 1960s, two trends dominated the discipline.

The first trend was the drive to develop linguistics into an exact science. The linguists of the new generation swelling the discipline in the sixties were spreading the gospel of formal methods. Algorithms, calculi and models were the key words of the new era that had started in the 1950s, when mechanical translation and other forms of automatic language processing seemed to be close at hand.

The second trend was the deprecatory tone of linguistic discourse. Methodological correctness had become the touchstone of linguistic research. Historians of linguistics would later describe the period in military metaphors. The generative semantics episode alone was worth a 300-page monograph entitled *The Linguistics Wars* (Harris 1993).

As to the first trend, the *formalist drift*, the early Frederik was a child of his time. His first monograph (Kortlandt 1972) was fraught with braces and quantifiers. But he took part in the trend on his own terms: in their substance his formulas deviated from what was considered methodologically correct. In a period when modern phonologists had referred phonemics to the dustbin, the title of Kortlandt's book, *Modelling the Phoneme*, was perceived as a strong statement: unlike many other linguists of his generation, Kortlandt was quite comfortable standing on the shoulders of the giants in the many generations preceding his who had equipped the discipline with a broad variety of concepts and tools.

As to the second trend, the *polemic drift*, the early Kortlandt tended to disagree with many of his peers on many issues. But in his writings he was reluctant to qualify their views as fundamental errors to be condemned. His deontological attitude became clear to me one day, when he suggested to me to mitigate my language in a passage dealing with the ideas of another linguist working at some remote university: "Remember that most linguists are affected by administrative decisions made by non-linguists who rely on second-hand judgements. Always avoid providing the administrators with ammunition: express any criticism, however fundamental, in terms of problems and drawbacks, not

in terms of mistakes and fallacies". Such was the purport of his comments. Kortlandt appeared to be an ardent defender of the Republic of Science against its colonizers, convinced that professionals and bureaucrats should not mix roles and responsibilities.

When I defended my thesis on case and gender (Van Helden 1993), which was supervised by Frederik Kortlandt and was written in a classic 1960s formalist vein, the opposition included professor Henk Schultink. This surprised some, as Schultink had not only been the one to acquaint the general public with Transformational Grammar in the Netherlands (as early as July 20th 1957, in the newspaper *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*) but had also raised a generation of linguists of the new polemic breed, which was something not all linguists of the other breeds (including the one that Frederik supposedly belonged to) may have regarded as a felicitous idea. Frederik's insisting on Schultink's presence was nonetheless in line with his deontology. He considered that academic dissent should not be covered up but exposed and expounded on the appropriate institutional platforms provided by the Republic of Science.

The points that Schultink raised in regard to my thesis were in fact fundamental. I did not handle them to his satisfaction at the time and I had to promise to Kortlandt and Schultink to publish the views expressed in the discussion one day. This promise will, at last, be redeemed in two instalments. The present contribution discusses case, more in particular the following issues. Is case definable? And: is case a semantic or a syntactic category? The same questions with regard to gender will be dealt with separately in a second instalment. Before turning to the issues, a short account will be given of some relevant methodological concepts that were introduced in *Case and Gender* and will be used in the discussion.

1. Defining linguistic concepts

Formal linguistics as practised in the 1960s and 1970s focused on linguistic modelling. *Modelling* was a typical container concept, which was understood in various ways by various linguists. But a group of foremost mathematicians and linguists in and from Eastern Europe, including Revzin, Marcus, Zaliznjak and Gladkij, converged on its essence. To them, a model of a linguistic concept was its rigorous definition. A model of a linguistic domain was in their view a coherent network of definitions of the relevant concepts. This was also the conception of modelling adopted in Kortlandt's *Modelling the Phoneme*. Even though the term *modelling* is presently outdated, any endeavour to set up a well-

defined conceptual framework for the language of linguistics is as legitimate nowadays as it was in the 1960s.

1.1 Desiderata for a definition

Definition, even *rigorous definition*, is an ambiguous term, although possibly less so than *modelling*. But it is possible to sum up a few requirements that we can expect a meaningful definition to meet.

To start, there should be a *meta-language* in which the definition is denoted and which in turn meets certain requirements, which are not elaborated on here. It is also required that the *undefined concepts* on which a definition is based be specified, as well as possible statements (*axioms*) specifying the properties of their mutual relations.

As a third component, a definition requires a set of *labels* to be assigned to the concepts to be defined or used in the definition. A model is often regarded as a set of rules for assigning a label. A model of phoneme determines the objects or constructs that should be referred to by the label *phoneme*.

Finally, a meaningful definition requires that any *assumptions* or *assertions* about the existence of the various components of the model in the real world (*ontological claims*) be specified. The undefined concepts and axioms may, for example, be claimed to represent a *theory* of language, i.e. the assumption that any object with the given properties is a (possible human) language.

The ontological claims for specific components of a definition may vary among linguists without necessarily affecting the definition. Even a single linguist may restate his assumptions on the relationship between his models and reality through the years without essentially changing the remaining properties of the models. Chomsky's ontological claim for a syntactic structure, for example, developed from that of a mere denotational device specifying the class of well-formed strings in the early sixties (Chomsky 1964b: 986) into that of a (tentative) representation of biological facts and processes by 1980 (Chomsky 1980: 232-233). Ivić reproaches Baudouin de Courtenay for having abandoned his original (1869) ontological claim for the phoneme as a set of phonetic features with a specific role in human communication in favour of that of an image residing in the human mind in 1894 (Ivić 1965: 133-134).

1.2 The target concepts of definition

Quite often, the situation is more complex as ontological claims can be made for different components of a definition and one claim does not necessarily exclude the other. The specific role of the phoneme in hu-

man communication may be precisely the reason why it corresponds to a mental image and why, in a universe of definable concepts engendered by the undefined concepts and the meta-language, that of phoneme was actually defined while others were not even conceived.

What kinds of concepts are worth actually defining? Several protagonists of linguistic modelling made clear that their primary objective was to provide definitions of *existing* linguistic concepts. As Gladkij put it,

"if we are to approach the matter seriously, there can, of course, be no question of ignoring traditional language science and rejecting the concepts which it has developed and which have been used successfully for a very long time. The problem consists first of all in giving *just these notions* a basis which could satisfy today's requirements on the logical structure of scientific concepts. The situation here is to a certain degree analogous to one which at one time occurred in geometry. The fundamental ideas of this science had been used for many centuries without any rigorous logical analysis. Such an analysis was made in the last century, but it did not at all mean that the old categories of geometry were abolished; these categories merely came to be clearer and more deeply understood." (Gladkij 1983: 188)

This viewpoint was also adopted in Kortlandt's work on modelling and will guide the observations made below.

1.3 Types and tokens

The models of linguistic concepts that were developed in the 1960s and 1970s were often derivatives of the attempts to work out algorithms for mechanical translation and other forms of automatic language processing. After the failure of those attempts, the newly recruited linguists rapidly turned to the traditional mission of linguistics, which was setting up grammars. But the computer episode left its mark on the design of a grammar. On each level of description, a language was hence considered to consist of a set (*inventory*, *alphabet*, *lexicon*) of units and a (possibly non-finite) set of structures (*strings*, *configurations*, *trees*) made up of those units. Grammars were viewed as devices that generate structures out of the units. The units of a language to be defined should, consequently, be specified in two ways: as *types*, i.e. as items in their inventories, and as *tokens* or *occurrences*, i.e. as components of the structures. Thus, a language was assumed to comprise both types and tokens of sounds, phonemes, morphemes, words, constituents, etc., depending on the level of description or the adopted theory. A definition of a unit

served to set up the inventory of its types, to isolate tokens in the structures and to identify them as occurrences of their respective types.

Thus, a complete model of *phoneme* was expected to determine both the phoneme types of each language and their respective occurrences in the speech flow. Of course complications such as neutralization, complementary distribution, configurational features, etc., had to be accounted for as well.

1.4 Intensional and extensional labels

If the models that were proposed in the 1960s and 1970s determine the objects or constructs that can be referred to by the label *phoneme*, whether as types or as tokens, they do not generally distribute specific labels to *specific* phonemes. Although every available grammar includes a phoneme labelled /a/, there is no definition of /a/, i.e. a set of rules which uniquely determines, for each language, to which phoneme the label /a/ should be assigned.

Note that a definition of the *phonetic* unit [a] is conceivable: it presupposes a model that classifies all possible sounds that humans can use for linguistic communication according to some of their articulatory or acoustic properties, and assigns the label [a] to one of the resulting classes. The label [a] is language-independent: if a language is found where no speech sound possesses the phonetic properties that are defined for [a], then the label will simply not be employed in a description of the language that operates the given model, just as there are languages for the description of which the phonetic labels [p] and [ǀ] are not used. The phonetic properties that are related to the *phonemic* label /a/ may however vary between languages, both in principle and in practice. In some languages, /a/ embraces sounds with properties found for [ɑ], [ɒ], [ʌ] or [æ], while these sounds may belong to different phonemes in other languages. At the same time, we cannot rule out the existence of languages in which the segment of the vocal tract defined by [a] is divided between different phonemes. This means that /a/ is not a universal label. Its value must be specified separately for each language to which the investigator proposes to apply it.

The above implies that two types of linguistic labels must be distinguished: labels referring to the same properties in all languages on the one hand, and labels whose usage must be accounted for separately in the description of each language on the other. Labels of the first kind can be called *intensional*, those of the second kind *extensional*. The distribution of intensional labels, such as *phoneme* or [a], is determined, at least in principle, by a theory or a definition that applies universally

(which does not exclude trivial results in some languages). Extensional labels such as /a/, on the other hand, are assigned arbitrarily (at least until further notice).

The difference between intensional and extensional labels in the language of linguistics is comparable to that between common nouns and proper names in everyday language. Common nouns correlate with sets of properties characterizing possible referents rather than with actual referents. The possible referents of the word *boy* are united by a common *boyhood*, comprising the characteristics shared by all boys. Similarly, in the language of linguistics there is a *phonemehood* characterizing all phonemes. Proper names, on the other hand, are normally used to refer directly to specific referents, i.e. without assuming an intermediary set of properties. Persons called *John* or places called *Cambridge* do not share a common *Johnness* or *Cambridgeness* (except of course the "synthetic" Johnness or Cambridgeness that the language users create when recycling proper names: bearing the name *John* is a property shared by all Johns). Similarly, the phonemes of different languages that are labelled /a/ do not share a common /a/*-ness*.

As several principled structuralists pointed out in the 1950s and 1960s, comparison of the properties of languages, as well as framing linguistic universals and implicational hierarchies, is only possible in terms of intensional labels. It is possible, in principle, to count the phonemes in a language and compare the result with the number of phonemes in another language, as *phoneme* is an intensional label. It is not, however, possible to compare *specific* phonemes in a meaningful way: drawing conclusions about /a/ from a comparison of the phonemes labelled /a/ in different languages is as vacuous as drawing conclusions about Johns from a comparison of persons called *John*. As Reid puts it,

"we cannot identify or even compare any Spanish vowel phoneme with any Italian vowel phoneme, because a member of a 5-term system is intrinsically different from a member of a 7-term system. We cannot even compare the two vowel systems by saying that one has 5 members and the other 7, because the meaning of the category 'vowel' is fixed for each language by the vowel-consonant opposition, which is itself different for each language." (Reid 1960: 12)

If Reid is right, all theorizing on implicational hierarchies of the type "if a language has three or more vowel phonemes, one of them is /a/" is based on quicksand: such an implication would be a generalization about the habits of linguists (viz. of preferring /a/ to, say, /ɑ/ when as-

signing labels to phonemes) than a generalization about human language.

In the West, the new generation of formal linguists paid little attention to this serious limitation on the legitimacy of cross-linguistic generalization. (Note that the problem does not affect *diachronic* linguistics, at least as long as it refrains from making predictions on the typological development of languages.) Chomsky acknowledged the problem of using extensional labels in typological or universal claims but decided to postpone its solution until further notice:

"The goal of traditional "universal" grammar was, of course, to give a substantive account of these categories [viz. *N* and *V*], thus fixing a universal "vocabulary" for the (generative) grammars of all languages. Presumably, such fixed universal category symbols would have to be defined in terms of formal properties of grammars and, perhaps, language-independent semantic properties of some sort. Whatever the feasibility of this enterprise may be, we will not consider it here, and will regard the category names for the time being as only conventional." (Chomsky 1964a: 60)

Linguists in and from Eastern Europe, however, took the problem seriously and made considerable efforts to provide a solid conceptual basis for synchronic comparative linguistics. Among these efforts, Mel'čuk's five-volume *Cours de morphologie générale* (Mel'čuk 1993-2000) is a highlight.

1.5 Assignment spaces

In actual practice, of course, the assignment of /a/ to phonemes of different languages is not entirely arbitrary. Investigators will not assign /a/ to a phoneme that includes [p]. The label /a/ will generally be assigned to phonemes that have phonetic variants in the class of sounds labelled [a], or possibly in adjacent classes such as [ɑ], but not to phonemes that only comprise such distant sounds as [p] or [t]. Consequently, although it may not be possible to arrive at a definition of /a/ that exhaustively determines the distribution of the label in all languages, it appears to be possible to formulate constraints on the distribution of /a/ that preclude assigning the label to unlikely candidates. Such constraints determine what we may call an *assignment space* for the label. In a complete linguistic model, every extensional label whose use is not completely arbitrary should be equipped with an assignment space that determines where a label *can* be used.

The assignment of proper names in everyday language may elucidate the concept of assignment space. Although there is no common Johnness characterizing all Johns, the odds are that Johns are male persons. Thus, the properties 'male' and 'person' determine the assignment space for the proper name *John*. It is easy to conceive languages in which the assignment of proper names is subject to strict limitations. The choice of a first name may be restricted to the names of saints that are celebrated on one's birthday; or the name given to a person is determined by the order in which he is born into the family (compare the Latin name *Primus* or the Japanese name *Ichirō*, both meaning 'first'); or the assignment of names to streets may be determined by their relative geographical position, as in Manhattan. In these examples from everyday language, the use of an extensional label is subject to traditional or conventional labelling restrictions, which consequently determine an assignment space for it. Similarly, linguists' conventions or traditions may determine assignment spaces for extensional linguistic labels.

It is often even possible to indicate a *preferential* or *core range* within an assignment space for a linguistic label, where label assignment is *more appropriate* than in other parts of the assignment space. Thus, even if the assignment space of /a/ may include [ɑ] or [æ], assigning it to a phoneme having its main variants in the range of [a] may be more appropriate.

2. Is case a boy or a John?

Cross-linguistic generalizations involving grammatical categories are currently popular, as witnessed, for example, by the impact of Corbett's (1991) implicational hierarchy for gender or Blake's (1994) life cycle of case systems. If the assignment of the labels of grammatical categories were extensional, generalizations employing them would be essentially void of linguistic substance. So while making generalizations about case and gender, it must implicitly have been assumed that their respective labels are intensional. Case and gender are assumed to be either primitive categories that are part of a theory of language, or concepts that can be defined on the basis of such categories. The discussion that was referred to in the introductory remarks of this paper concerned the plausibility of such assumptions. Is it likely that *case* and *gender* can be assigned consistently and unequivocally in any language, like *phoneme* or [a]? Or is their assignment fundamentally arbitrary, as for the label /a/? In other words: must we treat case and gender as boys or as Johns? The line of reasoning about case as given in *Case and Gender* is recapitulated below.

2.1 Approaches to case

The enormous literature on case can be classified along two axes: approaches can basically be qualified as *morphological* or *non-morphological*, and as *semantic* or *syntactic*.

In a morphological approach, case is regarded as an explanation for the distribution of groups of noun forms that share the same lexical meaning, more precisely for "what remains to be explained after setting gender and number apart" (Hjelmslev 1935: 74). Such an explanation can be wholly (e.g. Revzin 1966: 66) or primarily (e.g. Kuryłowicz 1949: 33) of a syntactic nature, or wholly (e.g. Jakobson 1971: 35-36) or primarily (e.g. De Groot 1956: 191ff.) of a semantic nature.

The non-morphological approach, where case is expected to explain a range of linguistic phenomena beyond nominal morphology, such as word order, goes back at least as far as Wundt (1912: 60ff.). In the second half of the 20th century, non-morphological case is often viewed as a set of syntactic roles (e.g. Fillmore 1968) or a set of meanings (often involving location and direction; e.g. Anderson 1971).

Each approach, when applied exclusively and consistently, seems to leave facts that are intuitively or traditionally associated with case unaccounted for. Moreover, each exclusively semantic or syntactic approach has thus far failed to provide us with exhaustive criteria that enable us to determine the cases of a language, especially on the level of occurrences (tokens). The morphological syntactic approach fails to provide us with an instrument to distinguish between case syncretism and case homonymy. The morphological semantic approach generally fails to account for strong government. The non-morphological semantic and syntactic approaches run the risk of case proliferation, lacking criteria that enable us to determine for specific languages just which meanings or syntactic roles should be accounted for in terms of case: not all syntactic relations are case roles and not all meanings denoting location and direction should end up as case meanings. Wherever a semantic or syntactic approach is exemplified, linguists usually enumerate a few case meanings or roles, leaving it up to practical considerations to determine their precise number and nature. Thus, Fillmore provides a list of case roles assumed to be universal but acknowledges that "additional cases will surely be needed" (Fillmore 1968: 25).

2.2 Classic case

In most approaches, the apparently hybrid nature of case is viewed as a complicating circumstance, which obstructs our view on an underlying undiluted case category and should be dispensed with. It was proposed,

for example, to liberate case of its morphological limitations (Hjelmslev 1935: 68), or to strip it of its semantic junk, unveiling its syntactic essence. Such efforts resulted in new applications for the term *case*, which failed to account for manifestations of case in its traditional understanding. Here 1960s formal linguistics may not so much have *refined* our understanding of a traditional concept but rather *annexed* its label to employ it for something different, thus sidelining practitioners who retain the original concept, forcing them to refer to it as *surface case* (cf. Wierzbicka 1980: xi). If there should at all be a term that is more specific than *case*, I would propose that linguists who are comfortable standing on the shoulders of their predecessors call the target concept of case modelling *classic case*.

2.3 Elements of a definition of classic case

In *Case and Gender*, while investigating the possibility of defining (classic) case, its hybrid nature was not viewed as a complication but as a characteristic. The approach that was suggested there simultaneously involves morphological, semantic and syntactic criteria. Allowing for a great deal of simplification, the search for a definition of classic case proceeded along the following lines.

2.3.1 The morphological basis of classic case

In a first-order approach, it was assumed that classic case is a morphological category. This implies that the formal correlate of a case is expressed *inside* words.[1] As pointed out in *Case and Gender*, words are, in principle, definable linguistic units.

2.3.2 The semantic base of classic case

It was also assumed that classic case is a set *of grammatical meanings*. (The question whether there is necessarily only one meaning for each case form is not discussed here.) A definition of the concept of grammatical meaning was considered feasible. It presupposes the Saussurean conception of the linguistic sign as an essentially two-sided structure (a

[1] This choice might be challenged in various ways. One of the arguments against it is the synonymy of non-morphological and morphological means of expressing the same semantic contents, as in the classic examples *he gave a lot of money to me* and *he gave me a lot of money*. The existence of patently non-synonymous examples such as *he lost a lot of money to me* as opposed to *he lost me a lot of money* (Oehrle 1978: 215) warns us to be cautious about assuming synonymy.

meaning and a form), which may be made up of smaller structures that are, in principle, also two-sided. The semantic side of a sign is a configuration made up of semantic units (*meanings*) connected by syntactic relations. The semantic units are assumed to be language-specific; the syntactic relations are assumed to be primitive or definable, i.e. derivable from a theory of language.[2] A meaning is grammatical if its tokens, as occurring in semantic configurations, can be replaced by tokens of only a small number of other meanings. Consider the semantic configuration that correlates with the Russian sentence *v izbu* 'in hut (ACC)', i.e. 'into the hut'. The configuration is likely to include a semantic correlate for the accusative form, e.g. 'direction'. There exists a second configuration that coincides with the one correlating with *v izbu*, except that it contains the meaning 'location' instead of 'direction'. The correlating form of the second configuration is *v izbe* 'in hut (LOC)', i.e. 'inside the hut', which contains a locative form. On the assumption that it is impossible to find many more such semantic configurations in Russian, the meanings correlating to the accusative and the locative forms are qualified as grammatical. The label *grammatical meaning* is therefore intensional.

2.3.3 Classic case as a syntactic category

It follows that, for each language, the set of morphological grammatical meanings can be considered definable. The next step is finding criteria for identifying its subset containing the case meanings of a language. Here the syntactic approach can be helpful.

Consider Jakobson's (1971: 39) costermonger's call *ogurcov!* 'cucumbers (GEN)'. We may assume that its semantic configuration includes a token of a meaning correlating with the genitive form (e.g. 'partial participation in the event'; cf. Ebeling 1985: 236), opposing it to the sentence *ogurcy!* 'cucumbers (NOM)' containing the nominative. But it is doubtful whether this token is also present in the semantic configuration correlating with, say, *bojus' ogurcov* 'I fear cucumbers (GEN)'. It is more likely that the latter occurrence of *ogurcov* presents an instance of *syntactic neutralization*. Neutralization is assumed to imply that, in certain circumstances, occurrences of case forms do not correlate with occurrences of case meanings but mark syntactic relationships. In *bojus' ogurcov*, the genitive form does not correlate with an independent meaning in the

[2] In dealing with grammatical units, linguists in and from Russia sometimes employ the term *meaning* (rendering Russian *značenie*, which also means 'value (of a variable)') to refer to both semantic and syntactic units. In the present discussion, *meaning* exclusively refers to semantic units.

semantic configuration but with a *syntactic* relation that holds between 'fear' and 'cucumbers'.[3]

In *Case and Gender* it was proposed to view the possibility of neutralization of grammatical meanings as a defining property for classic grammatical categories, thus reconciling the morphological, semantic and syntactic approaches to *case*.

It cannot be ruled out that other grammatical meanings besides case (particularly gender) are also subject to syntactic neutralization. We shall therefore have to specify the syntactic relation or relations that correlate with neutralized case forms.

Fillmore's battery of universal case roles provides ready candidates. Adopting them as case definers would however imply that the labels of *specific* syntactic roles, such as *agentive*, *instrumental*, *dative*, *factitive*, *locative*, etc. are all intensional. Then not only must *case* be a boy: *dative* must be one as well. This would presuppose that specific case roles are undefined primitives that are part of the definition of language, or at least that a definition of language from which they can be derived is feasible. This looks like a long shot. Moreover, the facts may rebel against a universal status for a rich system of syntactic case roles. The fact that a case labelled *dative* specifies the student role with Russian *prepodavat'* 'teach' but the subject matter role with *učit'* 'teach' suggests that, whatever universal syntactic roles are assigned somewhere deep below may fail to account for the specific occurrences of the dative on the surface. In fact, when having a closer look at the characteristics of the syntactic case roles that have been proposed ("typically animate instigator of action"; "location or spatial orientation", etc.; cf. Fillmore 1968: 24-25), it would seem that case roles of the Fillmore type are more likely to provide *semantic* explanations for occurrences of case than syntactic ones.

Adopting a "poorer" conception of universal syntactic roles for case relationships may enhance the feasibility of the enterprise. In *Case and Gender*, it was proposed to regard *valency* as the defining syntactic relationship for case. In the valency approach, as practised by, say, Ebeling (1978: 151ff.), the roles of the actants of a verb are not distributed by a general theory but assigned verb-specifically. Thus, the semantic complex that correlates with *bojat'sja* 'fear' comprises both a *fearer* and *fearee*. The function that is left for the case forms of the nouns is to *specify* the fearer and fearee. For *bojat'sja*, the nominative form happens to specify

[3] Syntactic neutralization is not the only condition in which grammatical meanings may be absent in semantic configurations. Morphological syncretism may also entail (partial) neutralization of grammatical meanings. This point will not be taken up here.

the fearer, the genitive form the fearee. The use of case forms with *prepodavat'* (dative for the student, accusative for the subject matter) and *učit'* (accusative for the student, dative for the subject matter), or with *pugat'* 'frighten' (nominative for the intended fearee; accusative for the intended fearer), suggests that case assignment in the event of neutralization is in the end verb-specific, i.e. determined in the lexicon. This implies that syntactically speaking, there is only one role: that of *specifying a valency filler*.[4] As shown by the relevant work of Ebeling (1980) and Honselaar (1980), a definition of valency is feasible; so *valency* will be assumed to be an intensional label. Of course a definition must account for the valencies of prepositions and adjectives as well as verbs.

Thus, it was argued in *Case and Gender*, case meanings can be distinguished from other grammatical meanings that are expressed within words by the *kind* of universal syntactic relation that correlates with their formal expression in case of neutralization, viz. that of specifying a valency filler. If this is accepted, we have formulated here something resembling a universal definition of classic case that includes the manifestations that are traditionally covered by the label *case*.[5]

Note, incidentally, that this is not to say that valency neutralization is the *only* type of neutralization that case meanings are subject to. In *bojus' novyx ogurcov* 'I fear new (GEN) cucumbers (GEN)', the genitive form *novyx* correlates with a different syntactic relation, viz. *oriented limitation*. This relation will be dealt with elsewhere in connection with gender.

2.4 Classic case as a John

Yet we have not arrived at a complete definition of classic case. The apparent definition presented above hides at least two sliding scales that complicate matters and prevent case from becoming a boy. The first sliding scale regards the delimitation of grammatical meanings and will be left out of consideration. The second sliding scale pertains to the *degree* of neutralization that makes a grammatical meaning a case. The question is what happens at the extremes.

[4] The rules by which lexical items determine the form of their valency fillers may take various forms, cf. ergative languages.

[5] Unexpected outcomes are not ruled out. The English or Danish genitive may fail to qualify as case but this is hardly a problem. But even in a hypothetical language that is very much like Latin (where prepositions do not govern the genitive) but happens to lack verbs and adjectives governing the genitive, the genitive may not end up in the case system.

At the one extreme of the scale we find word forms that are exclusively used to specify valency fillers and never carry an independent meaning. We may refer to this as *absolute neutralization*. Consider what are sometimes called the adprepositional cases of Russian. In *k nemu* 'toward him', the adprepositional dative form *nemu* of *on* 'he' is used to specify the filler of the valency of the preposition *k*. This form does not coincide with the regular dative form *emu*, which may both be used independently and be neutralized to specify the filler of, say, the student valency of *prepodavat'* 'teach'.[6]

Now if we wish to arrive at an exhaustive definition of case, we must decide whether the fact that the form *nemu* specifies a valency filler justifies treating the adprepositional dative as a full-fledged case.[7] Do we consider assigning the term *case* to specifiers of valency fillers that never correlate with full-fledged grammatical meanings appropriate?

At the other extreme of the scale there are instances that approach *non-neutralization*. As remarked by Zaliznjak (1967: 2), in languages such as Hungarian the forms of putative cases are not typically neutralized into specifiers of valency fillers. The meaning of, say, the *inessive* case is nearly always present in the semantic correlate of the occurrences of *hajóban* 'in a ship (INESS)'. Instances in which the form of the inessive can be said to specify a valency, as with the verb *részesül* 'to be honoured with, to receive' or the adjective *bűnös* 'guilty of' can be found but are not central in the system of the language, as in Russian. The question is whether such marginal neutralization of the inessive provides sufficient justification for qualifying it as a full-fledged classic case.

The interesting point is that, from a traditional viewpoint, the extreme positions at both ends of the valency neutralization scale are regarded as marginal: neither absolute neutralization nor (near) non-neutralization is regarded as characteristic of classic case. Both the adprepositional dative and the inessive are felt to instantiate secondary extensions of the case concept rather than typical examples.

Until further notice, it was therefore argued in *Case and Gender*, it seems unlikely that an exhaustive definition of classic case can be found. Thus, *case* is *not* an intensional label. The sliding scale described above

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[6] See Van Helden 1993: 1076-1085 for a discussion of proposals to get rid of adprepositional forms by dealing with them in non-morphological terms (e.g. by accounting for them in phonological terms or positing the existence of a word boundary separating *n-* from *-ego*).

[7] The situation may be different for other adprepositional cases: cf. *v nego* 'into it (GEN/ACC)' vs. *v nem* 'inside it (LOC)'.

does however determine an *assignment space* for *classic case*: the label case *can* be assigned to any grammatical category that can be neutralized into valency specification, even if the label seems to be less appropriate for phenomena that approach the extremes on the neutralization scale.

We may furthermore assume a *preferential range* for the assignment of *classic case* on the sliding scale: the term *case* is applied most appropriately to languages somewhere halfway down the scale, i.e. where grammatical meanings regularly specify valency fillers but instances where they correlate with token grammatical meanings are not exceptional. The use of the term *case* is "less classic" outside this range, viz. in cases of excessive as well as rare neutralization. The position of the term *case* is thus comparable with that of /a/ in phonemics: the preferential range for /a/ is somewhere in the [a] region, but there is no fundamental reason to reject the use of /a/ for a phoneme that has [æ] as its main variant.

If these proposals are accepted, *case* is, after all, an extensional label, i.e. a John. This implies that case does not provide a solid basis for cross-linguistic generalizations. In return, observations about the degree in which languages allow their grammatical meanings to be neutralized into valency filler specifiers can be expressed in intensional labels and are, therefore, legitimate. The morphological stretch of Blake's (1994: 163-185) diachronic life cycle of case systems, for example, can be described in terms of progressive use of grammatical categories for specifying valency fillers.

3. Note on case as a syntactic category

The exposition given above prompts the assumption that, in a language with classic case, each occurrence of a case form correlates either with a full-fledged grammatical meaning (possibly more than one) or with the syntactic relation 'specifies valency filler' (possibly besides other syntactic relations), or with both (in the case of homonymy). In this section, a complication is introduced that may induce us to revise our assumptions.

3.1 The ellipsis problem

Consider the one-word sentences *Lizu!* 'Liza (ACC)' and *karetu!* 'coach (ACC)' in Jakobson's classic 1936 paper on the meaning of the Russian cases (Jakobson 1971: 31). They contain occurrences of accusative forms. Since these forms are isolated and lack any syntactic relations, we must assume that they correlate with full-fledged case meanings. But Jakob-

son himself seems to hesitate here, making contradictory statements about the meaning of the accusative in short sentences lacking verbs.

For *Lizu!* and a few similar examples, Jakobson assumes that the accusative form correlates with a full-fledged case meaning: the object marked by the accusative is said to be presented as the focus of an active involvement (appeal, rejection, concession, admiration) on the part of the speaker.[8] This contradicts his statement made earlier in the same paper, where he considers that the independent use of the accusative *always* presupposes a *verb* that has been left out and must be tacitly supplemented by the hearer when decoding the sentence.[9] In other words, Jakobson considers that isolated occurrences of the accusative must be qualified as instances of *ellipsis*. He illustrates this view with *karetu!*, to be decoded as 'get (me) a coach'.[10]

The existence of ellipsis would present a complication for the treatment of occurrences of case forms as presented in the present paper. An elliptical analysis of *karetu!* implies that the meaning of the accusative is neutralized while the correlate in the semantic representation does *not* specify a syntactic relation. We cannot insert the meaning of the required verb into the semantic configuration correlating with *karetu!*, since the choice of the "correct" verb – if a single correct verb can be identified at all – is a matter of inference, not of meaning.

We may solve this particular instance by applying the third characterization of the meaning of the accusative that is presented in Jakobson's paper: the accusative indicates that an unspecified *action* is directed at the object.[11] This can be applied to *karetu!* as well as to *Lizu!*. It is possible that further investigation of the meanings of the cases will eventually yield meanings that are sufficiently broad so as to rule out many instances of putative ellipsis.

But this does not rule out the possibility of ellipsis altogether. Consider, once more, the one-word sentence *ogurcov!*. As long as an analysis in terms of ellipsis is considered permissible, the genitive in *ogurcov!* is

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[8] At least if this renders Jakobson 1971: 31-32: "[…] Objekt einer tätigen Stellungnahme des Sprechenden, und zwar von Appell, von Ablehnung, von Gewährenlassen, von Bewunderung".

[9] Jakobson 1971: 31: "[…] daß [der Akkusativ] ausschließlich von einem Zeitwort regiert werden kann und sein selbständiger Gebrauch immer ein ausgelassenes und hinzugedachtes Zeitwort empfinden läßt".

[10] The example is taken from the final scene of Griboedov's play *Gore ot uma*.

[11] Jakobson 1971: 32: "Der tatsächliche Gegensatz des A[kkusativ]s und N[ominativ]s besteht bloß darin, daß der A[kkusativ] ankündigt, auf den Gegenstand sei eine Handlung gerichtet […]".

homonymous and will have two possible correlates. In most instances, the genitive will signal a quantity of cucumbers (which is an inference that can be drawn from Ebeling's genitive meaning 'partial participation in the presented event'). But we must also allow for the possibility that, in certain occurrences of *ogurcov!* as a sentence, the accusative specifies the filler of a specific valency of an unspecified verb that governs the genitive. Admittedly this interpretation will rarely occur and be restricted to well-defined situations, e.g. as an answer to the question *čego vy boites'?* 'what do you fear?'. But this makes it even more cumbersome to treat such occurrences of the genitive form as correlating with a full-fledged meaning.

So a third type of correlate must be introduced in order to account for occurrences of cases in elliptical sentences.

3.2 The referential function vs. the conative function of language

At this point it may be convenient to take a different look at semantic representation. Until now, we have implicitly assumed that semantic correlates stand for properties. Thus, *boys* correlates with properties shared by boys, while the accusative form in *Lizu!* correlates with properties shared by actions of which Liza is an appropriate goal. Here language is viewed as a device to *represent* the world. In Bühler's terms, we have so far been dealing with language in its *referential function* (*Darstellungsfunktion*: Bühler 1934: 24-33).

Ellipsis may be dealt with more transparently if we view language in its *conative function* (Bühler's *Appellfunktion*). Utterances can be regarded as attempts on the part of speakers to modify their hearers' frames of reference. In this approach, meanings are not representations but *instructions* (or requests, etc.) that are available to speakers for manipulating hearers' frames of reference. The meaning of the word *boy* is an instruction to the hearer to focus on an appropriate referent using the properties 'male', 'young', etc. as a template. The meaning of the accusative in *Lizu!* is an instruction to the hearer to focus on an appropriate referent guided by, for example, the properties 'action' and 'directed at the object'.

In the above examples, meanings are instructions to focus on referents while using *inherent* referent properties as a template. The language also offers *deictic* meanings, i.e. instructions to focus on appropriate referents using a template of properties that are *contingent* on the speech act or the setting in which it is enunciated. When using the demonstrative pronoun *this*, the speaker instructs the hearer to focus on a referent to be selected through specific properties that he assumes to be present

in the setting. The template determined by Danish *hun* 'she' combines contingent properties ('do not bring new focusables to the front') and inherent properties ('select female').

3.3 Categorial meanings

Now consider the instructional semantics of the genitive form in elliptical *ogurcov!*. The sentence intonation contour, which makes clear that no further instruction is to be expected, instructs the hearer to check the situation on appropriate referents for the genitive form. But the template contains properties that are neither inherent nor contingent. The instruction implied by the genitive form in elliptical *ogurcov!* is something like: 'find, in the speech setting, an appropriate referent that presents the cucumbers as the fearee of a fearing situation, *or* as the goal of a reaching action (*dostič'* 'reach' takes the genitive), *or* as the exhaustive filler of a container (*polnyj* 'full' takes the genitive), etc.'. Or briefly: 'check which candidates can be referred to by specific items on a given *list* in the lexicon (let us call it the *gengov* list) containing pairs consisting of a verb and one of its actants'.

Ebeling calls search instructions that make use of lists in the lexicon *categorial meanings* (Ebeling 1978: 168). While the *inherent* and *contingent* properties used in other meanings are in a sense *natural*, existing outside the language, properties used in categorial meanings are *synthetic*, i.e. the properties in the template are artefacts of the language itself.

The complexity of such instructions possibly explains why speakers are likely to use *ogurcov!* elliptically only in well-defined speech situations, e.g. following the question *čego vy boites'?* 'what do you fear?', where pinpointing the appropriate referent is a trivial task.

As to *karetu!*, although an "unspecified action" (full-fledged meaning) may not be identified with an "unspecified verb" (categorial meaning), Jakobson's elliptical and non-elliptical interpretations of the accusative are hard to separate, which may explain his wavering. Since verbs typically denote actions and most verbs use the accusative to specify one of their valencies, it is hard to tell whether the use of the accusative should be interpreted as an instruction to look for an appropriate action denoted by verbs taking the accusative or just as an instruction to look for an appropriate action.

3.4 Exit syntax?

This takes us to our last point. If we take categorial case meanings seriously, do we still need syntactic relations?

Let us assume that a description of the categorial genitive meaning in terms of instructional semantics includes the instruction to pinpoint, in the setting in which an utterance takes place, an appropriate referent that can be referred to by the meaning of an item on the gengov list. Then, the same instruction can also be used to search *inside* utterances: after all the utterance is a part of its own setting. As a consequence, the same meaning can be denoted for the genitive form in both elliptical *ogurcov!* as an answer to *čego vy boites'?* and *bojus' ogurcov*. In both sentences, the hearer is asked to look for a nearby appropriate referent that occurs on the gengov list, and in both sentences, the same inference can be made, viz. that cucumbers are the object of fear. Now if the inference that cucumbers are an actant of *bojat'sja* can be drawn on the basis of the categorial meaning of the genitive, there is no longer a role for a *syntactic* relation connecting *bojus'* and *ogurcov*.

The presented observations call for a revision of our quasi-definition of case that has been discussed earlier in this paper: several concepts used, such as syntactic neutralization, will have to be replaced, and the consequences for the neutralization scale must be investigated. This exercise will be undertaken in the future.

It is tempting to wind up with a general discussion on the relative advantages of conative approach to semantics as compared to the referential approach. But this, too, requires further investigation.

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AUS DEM BEREICH DER GERMANISCH-OSTSEEFINNISCHEN LEHNWORTFORSCHUNG: ÜBERLEGUNGEN ZUR ETYMOLOGIE VON FINNISCH *RYTÄKKÄ* 'KRACH'

TETTE HOFSTRA

Seit 1991 erscheint als Ergebnis eines von A.D. Kylstra in Groningen begründeten Forschungsprojekts das Lexikon der älteren germanischen Lehnwörter in den ostseefinnischen Sprachen (*LÄGLW*).[1] Die Arbeit richtet sich auf die Behandlung von in ostseefinnischen Sprachen bezeugten Wörtern, für die im 20. Jahrhundert in ernst zu nehmenden Veröffentlichungen die Herkunft aus einer frühen Phase des Germanischen (wie Urgermanisch, Gotisch oder Urnordisch) vermutet oder nachgewiesen worden ist. Bei der Arbeit am Projekt fällt gelegentlich das Auge zufällig auf ein ostseefinnisches Wort, das zwar nicht zu der Gruppe der zu behandelnden Wörter gehört, aber einem germanischen Wort lautlich und semantisch auffallend ähnlich ist. Manchmal ist ein derartiges Wort noch ohne Etymologie, in anderen Fällen aber liegt bereits eine Etymologie vor, die das Wort als ererbt oder zumindest als einheimische Bildung erklärt. Ein solches Wort, das dennoch die Aufmerksamkeit auf sich ziehen kann, ist fi. *rytäkkä*.

Die Bedeutungsangaben zu *rytäkkä* weichen in zwei unterschiedlichen Auflagen des Finnisch-Deutschen Großwörterbuchs nur geringfügig voneinander ab: 'Krach, Krachen, ..., Dröhnen, Gepolter, Getöse; Tumult, Unruhe, Krawall' (Katara und Schellbach-Kopra 1974) bzw. 'Krach, Krachen, ...; Dröhnen, Gepolter, Getöse', *tappelun rytäkkä* 'Rauferei, Handgemenge; Tumult, Unruhe, Krawall' (Katara und Schellbach-Kopra 1997; *tapellu* bedeutet 'Schlägerei'). In Jussilas Übersicht über die frühesten Belege der Wörter der finnischen Schriftsprache kommt *rytäkkä* nicht vor.

Im Wörterbuch des Finnischen der Gegenwart (*Nykysuomen Sanakirja*) wird *rytäkkä* als deskriptiv bezeichnet und mit folgenden Bedeutungsangaben versehen: „ryminä, ryske, rysy, ryty, melske, tappelu", also in etwa

[1] Die ostseefinnischen Sprachen sind: Finnisch, Ingrisch, Karelisch (auch: Karelisch-Olonetzisch), Lüdisch, Wepsisch (alle nördlich des Finnischen Meerbusens, zwischen Bottnischem Meerbusen und Onegasee bzw. Belo Ozero) und Wotisch, Estnisch und Livisch (südlich des Finnischen Meerbusens).

'Lärm, Krach, Handgemenge, Getöse, Tumult, Schlägerei'. Wörter mit *ry-* sind in den Bedeutungsangaben auffallend stark vertreten.

Weder *Suomen etymologinen sanakirja* (*SKES*) noch *Suomen sanojen alkuperä* (*SSA*) hat ein Stichwort *rytäkkä*. Wohl wird *rytäkkä* sowohl im *SKES* wie auch im *SSA* im Wortartikel *rytistä* als Ableitung von diesem 'krachen, dröhnen' bedeutenden Verb erwähnt. Im *SKES* werden *rytistä* und Ableitungen wie auch die semantisch ähnlichen Verben *rutista*, *rotista*, *ritistä* usw. als onomatopoetisch bezeichnet (*SKES* IV 1969: 902). Auch laut *SSA* (III 2000: 119) sind *rytistä* und Ableitungen onomatopoetisch; hier wird ebenfalls auf mehr oder weniger gleichbedeutende Wörter (*ratista*, *ritistä*, *rutista*, *rätistä*, *ryskyä*) hingewiesen, wie das auch z. B. beim Stichwort *rymistä* 'poltern, krachen' mit einem Hinweis auf *rytistä* und auf *rämistä* 'rasseln, klappern; poltern' der Fall ist (*SSA* III 2000: 117). In einem Postskriptum zum Neuabdruck eines Aufsatzes aus dem Jahre 1979 weist Koivulehto darauf hin, daß Ableitungen von onomatopoetischen Verben auf *-ise-* „ausnahmslos (?)" auf *-u* oder *-y* ausgehen (1999: 159f.). Zu den Verben auf *-ise-* gehört auch *rytistä*, Stamm *rytise-*.

Häkkinen schließt sich der im *SSA* vertretenen Auffassung an, denn im Artikel *ryti* 'Phragmites australis', also 'Schilf', bezeichnet sie *rytäkka* als Ableitung von *rytistä* (2004: 1085); *rytistä* gehöre zu derselben Wurzel wie das offenbar onomatopoetische *ryti*.

Rytäkkä erscheint also fest eingebettet im einheimischen Wortschatz des Finnischen. Ein bestimmtes germanisches Wort läßt dennoch den Gedanken an eine zumindest partielle Herkunft von *rytäkkä* aus dem Germanischen aufkommen. Das germanische Vergleichsmaterial ist urgerm. **χruđan-* (> an. *hroði* m. 'Unruhe, Streit; Sturm'). Dieses Wort hat eine geringe Verbreitung: es ist nur altnordisch und neuisländisch, siehe dazu de Vries (1971: 259) und Blöndal Magnússon (1989: 376), wo *hroði* zum Verb *hrjóða* 'ausschleudern; vertreiben; leermachen, plündern' gestellt wird. Seebold (1970: 278) verzeichnet s. v. *hreuþ-a-* 'frei machen' (> an. *hrjóða*) *hroði* aber nicht.

Die geringe Verbreitung des germanischen Originals steht der Annahme einer Entlehnung nicht im Wege. In jeder Sprache können Wörter in Vergessenheit geraten, und auch in der germanisch-finnischen Lehnwortforschung wird damit gerechnet. So wurden von Koivulehto im Rahmen der Herleitung von fi. *tuhka* 'Asche' (mit Entsprechungen in allen anderen ostseefinnischen Sprachen) aus dem Germanischen Substantive konstruiert, die nur über Verbalableitungen wie ahd. *zuscen* 'exurere, oburere; verbrennen' angesetzt werden können (Koivulehto 1991: 31 Anm. 14).

Mit urgerm. *χ*ruđan-* wäre *rytä-* in *rytäkka* vergleichbar. Bezüglich -*(ä)kkä* sei bemerkt, daß zu den finnischen Bildungen auf -(*V*)*kkA* semantisch vergleichbare Wörter gehören, z. B. *nujakka* 'Getöse, Lärm; harter Wind; Schlägerei, Tumult, Unruhe, Streit' neben gleichbedeutendem *nuja* (einem germanischen Lehnwort; siehe dazu *SSA* II 1995: 235f. und *LÄGLW* II 1996: 302) und *metakka* 'Lärm, Spektakel, Getöse'.

Die lautliche Seite der Verknüpfung von *rytä-* mit urgerm. *χ*ruđan-* ist nicht problematisch. Fi. *r-* als Wiedergabe von urgerm. χ*r-* entspricht der Regel, daß im Ostseefinnischen von einer germanischen anlautenden Konsonantenverbindung nur der letzte Konsonant wiedergegeben wird. Wegen der geschlossenen zweiten Silbe wäre, falls von **rytä* als Grundwort auszugehen ist, in der Ableitung auf *-kkä* statt des *t* die schwache Stufe[2] von *t* zu erwarten: **rydäkkä*. Aus einer Übersicht über die Verwendung der Silbe *-VkkA* bei Ableitungen von Nominalstämmen (Hakulinen 1979: 128f.) geht jedoch hervor, daß bei den Ableitungen auf -(*V)kkA* nicht nur die schwache Stufe, sondern auch die starke Stufe möglich ist.[3] Hakulinens Übersicht entnommene Beispiele für die schwache Stufe sind *vaihdokka* 'durch Tausch erworbenes Pferd' neben *vaihto* 'Wechsel', *kannikka* (*nn* < *nd*) 'hartes Randstück, Knust; Gesäß' neben *kanta* 'Grund, Basis, Ansatzstelle' sowie *näpykkä* 'Pickel, Pustel' neben *näppy* id., *kalvakka* 'blaß, bleich' neben *kalpea* id. Die starke Stufe findet sich in *ulpukka* 'Teichrose' neben *ulpu* id., in *lutikka* 'Wanze' neben *lude* (< **ludeh*, Genitiv *luteen*) id., *matikka* 'Lotta lotta, Quappe, Aalrute' neben *made* (Genitiv *mateen*) id. sowie in *kipakka* 'heftig, hitzig, scharf, schnell' neben *kipeä* 'krank, schmerzend'.[4]

Substitution von intervokalischem *đ* durch *tt* ist selten. Sie findet sich im relativ jungen Lehnwort *kiuttu* 'Beutel für Feuergerät', einem Dialektwort, das auf Entlehnung eines auf urgerm. **skeuđōn-,* urn. **skeuđō* (> an. *skjóða* 'Lederbeutel, Tasche' zurückgehenden skandinavischen Wortes beruhen dürfte (dazu *SSA* II 1995: 377, *LÄGLW* II 1996: 101f.) und im Lehnwort *vaate* (Plural *vaatteet*) 'Kleidung, Stoff, Tuch', das erst nach dem in einem Teil des Germanischen vollzogenen Lautwandel $\bar{e} > \bar{a}$ entlehnt sein kann und womit sich an. *váð* 'Tuch', ahd. *wāt* 'Kleidung' usw. vergleichen läßt

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2 Der sogenannte Stufenwechsel besagt für die Wurzelsilbe, daß vor einer geschlossenen Silbe statt *p*, *t*, *k*, *pp*, *tt* bzw. *kk* der starken, vor offener Silbe eintretenden Stufe die schwache Stufe erscheint: *v* (< β), *d* (< δ), 0 (auch *j* oder *v*, < γ), *p*, *t* bzw. *k*.

3 Die Bedeutungsangaben zu den nachstehenden Wörtern beruhen mit der Ausnahme von *vaihdokka* (Bedeutungsangabe nach Hakulinen) auf *SSA* oder auf Katara und Schellbach-Kopra.

4 Laut *SSA* (I 1992: 368) gehört *kipeä* wahrscheinlich zu derselben deskriptiven Wortgruppe wie *kipakka*.

(dazu *SSA* III 2000: 387). Es wäre also denkbar, daß auch das *-đ-* in urgerm. **χruđan-* (oder einer etwas jüngeren nordgermanischen Form) bei der Entlehnung mit *-tt-* wiedergegeben wurde; ein solches *-tt-* würde in geschlossener Silbe *-t-* ergeben (**ryttä*, *rytäkkä*).

Der palatale Vokal der Wurzelsilbe ist kein Problem. Er findet sich u. a. in fi. *pyrstö* 'Schwanz', mundartlich auch *pursto* id., das auf Entlehnung von urgerm. **burstō* (> an. *burst* 'Borste') beruht; siehe dazu *SSA* II 1995: 455. Einen Palatalvokal weist auch fi. *kyäs* (mit Nebenformen *kykäs*, *kykkä*, *kyky* usw.) 'Getreidehocke' auf: als Original kommen urgerm. **skukka-(z)* (> as. *skok(k)* '60 Stück (Garben)', mnd. *schok* 'Garbenstand des Getreides; 60 Stück'), urgerm. **skukan-* (> mhd. *schoche* 'Heuschober') oder urgerm. **χukkan-* (> mnd. *hocke* 'Garbenstand von vier Getreidegarben') in Betracht; man vergleiche dazu *SSA* II 1995: 469 und *LÄGLW* II 1996: 138f.). Ein weiteres Beispiel ist das von Koivulehto als germanisches Lehnwort gedeutete fi. *rytö* 'umgefallener Baum; Dickicht'; Koivulehto verglich es mit urgerm. **brutan-* aus älterem **bruton-* (1971: 592-595; siehe auch 1999: 28-30 und 159f.). Auf **brutan-* gehen an. *broti* 'Haufen gefällter Bäume', aschwed. *bruti*, *brote* 'id.', schwed. *bråte* 'id.' zurück.

Katz hat *turkkia*, *turkata*, *tyrkkiä* und *tyrkätä* 'stoßen' als germanisches Lehnwort gedeutet; das Original sei urgerm. **þrukkjan-* 'drücken' (> ae. *þryccan*, ahd. *drucchen*) (1990: 15). Daß *tyrkkiä* bereits von Neuhaus (1908: 161) mit schwed. *trycka* verglichen worden ist, war Katz offenbar nicht bekannt. Die finnische Verbgruppe hat Entsprechungen im Karelischen mit palatalem Vokalismus und im Estnischen mit velarem Vokalismus. Es sei noch auf die vorausgesetzte Metathese *ru* > *ur* hingewiesen. Sie muß auch für *turva* angenommen werden; *turva* 'Schutz' wird von Sköld und Koivulehto als eine Entlehnung aus dem Germanischen gedeutet; als Original wird urgerm. **trūwā* > **trūwō* (>> schwed. *tro* 'Glauben, Vertrauen, Treue') angesetzt; man vergleiche zu dieser Etymologie Koivulehto 1983: 100. Eine andere Ansicht wird allerdings von Mann (1984-87: 1449) vertreten; er verknüpft fi. *turva* als Lehnwort mit indoeuropäisch **tr̥u̯ō-* 'last, be strong, outbid, overcome' (> Sanskrit *tūrvāmi* v., 'overpower' usw.). Im *SSA* (III 2000: 347, s. v. *tyrkätä*) wird weder die von Neuhaus noch die von Katz vorgelegte Deutung erwähnt, sondern die Ansicht vertreten, daß *tyrkätä*, *turkata* usw. wahrscheinlich deskriptive Wörter seien. Es dürfte auf jeden Fall klar sein, daß der palatale Vokalismus in *rytäkkä* kein Problem ist, wenn *rytäkkä* mit urgerm. **χruđan-* verknüpft wird.

Die lautliche und semantische Ähnlichkeit von *rytäkkä* und urgerm. **χruđan-* ist unübersehbar. Unumstößlich ist der Nachweis germanischer Herkunft von *ryt(ä)-* in *rytäkkä* nicht. Es könnte sich aber ein aus germ.

**χruđan-* entlehntes *rytä(kkä)* mit einer einheimischen finnischen Wortgruppe um *rytistä* vermischt haben.

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ABKÜRZUNGEN

ae. = altenglisch; ahd. = althochdeutsch; an. = altnordisch/altisländisch; as. = altsächsisch; aschwed. = altschwedisch; fi. = finnisch; germ. = germanisch; mhd. = mittelhochdeutsch; mnd. = mittelniederdeutsch; schwed. = schwedisch; urgerm. = urgermanisch.

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STRUKTURELLE BESONDERHEITEN DES URSLAVISCHEN

GEORG HOLZER

Das Urslavische, die an der Wende vom 6. zum 7. Jahrhundert n. Chr. gesprochene letzte gemeinsame Vorfahrin aller belegten slavischen Sprachen und Dialekte, verfügte auf der Ebene der kleinsten bedeutungsunterscheidenden Segmente und ihrer Merkmale über vergleichsweise schlichte und ballastarme Strukturen. Inwiefern, soll im Folgenden näher dargelegt werden.

Das urslavische Phonemsystem bestand gemäss dem hier vorgeschlagenen Modell aus folgenden 32 Einheiten:[1]

Gutturale	k	g	x	˙				j	i	i̲	ī	ī̲	e	e̲	ē	ē̲	a	a̲	ā	ā̲
Alveolare	t	d	s	z	n	r	l													
Labiale	p	b			m			w	u	u̲	ū	ū̲								

Zum hier als Segment interpretierten «Akut» /˙/ s. u. Der «Zirkumflex» ist nichts weiter als die Abwesenheit des «Akuts». Mit „Gutturalen" sind Phoneme gemeint, deren phonetische Realisierung palatal, velar oder laryngal ist (s. u.).[2] Unterstrichene Zeichen stehen für betonte Vokalphoneme. Kursiv gedruckte Notationen urslavischer Wörter und Wortformen sind in diesem Beitrag als vereinfachte phonetische Transkription aufzufassen (s. genauer Holzer 2003: 27); nur zwischen Schrägstrichen und mit aufrechten Zeichen Geschriebenes repräsentiert die phonologische Gestalt der betreffenden Wörter und Wortformen.

Die Ebene der phonetischen Realisierungen der Phoneme dürfte von der der Phoneme vergleichsweise geringfügig abgewichen sein. Die gutturalen Konsonanten wurden vor palatalen Vokalen anders realisiert als in anderen Positionen (/k/ als [tˇš] (= *č*) vs. [k] usw.), und das Phonem

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[1] Hier sind die in Holzer 2003 und 2005 präsentierten Ergebnisse vorausgesetzt. (Das Ordnungsprinzip der Tabelle in op. cit. 34 sind die phonetischen Merkmale der Realisierungen der urslavischen Phoneme – s. loc. cit. Anmerkung 3 –, hier hingegen sind es ihre phonologisch distinktiven Merkmale.)

[2] Traditionell umfasst der Terminus „Gutturale" Palatale und Velare, und etymologisch bedeutet er eigentlich 'Laryngale': lat. *guttur* bedeutet ebenso 'Kehle' wie gr. *λάρυγξ*.

/n/ hatte je nach Artikulationsstelle des folgenden Lautes verschiedene Realisierungen ([n], [ň], [ŋ] – s. genauer Holzer 2003: 27-29).

Das Urslavische verfügte über nur *drei phonologisch distinktive Artikulationsstellen*: die Lippen, die Alveolen und den hinter den Alveolen liegenden „gutturalen" Bereich (Holzer 2003: 35). Die am Palatum, am Velum und in der Larynx artikulierten Konsonanten funktionierten, da ein Wechsel zwischen diesen drei Artikulationsstellen keinen Wechsel zwischen verschiedenen Phonemen bedeutete, phonologisch alle als Gutturale. Auch bei den Vokalen, also den silbischen Phonemen, war der Gegensatz zwischen Velarität und Palatalität undistinktiv: Die *u*-Vokale (/u/, /u̲/, /ū/, /ū̲/) waren von den *i*-Vokalen (/i/, /i̲/, /ī/, /ī̲/) – wie auch von allen anderen Vokalen – durch die Opposition labial – guttural hinreichend unterschieden, so wie ja auch ihre unsilbischen („halbvokalischen") Korrelationspartner /w/ und /j/ voneinander durch dieselbe Opposition hinreichend unterschieden waren.[3] Und die allesamt gutturalen *i*-Vokale (/i/, /i̲/, /ī/, /ī̲/), *e*-Vokale (/e/, /e̲/, /ē/, /ē̲/) und *a*-Vokale (/a/, /a̲/, /ā/, /ā̲/) waren voneinander durch die drei Höhegrade (Öffnungsgrade) unterschieden. Abgesehen von den Gegensätzen zwischen den drei Artikulationsstellen gab es im Urslavischen noch folgende (in der Tabelle nicht namentlich ausgewiesene) distinktive Merkmaloppositionen: verschlusshältig – frikativ – nasal – vibrant – lateral – hoch[4] – mittelhoch – tief; unsilbisch – silbisch;[5] stimmlos – stimmhaft; unbetont – betont;[6] kurz – lang.

Der «Akut» könnte als ein auf den betreffenden Langvokal oder auf die betreffende tautosyllabische Vokal-Sonant-Sequenz folgender stimmhafter gutturaler Frikativ gesprochen worden sein, zum Beispiel als Laryngal.[7] Mit dieser sich an Frederik Kortlandts Modell anlehnenden In-

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[3] Dass ursl. *w* und *j* von *u* und *i* nur hinsichtlich der Silbigkeit unterschiedene Halbvokale (Glides) waren, geht aus Bergermayer 2002 hervor (s. insbesondere op. cit. 9). Zu ihrem phonologischen Status s. Holzer 2003: 34 f. Die Zungenstellung war bei den *u*-Vokalen auf dieselbe Weise irrelevant wie bei /w/, /p/, /b/ und /m/.

[4] Mit „hoch" ist der Geschlossenheitsgrad der Vokale /i/, /i̲/, /ī/, /ī̲/, /u/, /u̲/, /ū/, /ū̲/ und der Halbvokale /j/, /w/ gemeint. Die anderen Vokale sind tiefer, also offener, und die anderen Konsonanten sind „höher", also geschlossener als /i/, /i̲/, /ī/, /ī̲/, /u/, /u̲/, /ū/, /ū̲/, /j/, /w/.

[5] Diese Distinktion kommt nur zwischen /i/ und /j/ sowie zwischen /u/ und /w/ zum Tragen.

[6] Dass es in einem Wort höchstens einen betonten Vokal geben kann, ist in dieser Interpretation eine Phonemdistributionsregel und keine suprasegmentale Eigenschaft etwa des ganzen Wortes.

[7] Im Urslavischen wären dann wie im Obersorbischen, Tschechischen, Slowakischen, Weissrussischen und Ukrainischen /x/ und /h/ einander gegenüber gestanden.

terpretation des urslavischen «Akuts»[8] lässt sich auf einen Schlag ein Lautgesetz einsparen – nämlich dasjenige, das die urindogermanischen Laryngale angeblich in eine Akutintonation transformiert hat,[9] – und eine „Lücke im System“ füllen – nämlich die Stelle, die für einen stimmhaften gutturalen Frikativ bereit steht. Ausserdem kommt, wenn man die Quantität und die Betonung als distinktive Merkmale der Vokale interpretiert und den «Akut» als eigenes Segment, die Darstellung der urslavischen Phonologie *ohne suprasegmentale (prosodische) Ebene* aus. Eine solche Interpretation macht also die slavische Lautlehre sowohl in diachronischer als auch in synchronischer Hinsicht einfacher und kompakter und ist daher alternativen Interpretationsmöglichkeiten vorzuziehen.

Die urslavischen Phoneme konnten sehr frei, das heisst von nur *wenigen Distributionsregeln* eingeschränkt, aneinander gereiht werden. Einschränkungen gab es insofern, als ein Wort höchstens einen betonten Vokal aufweisen konnte, der Hiatus nur an der Wortgrenze und allenfalls an der Morphemfuge auftrat, Konsonanten nicht in beliebiger Auswahl, Anzahl und Reihenfolge zusammengestellt oder in den Wortauslaut gesetzt werden konnten und /˙/ nur tautosyllabisch nach Langvokalen und nach Vokal-Sonant-Sequenzen (Diphthongen) vorkam. Insbesondere mussten im Urslavischen die Silben weder alle offen sein noch – auf phonologischer Ebene – sich einer „Silbenharmonie“ fügen: Die Monophthongierungen der Diphthonge verschiedener Art und die Palatalisierungen velarer Obstruenten und Vokale in bestimmten palatalen Kontexten hatten noch nicht stattgefunden, abgesehen von der Ersten Palatalisierung *ke* > *če* usw., die sich aber im Urslavischen nur auf die Phonetik, noch nicht jedoch auf die Phonologie ausgewirkt hatte (Holzer 2003: 32 f.). So gab es also nur wenige Positionen, in denen phonologische Oppositionen neutralisiert waren, und daher auch nur *wenige Archiphoneme* – oder anders ausgedrückt: es gab nur wenige nach Positionen zu unterscheidende „Teilsysteme“ der Art, wie sie Trubetzkoy in grosser Zahl innerhalb des altkirchenslavischen Phonemsystems zu unterscheiden hatte (Trubetzkoy

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[8] Vgl. z. B. Kortlandt 1975: 34: „the final loss of the laryngeal feature must have occurred toward the end of the eighth century“ und Kortlandt 1988: 302: „the glottal stop which developed from the laryngeals was still a regular consonant in Balto-Slavic times“.

[9] Der Zusammenfall der drei urindogermanischen Laryngale in einen einzigen (vgl. Matasović 1997: 131) braucht hier nicht mitgezählt zu werden, denn auch ihr Wandel zu einem einzigen «Akut» würde ihren Zusammenfall bedeuten. Die vokallängenden und umfärbenden Wirkungen hätten die Laryngale dann nicht erst im Zuge ihres Schwundes, sondern schon vor diesem in vorurslavischer Zeit ausgeübt.

1954: 62 f.). Man kann also den urslavischen phonologischen Kode als ausgesprochen _redundanzarm_[10] bezeichnen (Holzer 2003: 37).

Das Urslavische war ausserdem noch frei von folgenden Alternationen, die den Morphemen der slavischen Einzelsprachen ihre Allomorphe bescheren und die Beziehung zwischen Inhalt und Ausdruck uneindeutig machen:[11]

(1) Die aus der Dritten Palatalisierung resultierenden Alternationen «_k_ : _c_, _g_ : _dz_, _x_ : _ś_»: ursl. _*rekanti̱_ : _*nārī̱kā˙tēj_ «_rekǫtъ_ : _naricati_»,[12] ursl. _*kuningu_ : _*kuningū̱˙njī˙_ «_kъnędzъ_ : _kъnęgyńi_», ursl. _*awsme̱jxnantēj sēn_ : _*nāsme̱jxā˙tēj sēn_ «_usmixnǫti sę_ : _nasmiśati sę_» usw.[13]

(2) Die aus der Palatalisierung velarer Vokale nach palatalen Konsonanten resultierenden Alternationen «_o_ : _e_, _ě_ : _i_» usw., die zur Aufspaltung der Flexions- und Derivationsmuster in „harte" und „weiche" führten: ursl. _*pe̱ra_ : _*marja_ «_pero_ : _mońe_», ursl. _*taga̱_ : _*jaga̱_ «_togo_ : _jego_», ursl. _*tajxu̱_ : _*jajxu̱_ «_těxъ_ : _jixъ_», ursl. _*ba̱brawu_ : _*ka̱njawu_ «_bobrovъ_ : _końevъ_» usw.[14] Im Urslavischen gab es diese morphologische Zweigleisigkeit noch nicht.

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[10] Distributionsrestriktionen sind syntagmatische Redundanzen, s. Panzer 1975: 52.

[11] Die (in einigen Fällen als Versuch zu verstehende) Rekonstruktion der urslavischen Betonungsstellen beruht hier hauptsächlich auf den Angaben von Bulatova 1975, Garde 1976 (zu beiden gibt es Wortindizes) und Snoj 2003 zu den betreffenden Wörtern und Akzentparadigmen (AP), deren Rekonstruktionen ich aber gemäss meiner anderen chronologischen Einstufung des Urslavischen „umkodiert" habe (s. Holzer 2005b).

[12] Zwischen den (den Asteriskus erübrigenden) Zeichen « und » führe ich (gewöhnlich ohne prosodische Angaben) die meist mit den altkirchenslavischen übereinstimmenden, also anachronistischen traditionell als urslavisch rekonstruierten Lautungen an (s. dazu Holzer 2003: 23-25). Dieses traditionelle Rekonstrukt des Urslavischen sieht aus wie ein fiktiver slavischer Dialekt des ausgehenden 9. Jahrhunderts und verfügt daher bereits über die hier unter (1) bis (12) behandelten Alternationen (ausser (7), s. dazu aber unten die Fussnote 22), die im tatsächlichen Urslavischen (von ca. 600 n. Chr.) noch fehlten.

[13] Zum Akzent: _*rekanti̱_: AP c (s. Garde 1976: 151, zur Endbetonung 113); _*nārī̱kā˙tēj_, _*nāsme̱jxā˙tēj_: solche Iterativa haben betonte Wurzel (vgl. Garde 1976: 175 f.); _*kuningu_: AP c (vgl. Snoj 2003: 285); _*kuningū̱˙njī˙_: vgl. russ. _knjagínja_, neuštokav. _knèginja_ und zum Suffix Garde 1976: 73; _*awsme̱jxnantēj_: Verba auf «_-nǫti_» waren vor dem Wirken des Gesetzes von Dybo wurzelbetont (s. Garde 1976: 177 f.).

[14] _*pe̱ra_: «AP b» (s. Dybo et al. 1990: 201); _*marja_: AP c (s. Garde 1976: 8, 50); zu _*taga̱_ usw. s. Garde 1976: 53, Dybo et al. 1990: 52; _*ba̱brawu_ und _*ka̱njawu_: «AP b» (s. Garde 1976: 42 f., 65 f.).

(3) Die aus der Monophthongierung der Diphthonge resultierenden Alternationen «*ov* : *u*, *oj* : *ě*»: ursl. **ka̱wā˙tēj* : **kaw˙jete̱* «*kovati* : *kujete*»; ursl. **pa̱j˙tēj* : **pajete̱* «*pěti* : *pojete*» usw.[15]

(4) Die aus der Zweiten Palatalisierung resultierenden Alternationen «*k* : *c*, *g* : *dz*, *x* : *ś*»: ursl. **rankā̱˙* : **rankāj* «*rǫka* : *rǫcě*», ursl. **nagā̱˙* : **nagāj* «*noga* : *nodzě*», ursl. **ja̱wxā˙* : **ja̱wxāj* «*juxa* : *juśě*», ursl. **ma̱ganti* : **ma̱gaj˙te* «*mogǫtъ* : *modzěte*», ursl. **wilku* : **wilkuj*[16] «*vьlkъ* : *vьlci*», ursl. **bagu* : **baguj* «*bogъ* : *bodzi*» usw.[17]

(5) Die aus der Depalatalisierung von *ē*, *ē̱* nach Palatalen zu *ā*, *ā̱* resultierende Alternation «*ě* : *a*»: ursl. **sē˙dē̱˙tēj* : **ledžē̱˙tēj* «*sěděti* : *ležati*» usw.[18]

(6) Die aus der *l*-Epenthese resultierenden Alternationen «*b* : *bl´*, *p* : *pl´*, *m* : *ml´*, *v* : *vl´*»: ursl. **lja̱wbī˙tēj*[19] : **lja̱wbjenu*[20] «*l´ubiti* : *l´ubl´enъ*» usw.

(7) Die aus der Metathese «akutierter» anlautender Liquidadiphthonge resultierende Alternation **ar˙-* : **rā˙-* (für eine Alternation **al˙-* : **lā˙-* gibt es m. W. kein Beispiel): ursl. **ar˙jete̱*[21] : **a̱r˙dla* «*oŕete* : *ordlo*».[22]

(8) Die aus der Entstehung der Nasalvokale resultierenden Alternationen «*ьm/ьn* : *ę*, *ъm/ъn* : *ǫ*»: ursl. **mi̱n˙tēj* : **mi̱nete* «*męti* : *mьnete*»; ursl. **dži̱ntēj* : **dži̱mete* «*žęti* : *žьmete*»; ursl. **du̱n˙tēj* : **du̱mete* «*dǫti* : *dъmete*».[23]

(9) Die aus der Akzentuierung der ersten Silbe der unbetonten Wortformen des Akzentparadigmas c[24] resultierende Alternation zwischen

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15 Zum Akzent vgl. Garde 1976: 166 f., 182, 156 f., 121 f., 113; Dybo et al. 1990: 63, 67 f.

16 Zu *-uj* s. Holzer 1980: 15, 17 usw. (wo *ъ* für *u* geschrieben ist) und Kortlandt 2005 §§ 5.9., 6.5.

17 **ja̱wxā˙*, **ma̱ganti* «AP b», alle anderen c (s. Garde 1976: 44, 48 f., 112, 122, 154, 248 f., 268 f., 329). Die Dativendung **-āj* usw. hat «Zirkumflex», s. Dybo et al. 1990: 32.

18 Zu Akzent und «Akut» s. Garde 1976: 5, 157 f., 166, 170, 219.

19 «AP b» (s. Bulatova 1975: 11, 97). Zum «Akut» s. Garde 1976: 166, 219.

20 Zum Suffix s. Garde 1976: 136 f.

21 AP c (s. Dybo et al. 1990: 62, 97).

22 Das traditionelle Rekonstrukt «*órdlo*» widerspricht den Prinzipien der traditionellen Rekonstruktion urslavischer Lautungen (es müsste «*rádlo*» angesetzt werden), weil ein Vergleich der slavischen Sprachen untereinander eine Unterscheidung von akutiertem *ra* und akutiertem *or* nicht rechtfertigt (vgl. Holzer 2003: 24, Fussnote 5).

23 Alle «AP b» im Präsens und bei «Zirkumflex» im Infinitiv auch in diesem; bei «Akut» im Infinitiv folgt dieser AP a, s. Dybo et al. 1990: 62, 67, 77; vgl. Garde 1976: 151 f.

betonter und unbetonter Erstsilbe wie in russ. *golova̱* : *go̱lovu*, kroat. čakav. *glāva̱* : *glā̱vu*. Im Urslavischen waren solche Erstsilben noch durchgehend unbetont: ursl. **gal˙wā̱˙* : **gal˙wān* usw.

(10) Die aus der Jotierung resultierenden Alternationen «*t* : *t´*, *d* : *d´*, *s* : *š*, *z* : *ž*, *r* : *ŕ*, *l* : *l´*, *n* : *ń*»: ursl. **xwā̱lī˙tēj* : **xwā̱ljenu* «*xvaliti* : *xval´enъ*» usw.[25]

(11) Die aus dem Wandel *kt*, *xt* > *t´* resultierenden Alternationen wie in ursl. **rekanti̱* : **re̱ktēj* «*rekǫtъ* : *ret´i*», ursl. **ma̱ganti* : **ma̱ktēj* «*mogǫtъ* : *mot´i*», ursl. **wirxa̱nti* : **we̱rxtēj*[26] «*vъrxǫtъ* : *vert´i*» (> kr. *vŕhū* : *vrijèći* 'dreschen') usw.[27] Was hier genau die Alternanten sind, hängt von der morphologischen Analyse ab: Entweder sind es «*k* : *t´*, *g* : *t´*, *x* : *t´*» («*rek-ǫtъ* : *ret´-i*, *mog-ǫtъ* : *mot´-i*, *vъrx-ǫtъ* : *vert´-i*»), womit eine weitere Alternation «*t* : Ø» in der Infinitivendung «*-ti* : *-i*» gegeben wäre, oder es sind *k* : Ø, *g* : Ø, *x* : Ø («*rek-ǫtъ* : *re-t´i*, *mog-ǫtъ* : *mo-t´i*, *vъrx-ǫtъ* : *ver-t´i*»), womit eine weitere Alternation «*t* : *t´*» in der Infinitivendung «*-ti* : *-t´i*» gegeben wäre.

(12) Die aus dem (auf die Position vor velarem Vokal beschränkten) Wandel *kt* > *t* resultierende Alternation «*k* : Ø» wie in ursl. **pekanti̱* : **paktu* «*pekǫtъ* : *potъ*»[28] u. dgl. Die unter (11) und (12) genannten Alternationen ergeben, wenn man sich bei (11) für die Alternanten «*k* : *t´*, *g* : *t´*, *x* : *t´*» entscheidet, zusammen dreigliedrige Alternationen wie z. B. «*k* : *t´* : Ø» in «*pekǫtъ* : *pet´i* : *potъ*».

Von all den eben genannten Lautgesetzen konnte gezeigt werden, dass sie erst nach der Wende vom 6. zum 7. Jahrhundert stattgefunden haben,[29]

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[24] Zu den unbetonten Wortformen und zu ihrer Akzentuierung s. Garde 1976: 9 f., 19 f., 28 f., 244-246, 253-255 (Akzentuierung der zweiten Silbe im Slovenischen), 269 f.

[25] «AP b» (s. Garde 1976: 169).

[26] Dieser Infinitiv trat auf Grund einer Analogie nach den Personalformen wie ursl. **wi̱rxanti* an die Stelle von **we̱rstēj* (*s* > *x* nur vor Vokal), dies aber offensichtlich vor dem Wandel *xt* > *t´*. Einschränkend Kortlandt 1978: 73.

[27] **rekanti̱*: AP c (s. o.), **re̱ktēj*: «AP b» (s. Garde 1976: 151); **ma̱ganti*, **ma̱ktēj*: «AP b» (s. Garde 1976: 112, 122). – Die Argumente, dass der Wandel *kt*, *xt* > *t´* nachurslavisch ist (s. Holzer 1995: 69 und 1998: 28 f.) können um das Beispiel ahd. (**wîhennahten* >) **wînnahten* > ursl. **wi̱nnaxten* > **vęnot´ě̱* > tschech. *vánoce*, slovak. *vianoce* 'Weihnachten' ergänzt werden. Diese Etymologie hat 1958 F.V. Mareš veröffentlicht (s. Mareš 2000: 573-575); Ableitungsschritte und Notation sehen bei ihm freilich etwas anders aus (z. B. rechnet er mit einer Substitution ahd. *cht* > sl. *kt*, s. op. cit. 596, Anmerkung 10).

[28] AP c (s. Garde 1976: 151, 201).

so dass die durch sie entstandenen Alternationen im Urslavischen noch nicht vorhanden gewesen sein können. Schon im Urslavischen vorhanden waren hingegen folgende Alternationen (Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit wird nicht erhoben):

(1′) Die aus dem Ablaut resultierenden Alternationen wie z. B. *e* : *a* in ursl. **we̲stēj*[30] : **wazu* «*vesti* : *vozъ*».

(2′) Die aus der Stimmbeteiligungsassimilation resultierenden Alternationen wie z. B. *s* : *z* in ursl. **we̲stēj* : **wezeti̲* «*vesti* : *vezetъ*» oder *k* : *g* in ursl. **ma̲ktēj* : **ma̲ganti* «*mot´ i* : *mogǫt*».

(3′) Die aus Assimilationen der Artikulationsstelle resultierenden Alternationen wie z. B. *n* : *m* in ursl. **dži̲ntēj* : **dži̲mete* «*žęti* : *žьmete*».

(4′) Die aus der ruki-Regel resultierende Alternation *x* : *s*, die zumindest noch in der Endung des Lokativs Plural wie in ursl. **sūˑnuxu̲* «*synъxъ*» 'Söhne' und **gastixu̲* «*gostьxъ*» 'Gäste'[31] : **daljāsu* (Akzent?) «*dol´asъ*»[32] 'Talbewohner' vorkam.

(5′) Die aus dem Wandel (*dt* >) *tt* > *st* resultierenden Alternationen *s* : *t* und *s* : *d* wie z. B. in ursl. **ple̲stēj* : **pleteti̲* «*plesti* : *pletetъ*» und in ursl. **we̲stēj* : **wedeti̲* «*vesti* : *vedetъ*».[33]

(6′) Die aus der Ersten Palatalisierung resultierenden Alternationen *k* : *č*, *g* : *dž*, *x* : *š* wie z. B. in ursl. **wilku* : **wilče*, **bagu* : **badže*, **dawxu* : **dawše*, **rekanti̲* : **rečete̲* «*vьlkъ* : *vьlče*, *bogъ* : *bože*, *duxъ* : *duše*, *rekǫtь* : *rečete*» usw.[34] Diese Alternationen waren jedoch im Urslavischen bloss phonetischer Natur; phonologisch traten sie nicht in Erscheinung: ursl. /*wilku : *wilke, *bagu : *bage, *dawxu : *dawxe, *rekanti̲ : *rekete̲/.

(7′) Die Alternation zwischen unbetonten und betonten Vokalen in Endungen wie z. B. in ursl. **be̲rˑz-āˑ* : **galˑw-ā̲ˑ* (> russ. *ber'o̲z-a* : *golov-a̲*).[35]

[29] S. Holzer 2003: 26 f., die dort zitierten früheren Arbeiten und Holzer 2005b.

[30] Im Infinitiv «AP b», sonst AP c (vgl. Garde 1976: 151, Bulatova 1975: 168).

[31] Beide Wörter folgen dem AP c, s. Garde 1976: 48, 50, 158, 169; zur Endung s. op. cit. 28, 30 f. und Dybo et al. 1990: 48.

[32] Belegt alttschech. *dolas*.

[33] Jeweils im Infinitiv «AP b», sonst AP c (vgl. Garde 1976: 122, 151, Bulatova 1975: 168).

[34] Zum Akzent von **wilku*, **bagu*, **rekanti̲* s. o.; zu **rečete̲* vgl. Garde 1976: 113; zu **dawxu* (AP c) s. Garde 1976: 233, 261.

[35] **be̲rˑz-āˑ*: AP a; **galˑw-ā̲ˑ*: AP c (s. Garde 1976: 37, 302; 27, 47, 222).

Darüber hinaus könnte das Urslavische auch Alternationen aufgewiesen haben, die in späterer Zeit von allen slavischen Dialekten etwa in analogischen Ausgleichsprozessen beseitigt worden sind. In Frage käme zum Beispiel die Alternation *aw* : *ew*, die durch den vor velarem Vokal erfolgten Wandel *ew* > *aw* entstanden ist, etwa in ursprünglichem **slawa* : **sle̱wese*.[36] Belegt ist aber nur *slovo* : *slovese*, und ob das Paradigma im Urslavischen noch **slawa* : **sle̱wese* gelautet hat oder aber schon **slawa* : **sla̱wese*, lässt sich nicht mehr feststellen, weil unbekannt ist, ob der Ausgleich dieser Alternation vor oder nach der Wende vom 6. zum 7. Jahrhundert erfolgt ist. Doch sind solche chronologisch unentscheidbaren Fälle gesamtslavisch beseitigter Alternationen nicht zahlreich (zumal es selten vorkommt, dass eine Alternation völlig restlos verschwindet),[37] und umso weniger zahlreich wird aus diesen der Anteil derjenigen Alternationen sein, die tatsächlich erst nach der Wende vom 6. zum 7. Jahrhundert beseitigt worden sind und daher tatsächlich im Urslavischen noch vorhanden waren.

In Anbetracht der eben untersuchten Zahlenverhältnisse zwischen im Nachurslavischen aufgebauten und im Nachurslavischen abgebauten Alternationen dürfte das Urslavische, wie es um ca. 600 n. Chr. gesprochen wurde, deutlich weniger Alternationen aufgewiesen haben als ein slavischer Dialekt etwa des ausgehenden 9. Jahrhunderts (s. auch oben die Fussnote 12). (Die Alternationen (1′) bis (7′) gab es sowohl um 600 als auch um 900 n. Chr., sie spielen also in diesem Vergleich keine Rolle.) Das Urslavische hatte also vergleichsweise *wenige Alternationen* und somit auch nur *wenige Morphoneme* und daher auch eine weitgehende *Isomorphie* zwischen Inhalt und Ausdruck. Besonders fällt dabei ins Gewicht, dass das Urslavische noch nicht die Zweigleisigkeit zwischen „harten“ und „weichen“ Flexionen und Derivationen aufwies, die sich mehr oder weniger durch die gesamte Morphologie der slavischen Einzelsprachen zieht und deren Forminventar ohne jeden Wert für die Kommunikation stark aufbläht.

Die Beschreibung des Urslavischen kommt also sowohl mit vergleichsweise wenigen Archiphonemen als auch mit vergleichsweise wenigen Morphonemen aus. Ein Archiphonem ist die Abstraktion vom Gegensatz zwischen Phonemen, von denen in bestimmten („neutralisierenden“)

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36 AP d, s. Holzer 2005b: §0.1.

37 Vgl. etwa die durch die Zweite Palatalisierung entstandenen Alternationen, die im Russischen analogisch beseitigt worden sind, aber nicht ohne in *drug* : *druz'ja* eine Spur zu hinterlassen.

Positionen nur eines vorkommt.[38] Ein Morphonem ist die Abstraktion vom Gegensatz zwischen miteinander alternierenden Phonemen.[39] Die Beschreibung des Urslavischen benötigt also nur wenige solche von der empirischen Oberfläche weit wegführende Abstraktionen – und das bedeutet in anderen Worten, sie muss mit nur wenigen Distributionsregeln, Neutralisierungen, Teilsystemen, Redundanzen und Alternationen operieren. Sie kommt auch ohne eine suprasegmentale Ebene und mit nur drei distinktiven Artikulationsstellen aus. Es erfordert also vergleichsweise wenig Aufwand und nur wenig Inanspruchnahme theoretischer Konzepte, um das Urslavische auf der Ebene der kleinsten bedeutungsunterscheidenden Segmente und ihrer Merkmale zu beschreiben. Da der zur Beschreibung eines Kodes nötige Aufwand mit dem zu seiner Erlernung nötigen Aufwand korrespondiert – zu denken ist hier an ein Erlernen ohne Lehrer und Lehrmaterial, sondern alleine durch das „Erleben" einer Sprache, und eine Sprache auf diese Weise zu erlernen bedeutet ja in erster Linie, sich (unbewusst) ein Modell, also eine Beschreibung ihrer Grammatik zurechtzulegen –, kann man sagen, das Urslavische war eine vergleichsweise leicht zu erlernende Sprache. Dies passt sehr gut zur Annahme, dass das Urslavische, entstanden zur Zeit der grossen slavischen Expansion um die Wende vom 6. zum 7. Jahrhundert durch Vereinheitlichung verschiedener aus der slavischen Urheimat mitgebrachter Dialekte, die Rolle einer slavischen Koiné und sogar einer *lingua franca* im Avarenreich spielte (s. Pritsak 1983, Lunt 1985, Holzer 1995: 59 f.). Leichte Erlernbarkeit einer Sprache verleiht ihr gegenüber etwaigen konkurrierenden Anwärterinnen auf eine solche Rolle[40] einen „Selektionsvorteil". Umgekehrt neigt die Grammatik einer Sprache, der die Funktion einer Koiné und einer *lingua franca* zugefallen ist und die somit von sehr vielen als

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[38] Vgl. Trubetzkoy 1939: 70 f.: „In der Aufhebungsstellung wird somit ein Oppositionsglied zum Stellvertreter des *„Archiphonems"* des betreffenden Gegensatzes – wobei wir unter Archiphonem die Gesamtheit der distinktiven Eigenschaften verstehen, die zwei Phonemen gemeinsam sind."

[39] Vgl. Trubetzkoy 1934: 30: „Jeder Alternation entspricht im Sprachbewusstsein ein *Morphonem,* d. i. die als morphonologische Einheit gedachte Gesamtheit der an der betreffenden Alternation beteiligten Phoneme". Begriffsgeschichtliches zum Morphonem bringt Panzer 1975: 57 f.

[40] Im Avarenreich wäre dafür vielleicht auch das Urrumänische in Frage gekommen; es dürfte ein Ergebnis derselben sprachlichen Vereinheitlichungsdynamik gewesen sein, die auch das Urslavische hervorgebracht hat (vgl. Holzer 1995: 61 f.). Auch ostgermanische Idiome waren im Avarenreich verbreitet, und sogar germanisch-slavische Zweisprachigkeit kann belegt werden (s. Holzer 2005a).

Zweitsprache erlernt wird, dazu, noch einfacher zu werden, weil beim Erlernen unnötig Kompliziertes und Redundantes gerne abgestreift wird.[41] Die strukturellen Besonderheiten des Urslavischen können so in einem engen und reziproken kausalen Zusammenhang mit seiner historischen Rolle gesehen werden.

Hier drängt sich ein extralinguistischer Vergleich auf. In der archäologischen Literatur wird die spartanische Schlichtheit der mit dem Urslaventum in Verbindung zu bringenden Kultur des Korčak- und des Prager Typus betont, die besonders im Vergleich mit den vorangegangenen Kulturen auffalle; und diese Einfachheit habe auch auf viele Nichtslaven eine grosse Anziehungskraft ausgeübt und letztlich bewirkt, dass auch sie sich mit dem Slaventum identifizierten.[42] Im Frühmittelalter habe sich in Osteuropa nämlich „weithin ein neues Lebensmodell durchgesetzt: das slawische“ (Pohl 1990: 123), das sich „durch territoriale Bindung, lokale Autonomie, einfache Sozialstruktur, flexible Kampfweise und differenzierte kleinräumige Landwirtschaft durchsetzen konnte“ (loc. cit.). Kurz und gut: „Es setzte sich durch, Slawe zu sein“ (Pohl 1988: 95). In den schwierigen Zeiten der letzten Phasen der Völkerwanderung zogen es eben viele vor, ein einfaches Leben als Slave zu führen, statt mit grosser Mühe auf bessere Zeiten zugeschnittene anspruchsvollere Traditionen aufrechtzuerhalten. Also nicht nur die niedrigeren Ebenen der Grammatik, sondern auch die Sachkultur und die Lebensweise des Urslaventums waren schlicht und leicht erlernbar und dürften so dessen Ausbreitung gefördert haben.

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[41] Vgl. die bei der Herausbildung verschiedener afrikanischer Koinés, insbesondere in der Bantu-Gruppe, zu beobachtende „*selective simplification*, the reduction or elimination of just those grammatical features in terms of which the various languages and dialects involved exhibit the largest disagreement“ (Hock 1991: 488).

[42] S. Barford 2001: 38: „[…] the Early Slavs are represented archaeologically by a limited range of very unpromising-looking material. Most of the remains of their material culture found in excavations are utilitarian, small in quantity and very unprepossessing in character. […] This material […] has an extremely ‘home-made’ look.“ und 44: „The simplicity of the more spartan and egalitarian culture of the Prague and Korchak types however clearly had something attractive for great numbers of the population over considerable areas of central Europe.“ S. auch Holzer 2005a.

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REFLECTIONS ON RECIPROCITY IN RUSSIAN AND DUTCH

WIM HONSELAAR

1. Introduction

The linguistic concept of reciprocity may be considered at two levels. At the real world level it relates to a specific referential constellation and at the linguistic level it relates to (an aspect of) the meaning of constructions or words. At the referential level it is defined as:

"… ситуации с двумя или более участниками, каждый из которых является одновременно и действующим предметом (субъектом), и предметом, подвергающимся действию (объектом)."[1] (Князев 1998: 95, quoting Peškovskij)

or as:

"… такие ситуации с двумя участниками, А и Б, в которых А находится в том же отношении к Б, что и Б к А."[2] (Князев 1998: 95, quoting Lichtenberk)

The condition defined for the referential level is a necessary condition to be able to use reciprocal forms to refer to a particular state of affairs; as such it could serve as a basis for typological studies.

At the semantic level the concept of reciprocity is reflected in the meaning of constructions and words, or, as Frajzyngier and Curl put it, "of reciprocal markers" (Frajzyngier and Curl 1999: vii). This reflection is *implicit* if the notion of reciprocity is an inherent aspect of the meaning of a word; Knjazev illustrates this with a number of Russian verbs, such as: *спорить* 'discuss', *дружить* 'become friends', *беседовать* 'have a conversation', *ссорить* 'quarrel', *мирить* 'reconcile', *знакомить* 'introduce to each other' and *соединять* 'join'.

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[1] '… situations with two or more participants, each of which is the agent (subject) and at the same time the patient (object) in the action referred to.'

[2] '… situations with two participants, A and B, in which A has the same relationship with B as B with A.'

More explicit is the expression of reciprocity in one of the numerous standard interpretations of reflexive verbs in Russian, i.e. verbs with the reflexive suffix *-ся* (see also Gerritsen 1990). According to Knjazev the number of reflexive verbs which have a reciprocal interpretation is limited, amounting to no more than twenty or so. He mentions only four of them: *толкаться* 'push one another', *кусаться* 'bite one another', *ругаться* 'abuse one another' and *целоваться* 'kiss'. Equally limited is the number of prefixed reflexive verbs with a reciprocal interpretation: *переругаться* 'fall foul of one another', *переглядываться* 'exchange glances' and *перешептываться* 'whisper to one another'.

The most explicit way of expressing reciprocity is found in the (complex) reciprocal pronouns *друг друга* 'one another', *один другого* 'the one the other' and *между собой* 'among each other'. In his article Knjazev analyses the subtle differences between these three complex pronouns.

From Knjazev's article it becomes clear that linguistic forms rarely if ever only express reciprocity: in the case of reflexive verbs reciprocity is only one of the numerous possible interpretations and in the case of reciprocal pronouns there are additional shades of meaning to reciprocity.

In this paper I will deal with the following reciprocity related topics: the inventory of Russian reflexive verbs with a reciprocal interpretation, the rivalry between Russian reciprocal reflexive verbs and (complex) reciprocal pronouns, and some differences between the Russian and Dutch reciprocal pronouns *друг друга* and *elkaar* 'one another'.

2. Reciprocity in reflexive verbs

It is no easy task to list all reflexive verbs with a reciprocal interpretation. In grammars and textbooks the authors usually restrict themselves to a handful of examples, providing the reader only with partial information, see e.g. Janko-Trinickaja (Янко-Триницкая 1962: 189-190) and Houtzagers (2003: 491).

Comprehensive dictionaries, on the other hand, are more exhaustive but the relevant information can only be found at the expense of laborious searching: one has to plough through a mass of entries or rather through all entries since reflexive verbs are marked, unfortunately, by a suffix! An electronic dictionary with ample search facilities would simplify this task considerably. Since I have no comprehensive Russian monolingual dictionary in electronic form at my disposal, I took a roundabout route by searching the text of the *Groot Russisch-Nederlands Woordenboek* 'Comprehensive Russian-Dutch Dictionary' (Honselaar 2005). Given that a reciprocal interpretation for Russian reflexive verbs is usually made explicit

in Dutch with the reciprocal marker *elkaar* 'one another', I hoped to find more reciprocal reflexives by searching for *elkaar*.[3] The resulting output list consists of 84 verbs:

браниться 'quarrel'
бросаться 'throw at one another'
брызгаться 'splash one another'
брыкаться 'kick'
взяться 'take one another'
видаться 'see one another'
видеться 'see one another'
врезаться 'fall in love'
встретиться 'meet'
вцепиться 'seize hold of one another'
грызться 'fight'
кидаться 'throw to one another'
клеваться 'peck one another'
координироваться 'co-ordinate'
коснуться 'touch'
кусаться 'bite one another'
лизаться 'neck'
лобзаться 'kiss one another'
лягаться 'kick one another'
меняться 'exchange'
натолкаться 'run against one another'
обменяться 'exchange'
обняться 'hug'
объединиться 'unite'
окликаться 'hail one another'
переглянуться 'exchange glances'
перегрызться 'fight'
перекликаться 'call one another'
перекреститься 'cross'
перемежаться 'alternate'
перемигиваться 'wink at each other'
переписываться 'correspond'
переругаться 'fall foul of one another'
пересвистываться 'whistle to one another'
пересечься 'cross'
пересмеиваться 'exchange smiles with one another'
перехихикиваться 'giggle at one another'
перецеловаться 'kiss one another'
перешёптываться 'whisper at one another'
пихаться 'push one another'
потыкаться 'stick into one another'
пошептаться 'converse in whisper'
прощаться 'say good-bye to one another'
разлететься 'scatter in the air'
разминуться 'pass one another'
разойтись 'disperse'
разъехаться 'separate'
расставаться 'part'
расцарапаться 'scratch one another'
расцеловаться 'exchange kisses'
расцепиться 'come uncoupled'
родниться 'become related'
сблизиться 'become good friends'
свиться 'curl up'
сдружиться 'become friends'
слиться 'flow together'
смениться 'hand over to one another'
снюхаться 'get to know one another by scent; come to terms with each other'
собачиться 'tick off one another'
сойтись 'come together'
соприкоснуться 'come into contact'
соревноваться 'compete'
сплыться 'run together'
стусоваться 'meet'
схватиться 'grapple with one another'
схлестнуться 'get jammed'
сцепиться 'be coupled; grapple with one another'

[3] In order not to get too much false hits I restricted my search to cases of initial *elkaar* and a number of specific combinations as *bij elkaar*, *met elkaar*, *op elkaar*, *tegen elkaar*, …

сшибиться 'collide'
съехаться 'meet'
тискаться 'swarm'
ткнуться 'prick one another'
толкаться 'push one another'
увидеться 'see one another'
уравновеситься 'be in balance with one another'
христосоваться 'kiss one another'
цапаться 'scratch one another'
целоваться 'kiss one another'
чередоваться 'alternate'
чмокаться 'give one another a smacking kiss'
швыряться 'hurl at one another'
шептаться 'converse in whispers'
шушукаться 'converse in whispers'
щипаться 'pinch each other'
ютиться 'huddle together'

Even this extensive list is clearly far from complete for it can be extended with well-known examples such as:

ссориться 'quarrel with one another'
столкнуться 'collide'
столковаться 'come to an agreement'

Janko-Trinickaja gives some additional examples:

бороться 'wrestle'
брататься 'fraternize with one another'
делиться 'share with one another'
драться 'fight with one another'
здороваться 'greet one another'
знакомиться 'meet'
знаться 'associate with one another'
мириться 'be reconciled with one another'
облобызаться 'kiss one another'
обнюхиваться 'sniff one another'
препираться 'squabble'
пререкаться 'argue'
ругаться 'abuse one another'
совещаться 'confer'
соглашаться 'agree'
сражаться 'fight'
судиться 'be involved in legal proceedings against one another'
условиться 'agree'

Houtzagers gives one further example, *стукнуться* 'hit one another'. None of these were found in the dictionary search, because the word *elkaar* was not used in the translation.

We cannot but conclude that the inventory of reciprocal reflexive verbs is large, much larger than Knjazev suggested in his article.

3. Implicit reciprocity

Besides a large number of reflexive verbs with a reciprocal interpretation the procedure applied in Section 2 has yielded a number of other words in which the reciprocal meaning is not overtly expressed in the morphological form. Examples of words and word combinations with inherent reciprocity are:

лежать вповалку 'lie side by side'
враждовать 'be at enmity'
противоречивый 'contradictory'
работать вместе 'work together'
рассорить 'set at variance'
роднить 'make related'
обменяться рукопожатием 'shake hands'
рядом 'side by side'
сбить 'push together'
сблизить 'bring together'
сдружить 'bring together'
соседить 'neighbour'
соседствовать 'co-exist'
сосуществовать 'co-exist'
спиной к спине 'back to back'
спихнуть 'push against one another'
ссорить 'argue'
столкнуть 'cause to collide'
тесно поставить книги 'place books closely'
эти вопросы тесно связаны 'these matters are closely connected'
в тесном соседстве 'in the direct neighbourhood'
уравновесить 'balance'
частично совпадать 'overlap'
сложить пальцы щепоткой / в щепотку 'press together one's finger tips'
найти общий язык с 'find a common language'
etc.

The output could have been even larger if additional search terms had been used such as *uiteen* 'apart', *samen* 'together' and *bijeen* 'together'. Nevertheless, even a restricted roundabout search has yielded already a considerable number of relevant instances of "new" reciprocal words and word combinations.

Finally, many examples have been found where the reciprocity marker *друг друга* was used to refer to states of affairs which are not inherently reciprocal but rather reciprocal "by accident": *выручать друг друга* 'come to help one another', *смотреть друг на друга* 'look at one another', *друг против друга* 'the one against the other', etc.

4. The relation between A and B

Knjazev's (i.e. Peškovskij's and Lichtenberk's) definitions of the concept of reciprocity state that each participant in the reference group has two roles, an agent role and a patient role. Knjazev also makes a distinction in his article between two functions of *друг друга*:

"Местоимение *друг друга* может быть как **субъектно-ориентированным**, когда одним из симметричных актантов является подлежащее

…, так и **объектно-ориентированным**, если кореферентное симметричное отношение связывает прямое и косвенное дополнения …"[4] (Князев 1999: 96)

He illustrates this correct distinction with examples like:

(1) Они любят друг друга.
'They love each other.'

(2) Негромко, бережно отставляя друг от друга слова, она стала читать Памятник.
'She began to read the Pamjatnik quietly, carefully separating the words from each other.'

In (1) *друг друга* is subject oriented whereas in (2) it is object oriented.

This distinction has, however, consequences for Peškovskij's definition since this definition is explicitly based on a distinction between the subject role and the patient role, which are not at stake in object oriented cases. Lichtenberk's definition, on the other hand, leaves the possibility open that other participants than subject and object are involved in a reciprocal relation. Lichtenberg's definition is, however, too restrictive for Dutch *elkaar*, since *elkaar* may refer to situations with two participants, A and B, in which the relationship of A to B is **not** the same as the relationship of B to A, see Section 5.

5. Dutch *elkaar* and Russian *друг друга*

The meaning of the Dutch reciprocity marker *elkaar* 'one another' is not exactly the same as that of Russian *друг друга* 'one another'. Differences can be found with respect to the quality of the reference group, the many metaphorical expressions with *elkaar* and the number of relations between the participants A and B. In Honselaar (1980: 183-196) I analyzed the meaning of *elkaar* as:

"ELKAAR verwijst naar de leden, of delen of aspecten daarvan, van DE referentieset; ELKAAR geeft de hoorder de instructie om de door de zin gegeven ordening (relatie) binnen de referentieset zodanig te interpreteren dat geen der leden, of delen of aspecten daarvan, van de referentieset in die specifieke ordening of relatie tot zichzelf komt te staan, maar enkel

[4] 'The pronoun *друг друга* 'one another' may be **subject oriented**, if one of the symmetrical actants is the subject […], as well as **object oriented**, if the co-referential symmetrical relation holds between the direct object and the indirect object […]'

tot andere leden, of delen of aspecten daarvan, van de referentieset."[5] (Honselaar 1980: 194).

This definition copes with the following empirical facts about *elkaar*:

- all members of the reference set may be mutually related: *Nederland, België en Duitsland grenzen aan elkaar* 'The Netherlands, Belgium and Germany border on one another';
- each member of the reference set is mutually related to at least one other member but not to all other members: *Nederland, België en Luxemburg grenzen aan elkaar* 'The Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg border on one another';
- in larger reference sets it is not necessarily the case that all members are actually involved in the relationship referred to; it is sufficient if the relation holds a "reasonable" number of times. Thus the sentence *bij de massale optocht sloegen de demonstranten elkaar halfdood* 'during the massive demonstration the protesters beat the hell out of each other' is appropriate if a reasonable number of protesters were beating up other protesters;
- in reference sets consisting of only two members the relation may be bidirectional (*de mannen stonden naast elkaar* 'the men stood side by side') and unidirectional (*de schilderijen hingen onder elkaar aan de muur* 'the paintings were hanging on the wall one below the other');
- the reference set is not always specified in the sentence itself, but must sometimes be inferred from the wider context: *elkaar schoppen vind ik heel erg* 'kicking one another is awful';
- the reference set may consist not only of a group with a number of discrete members but also of a mass or object consisting of parts or aspects: *hij haalde de machine uit elkaar* 'he took the machine apart', *de boze heks schrompelde in elkaar* 'the evil witch shrank away', *hij kromp in elkaar van angst* 'he was struck with terror'.

Besides, *elkaar* is part of a huge number of set expressions in which its reciprocal meaning is more or less blurred: *door elkaar spreken* 'speak at the same time', *in elkaar zakken* 'collapse', *waar kunnen we hier ergens onder elkaar zijn?* 'where can we get/have some privacy here?' *hij heeft zijn zaakjes*

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[5] '*Elkaar* refers to the members, or parts or aspects of a member, of the most obvious reference set; *elkaar* gives the hearer the instruction to apply the ordering (relation) which is made explicit in the sentence in such a way that no member, or parts or aspects of a member, is related to itself but only to other members, or parts or aspects of a member, of the reference set.'

goed voor elkaar 'he has managed very well', *de zaak is voor elkaar* 'the matter has been settled/arranged' (examples from Van Dale 1986: 349).

Contrastive research on Dutch texts and their Russian translations[6] has made clear that Russian *друг друга* has fewer syntactic and semantic possibilities than Dutch *elkaar*:

- set expressions with *elkaar* are never translated with *друг друга*:

(3) Niemand zal ooit weten hoe het **in elkaar zat**. (Mulisch)
'Nobody will ever know how it all fitted together.'

Никто никогда не узнает, как все было на самом деле.
'Nobody will ever know how it really was.'

- the possessive form of *elkaar*, *elkaars*, does not have an equivalent in Russian:

(4) Terwijl we **elkaars** hand vasthouden moeten we bijna gniffelen om … (Verheul)
'While holding each other by the hand we nearly start to snigger about …'

Держась за руки, мы едва не смеемся от радости по поводу …
'While holding each other by the hand we nearly start to laugh for joy about …'

- with respect to reference sets with only two members in a non-symmetrical relation *друг друга* cannot be used:

(5) Zijn houding was er een van ontspannenheid: de benen over **elkaar**, … (Verheul)
'His attitude was quite relaxed: legs crossed, …'

Поза его была весьма непринужденная: он сидел нога на ногу, …
'His attitude was quite relaxed: he was sitting with his legs crossed, …'

(6) Ik heb enkele zinnen overgenomen. Zo, onder **elkaar** geschreven, …, vormen ook zij samen weer een wegwijzer.[7] (Haasse)

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[6] Harry Mulisch *Siegfried*, Kees Verheul *Villa Bermond* and Hella Haasse *De verborgen bron*.

'I copied a couple of phrases. Written in that way, the one below the other, …, they form some kind of signpost.'

Я записал несколько предложений. Подобранные в таком новом порядке, они также представляют собой ключ к разгадке.
'I jotted down a couple of phrases. Put together in that new order, …, they form a key to a puzzle.'

- Russian *друг друга* needs a reference set consisting of separate members and not a set consisting of a "mass", such as a line:

(7) Bij de Baggage Claim rukte Maria een wagentje uit de in **elkaar** geschoven rij, terwijl Herter … (Mulisch)
'At the Baggage Claim Maria pulled a trolley from the line of trolleys that had been pushed together, while Herter …'

На месте получения багажа Мария отцепила одну из тележек в ряду, пока Гертер ...
'At the Baggage Claim Maria uncoupled a trolley in the line, while Herter …'

The majority of cases of verb plus *elkaar* have been translated using either reciprocal reflexive verbs or non-reflexive verbs plus *друг друга*. These two possibilities will be analyzed in the next section. After having examined the rivalry between these two expressions of reciprocity I will present a description of the meaning of *друг друга* in Section 7.

All this does not exhaust the possibilities for rendering Dutch reciprocity in Russian; think for instance of the translation of *… niet van* **elkaar** *te scheiden waren*. 'impossible to be separated from each other' by *… неразделъно связанных с …* 'inseparately connected with …' in:

(8) … memoires … niet alleen van zijn feitelijke leven, ook van zijn verbeelding, die niet van **elkaar** te scheiden waren. (Mulisch)
'… memoirs … not only of his real life but also from his imagination which were impossible to be separated from each other.'

… событиях из реальной жизни, неразделъно связанных с созданными его воображением.
'… events from his real life, inseparately connected with events created by his imagination.'

[7] Unfortunately, there was no unambiguous example of *onder elkaar* referring to a reference set with two members in my corpus.

I will, however, not go into separate lexical details here but restrict myself to more general considerations.

6. Reflexive verbs and *друг друга*

In order to gain some insight into the criteria underlying the choice between a reflexive verb and *друг друга* for the expression of reciprocity I decided to select one verb and collect examples of both its reflexive form and its non-reflexive form with *друг друга* as its object. Taking into account the festive reason for this paper I have chosen the verb *целовать* 'kiss someone'. Both for the reflexive form *целоваться* 'kiss one another' and the non-reflexive form *целовать друг друга* 'kiss each other' one hundred examples were selected by making a random internet search with the help of the Russian search engine Yandex.[8]

Moreover, the verb *целовать* is interesting because it has a third diathesis, combining *целоваться* and the reciprocal pronoun: *целоваться друг с другом* 'kiss one another'.

Given that the reflexive morpheme *-ся* is not an explicit reciprocity marker and that the participant(s) with respect to whom the reciprocal action is performed is (are) not expressed as an overt object, it is to be expected that the explicit reciprocal marker *друг друга* will be used as a direct object to *целовать* when there is a specific reason for stressing the individual contribution of the participants involved in the action and that the reflexive verb will be used in less individualized contexts.

This is indeed what is found in the Yandex-examples. The reflexive expression is used in contexts in which the contribution of the individual participants in the action is not the centre of interest, e.g. under the following circumstances:

- the speaker does not focus so much on the participants but rather on the circumstances of the action or on the way the action is performed as an expression of social etiquette:

(9) Все они **целовались** на протяжении нескольких минут ….
'They all **kissed** for several minutes …'

(10) На Занзибаре лучше не **целоваться** прилюдно …
'In Zanzibar it is advisable not to **kiss** in public …'

[8] In contrast to Western search engines Yandex searches not only for the "literal" form but also for inflected forms.

(11) Я знаю, что в странах Латинской Америки иногда **целуются** в правую щеку, а иногда в левую. Что французы **целуются** дважды, голландцы и бельгийцы - трижды, а в Ботсване - и вовсе четыре раза.
'I know that in Latin American countries they sometimes kiss on the right cheek and sometimes on the left cheek. That the French give two kisses, the Dutch and the Belgians three, and the people of Botswana even four.'

- the speaker focuses on the action in general or on the action as such:

(12) Бирманцы и до сих пор не **целуются**, а лишь соприкасаются губами и носами ...
'Even now Burmese do not **kiss** but merely touch one another with the lips and the nose …'

(13) **Целоваться**, право, не смешно…
'**Kissing** indeed is not ridiculous …'

- the action is part of a series of other actions by the same agents:

(14) Все волосатые, бритые, говорят непонятными словами, кричат, пьют, **целуются** и улыбаются.
'They are all hairy, shaven, they speak senseless words, cry, drink, **kiss** and smile.'

- the action is potential rather than actual:

(15) Откровения Киры Найтли: хорошо ли **целуется** король Артур?
'Revelations of Kira Nightly: does King Arthur **kiss** well?'

- the speaker does not focus on the individual contribution of each of the participants but on the scene as a whole:

(16) На одном из снимков, теннисистка и хоккеист **целуются**.
'On one of the pictures the tennis-player and the hockey-player **are kissing**.'

(17) **ЦЕЛУЮЩИЕСЯ** СОБАЧКИ
'doggies kissing one another'

On the other hand, if the speaker focuses on the individual contribution of the participants, the reciprocal pronoun is preferred. Typical cases are:

- the speaker focuses on what individual participants feel or show, or how they behave as individuals:

(18) Из этой игры вы оба узнаете, как **целовать друг друга**.
'From that game both of you will learn how to **kiss one another**'

(19) ... мы … увидели, как Анна и Роза на одной из постелей страсто **целуют друг друга**.
'… we saw how Anna and Roza were passionately kissing each other on one of the beds.'

In (19) the act of kissing is unconventional: it is not an act of social etiquette but rather an erotic activity of two female persons.

(20) Между тем отец и сын со слезами обнимали, **целовали друг друга** …
'In the meantime father and son, both in tears, embraced each other, kissed each other …'

(21) ... при церковном пении верующие … обнимают и **целуют друг друга** три раза, а затем приветствуют друг друга словами: …
'… while the church choir sings, the believers … embrace and kiss each other three times and after that greet each other with the words: …'

- the speaker specifies which part of the body of the participants is touched with a possessive interpretation of *друг друга*:

(22) Если встречаются женщина и мужчина, или две женщины, то они **целуют друг друга** в обе щеки.
'When a woman and a man, or two women, meet, they **kiss each other** on both cheeks.'

In some contexts there is a subtle alternation of a reflexive verb and the reciprocal pronoun, corresponding to the criteria given above:

(23) В наше время в Азербайджане принято **целовать друг друга** один раз в левую щеку, а вот азербайджанцы, живущие в Иране, **целуются** при встрече три раза, ... Девушки привыкли **целоваться**, а вот юноши просто жмут друг другу руки, могут **поцеловать друг друга** и обнять.

'In Azerbaijan it is usual nowadays to kiss each other once on the left cheek but Azerbaijanians who live in Iran kiss one another three times when they meet, … Girls are used to kissing one another; boys just shake each other by the hand but may kiss and embrace each other.'

The main function of the third syntactic construction with *целовать*, the construction in which the reflexive verb is combined with the reciprocal marker as an indirect object (*целоваться друг с другом*) seems to be to specify or delimit the reference group. In (24) "I" is excluded from the reference set and in (25) a set consisting of girls only is contrasted with a mixed set of boys and girls:

(24) А потом две из них начали **целоваться** (**друг** с **другом**, а не со мной).
'And then two of them started to kiss (each other, not me).'

(25) … я просто ненавижу, когда девушки **целуются друг** с **другом**, просто зачем же тогда парни, если девушки влюбляются в девушек?
'I simply hate it when two girls kiss each other, for what do we need boys for when girls fall in love with girls?'

7. Conclusion

Knjazev's (Lichtenberk's) definition of reciprocity, or rather, reciprocal states of affairs, is too restrictive for Dutch *elkaar* in referring to non-symmetrical states of affairs with only two participants. Now the question is, should the definition be adjusted or should we conclude that *elkaar* is polysemous, with a specific sub-meaning for non-symmetrical states of affairs? I think the first option is to be preferred because the specific (non-symmetrical) interpretation of *elkaar* is a consequence of a specific aspect of the relationship specified by prepositions as *onder* 'below' and *boven* 'above'. Therefore, we should add a proviso to Knjazev's definitions: '… such situations with two **or more** participants, **in which it is true for each pair** A-B that A has, **or may have,** the same relationship with B as B with A'.

The modified definition is intended to cope with the effect that Dutch *elkaar* seems to have when applied to non-symmetrical states of affairs with only two participants, i.e. the arbitrariness of the choice between the relations A-B and B-A. After all, with *de twee schilderijen hingen boven/onder elkaar aan de muur* 'the two paintings were hanging on the wall one

above/below the other' a speaker wants to say that the paintings were ordered vertically, without making it clear which one was above. The same applies to states of affairs with more than two participants, but here the relations 'above' or 'below' occur more than once and at least one of the participants is both above and below the other participants.

In conclusion I present a definition of the meaning of Russian *друг друга* in which I take into account its differences with Dutch *elkaar*:

"*друг друга* refers to the members of the most obvious reference set; it gives the hearer the instruction to apply the ordering (relation) made explicit in the dominating predicate in such a way that roughly every member is related to at least one other member of the reference set."

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'TIBI LIBER EST' ~ 'HABES LIBRUM' (BEMERKUNGEN ZUR HERKUNFT DER HABITIVEN KONSTRUKTIONEN IM URALISCHEN)

LÁSZLÓ HONTI

0. Einleitung

In diesem Aufatz beschäftige ich mich mit den sog. habitiven Konstruktionen in den uralischen Sprachen, in denen es zwei Konstruktionstypen für den Ausdruck des satzwertigen Habens gibt:

(a) das Besitzwort als Subjekt ist im Nominativ, der Besitzer hat eine lokativische Postposition oder ein Kasussuffix, das ein Suffix eines ortsbezeichnenden (auf die Fragen 'wohin?', 'wo?' oder 'woher?' antwortenden) oder eines grammatikalischen Kasus (Nominativ, Genitiv oder Dativ) sein kann;

(b) das Besitzwort ist das Objekt eines Verbs 'habere'.

Innerhalb dieser Typen gibt es auch mehrere Subtypen (s. z. B. Angere 1956: 159-161, Bartens 1996: 58-59, Winkler 2003), einer davon ist i. a. dominant.

Die habitiven und die possessiven Konstruktionen ('jm. hat etw.' bzw. 'etw. von jm.') werden von Kangasmaa-Minn als "direkte" und "indirekte", von Nikolaeva als "äußere" und "innere" bezeichnet, Winkler hingegen nennt die erstere "peripherisch".

Obwohl viele und vielmals ihre Meinungen zu dieser Problematik geäußert haben, lohnt es sich eine kurze Übersicht darüber zu geben, weil einige Forscher die Entstehung der habitiven Konstruktionen in manchen uralischen Sprachen mit fremdsprachlichen Einflüssen zu erklären versuchten.

1. Die uralischen habitiven Konstruktionen

Eine der Eigenschaften der uralischen Sprachen ist, daß die meisten von ihnen nur sehr begrenzt 'habere'-Verben verwenden um das Haben auszudrücken. Normalerweise besteht die habitive Konstruktion bei ihnen aus

einem Nomen in einem Ortsbezeichnungskasus oder mit einer Postposition und einem Verb 'esse / non esse'; eine der Konstruktionen ist dabei dominant. Die meisten uralischen Sprachen haben nur eine Konstruktion, die nicht widerspiegelt, ob etwas eben in den Besitz des Besitzers gerät oder bereits da ist oder der Besitzerstatus des Besitzers gerade aufhört. Die ostseefinnischen Sprachen – obschon nicht konsequent – spiegeln dieses Verhältnis wider, auch die permischen, allerdings noch inkonsequenter. Die Konstruktionen, die die Bewegungsrichtung des Besitzes angeben, hat Kangasmaa-Minn (1984: 120) als "dynamisch" bezeichnet, diejenigen hingegen, die das "Dasein" mitteilen, als "statisch", vgl. fi. *minu-lle (*Allat)[1] *tulee* ('kommt') *nälkä* ('Hunger') 'ich habe Hunger; ich bin im Begriffe Hunger zu haben', *minu-lta (*Ablat) *häviää* ('schwindet') *nälkä* 'ich bin satt, ich bin im Begriffe, satt zu sein', *minu-n (*Gen < Dat) *on nälkä* 'ich habe Hunger'. Diesmal werde ich nur die statischen Konstruktionen betrachten.

In der zu behandelnden Konstruktion vom Typ lat. *tibi liber est* gestalten die uralischen Sprachen den Besitzer morphologisch unterschiedlich (in den folgenden Schemata werden die Stellung der einzelnen Elemente in der Wortfolge und das Prädikat außer Acht gelassen, da das erstere nicht fix, das letztere dagegen nicht obligatorisch in allen Kontexten und in allen Sprachen ist): "Nomen-Ø/Gen/Adv + Nomen- Ø/Px".

1.1 Die statischen habitiven Konstruktionen

In den uralischen Sprachen hängen die habitiven und die possessiven Konstruktionen i. a. miteinander zusammen. Bei der Typisierung werden deshalb beide (in Anlehnung an die Studien von Kangasmaa-Minn) betrachtet:

(a) In den ostseefinnischen possessiven Konstruktionen hat der Besitzer das Genitivsuffix, in den habitiven entweder Genitivkasussuffix (< Dativsuffix) oder ein ortsbezeichnendes Kasussuffix. Der Besitz ist nicht durch Possessivsuffix erweitert.

(b) In den lappischen possessiven Konstruktionen ist der Besitzer mit Genitivkasussuffix versehen, in den habitiven entweder mit demselben (seltener) oder mit dem Lokativsuffix. Manchmal läßt nur die

[1] Die Abkürzungen und ihre Auflösungen in den Schemata: Ø = kein Suffix, Ablat = Ablativ, Acc = Akkusativ, Adess = Adessiv, Adv = ortsbezeichnende (auf die Fragen 'wohin?', 'wo?', 'woher?' antwortende) Kasus, Allat = Allativ, Dat = Dativ, Du = Dual, Gen = Genitiv, Illat = Illativ, Iness = Inessiv, Lat = Lativ, Loc = Lokativ, Neg = verneinendes Verb, Nom = Nominativ, Pl = Plural, Pos = positives Verb, Postp = Postposition, Px = Possessivsuffix, Sg = Singluar.

Betonung entscheiden, ob die Konstruktion habitiv oder possessiv ist (s. 1.1.1.2).

(c) Die Wolga-Sprachen (das Mordwinische und das Tscheremissische) verwenden in beiden Konstruktionen dieselben Suffixe zur Markierung des Besitzers, der immer mit Possessivsuffix bezeichnet wird. Die zwei Konstruktionen können auch im Mordwinischen zusammenfallen (s. 1.1.1.2).

(d) In den permischen Sprachen und im Ungarischen, die über das grundsprachliche Genitivsuffix nicht mehr verfügen, wird dem Besitzer in beiden Konstruktionen ein Genitivsuffix adverbialer Herkunft hinzugefügt. Die Anwesenheit des Possessivsuffixes am Besitzwort ist im Permischen kontextabhängig, im Ungarischen hingegen obligatorisch.

(e) Die obugrischen Sprachen bevorzugen die habitiven Konstruktionen mit einem ‘habere’-Verb jungen Ursprungs (< ‘halten’), das Possessivsuffix beim Besitz ist optional. In den possessiven Konstruktionen hat der Besitzer i. a. kein Kasussuffix, nur ausnahmsweise stößt man auf Besitzer mit Lokativsuffix oder Postposition, das Possessivsuffix beim Besitz ist auch hier optional. So sind die habitiven und die possessiven Konstruktionen im Grunde genommen unterschiedlich geformt.

(f) Die Typisierung von Kangasmaa-Minn ergänze ich hiermit mit derjenigen der samojedischen Sprachen, die das Haben meistens mit ‘esse / non esse’-Verben ausdrücken (das Tavgi auch mit ‘habere’). Im Nordsamojedischen ist der Besitzer meistens im Nominativ und der Besitz hat gewöhnlich kein Possessivsuffix, im Südsamojedischen dagegen ist das Verhältnis an beiden Komponenten markiert, am Besitzer entweder mit Genitiv- oder Adverbialsuffix oder Postposition, beim Besitz optional mit Possessivsuffix.

Also: Bei den habitiven Konstruktionen mit ‘esse / non esse’ ist nur die Präsenz des Besitzes immer obligatorisch, das Verb und der Besitzer in den meisten Sprachen dagegen nicht. Wenn dem Besitzwort ein Possessivsuffix (im Ungarischen obligatorisch, im Ostseefinnischen und Lappischen nie) hinzugefügt wird und der Besitzer (wenigstens latent) ein Personalpronomen ist, kann das Pronomen auch fehlen. Der explizit ausgedrückte Besitzer hat ein Genitivsuffix oder ein anderes Kasussufix in (Quasi-)Genitivfunktion oder eine Postposition; in den obugrischen Sprachen steht

der Besitzer in der überwiegenden Mehrheit der Fälle im Nominativ, da sie keinen Genitiv haben. In den wolgaischen und permischen Sprachen ist außer der Konstruktionen mit "Besitz + Possessivsuffix" auch die im Ostseefinnischen und Lappischen gebräuchliche Konstruktion bekannt (in gewissem Sinne bilden das Kurlandlivische und das Südlappische Ausnahmen, s. 1.2.1).

Beispiele: fi. *poja-lla* (Adess) *on kirja-Ø* 'der Junge hat ein Buch', *minu-lla* (Adess) *on lapsi-Ø* 'ich habe ein Kind', liv. *izā-n* (Dat) *um tidār-Ø* 'der Mann hat eine Tochter', lapp. N *joga-s* (Loc) *lea boares namma-Ø* 'der Fluß hat einen alten Namen', *mū-st* (Loc) *lœ manna-Ø* 'ich habe ein Kind', S *dan almẹ̌₍dž-ẹ̌n* (Gen) *liεh lụ̧Hkie būť̌ś-Ø* 'der Mann hat zehn Rentiere', *muw* (Gen) *mana-Ø* 'ich habe ein Kind', mord. *eŕźa-ń* (Gen) *uĺi suk-azo* (PxSg3) 'ein Erzane hat einen Hund', tscher. (*nun-ə̂n* [Gen]) *ikšə̂wə̂-št* (PxPl3) *uke* 'sie haben kein Kind', *məń-ən* (Gen) *u kńiγä-Ø ulə̂* 'ich habe ein neues Buch', wotj. (*mịn-am* [Gen]) *nịl-e* (PxSg1) *vań* 'ich habe eine Tochter', syrj. *joma-lẹn* (Gen < Adess) *pi-ịs* (PxSg3) *abu* 'der Zauberer hat keinen Sohn' ∼ *nị-lẹn* (Gen < Adess) *em kujim pi-Ø* 'sie haben drei Söhne', ostj. Vj *mä-Ø wăγ-am* (PxSg1) *ĕntim* 'ich habe kein Geld' ∼ *mĕn-nə* (Loc) *wăγ-Ø ĕntim* 'ich habe kein Geld', Kr *χuj pĕŋət-nə* (Postp-Loc) *wăγ-Ø ut* 'der Mann hat Geld', wog. TJ *püw-ǟn* (PxPl3) *āl* 'sie haben einen Sohn', T, *jükā̈ päl-t* (Postp-Loc) *ā̈w-īťī* (PxSg3) *ā̊ls* 'die Frau hatte eine Tochter' ∼ *ük kε̮̄r-ē̮* (PxSg3) *pil īkəm* 'er hat keinen einzigen Hengst (eigtl.: auch sein ein Pferd ist nicht)', ung. *az apá-nak* (Gen < Dat) *ház-a* (PxSg3) *van* 'der Vater hat ein Haus' ∼ *az apá-nak* (Gen < Dat) *nincs ház-a* (PxSg3) 'der Vater hat kein Haus', jur. *ńebe̍-da* (PxSg3) *tańā* 'er hat Mutter', selk. *eraga-nan* (Postp) *jezan ī-t* (PxSg3) 'у старика был сын'.

1.1.1 Die statischen habitiven Konstruktionen in einzelnen uralischen Sprachen oder Sprachgruppen

1.1.1.1 Im Ostseefinnischen wird das habitive Verhältnis mit dem Verb *olla* 'sein' und mit dem Besitzer in erster Linie im Adessiv ausgedrückt, z. B. fi. *poja-lla* (Adess) *on kirja-Ø* 'der Junge hat ein Buch', aber auch mit dem Besitzer im Genitiv und *olla* 'sein', *minu-n* (Gen) *on nälkä-Ø* 'ich habe Hunger' (zum "dynamischen" Possessivverhältnis s. die Beispiele unter Punkt 0). – Die Struktur der Sätze: "Nomen-Gen/Adess + VerbumSg3[2] + Nomen".

1.1.1.2 Im Lappischen wird das possessive Verhältnis meistens wie im Ostseefinnischen ausgedrückt, z. B. N *mū-st* (Loc) *lœ* (*ọk'tâ*) *manna-Ø* 'ich

[2] Das Verb 'esse' ist in den ostseefinnischen Sprachen auch in dem Falle im Singular, wenn der Besitz im Plural ist!

habe ein Kind', *dâm ol'bma-st (*Loc) *leggji gol'bmâ bardne-Ø* 'dieser Mann hat drei Söhne', *Lásse-s* (Loc) *lea beana-Ø* 'Lars has a dog', S *Laara-n* (Gen) *bienje-Ø* 'Lars has a dog', *muw* (Gen) *mana-Ø* 'ich habe ein Kind' ~ 'mein Kind (!)'. Es gibt aber einen wesentlichen Unterschied im Vergleich zum Ostseefinnischen: ist der Besitz im Plural, ist auch das Prädikat im Plural (im Ostseefinnischen hingegen ausschließlich im Singular), z. B. N *Lásse-s (*Loc) *lea beana-Ø* 'Lars has a dog' ~ *mâkkar bœ̄dnâgâk-Ø dū-st (*Loc) *lœk?* 'was für Hunde hast du?'. Im Südlappischen kann dieselbe Konstruktion sowohl die Habitivität wie auch die Possessivität ausdrücken, z. B. *vielle-n (*Gen) *nytt'egs boača-bienje-Ø* 'der geschickte Hund des Bruders' ~ 'der Bruder hat (od. hatte) einen geschickten Hund' (vgl. auch 1.1.1.3). – Die Struktur der Sätze ist also: "Nomen-Gen/Loc (+ Verbum) + Nomen".

1.1.1.3 Im Mordwinischen ist der Besitzer, der auch fehlen kann, im Genitiv, der Besitz hat immer das entsprechende Possessivsuffix. Das Verb 'esse' ist meistens vorhanden, z. B. E *uĺi mazi̯ avakš-ost (*PxPl3) 'sie haben ein schönes Huhn', M *moń (*Gen) *uĺiť vadŕa kńiga-n (*PxSg1) 'ich habe gute Bücher', E *eŕźa-ń (*Gen) *ulńeś ajgoro-zo (*PxSg3) 'the man had a horse'. Im Präsens kann das Verb auch fehlen, pl. M *eŕaśt aťat babat kafənest, fkä ćora-sna (*PxPl3) 'es lebten ein Alter und eine Alte zusammen, einen Sohn haben sie'. Es gibt auch in dieser Sprache Fälle, in denen nur aus dem Kontext hervorgeht, ob es sich um eine habitive oder eine possessive Konstruktion handelt, z. B. *aťa-ńť* (Gen) *kolmo ťejťer-ende (*PxSg3) 'der Vater hat drei Töchter' ~ 'die drei Töchter des Vaters' (ähnlich auch im Lappischen, s. 1.1.1.2) – Die Struktur der Sätze ist also: "(Nomen-Gen +) Verbum + Nomen-Px".

1.1.1.4 Im Tscheremissischen ist der Besitzer, der auch fehlen kann, im Genitiv, der Besitz hat immer das entsprechende Possessivsuffix und das Verb 'esse' im Präsens kann fehlen, z. B. *ik erγə-št (*PxPl3) *ulo, ik üδər-əšt (*PxPl3) *ulo* 'they have a son and a daughter', *aŋra-n (*Gen) *ušə̂-žo (*PxSg3) *šaγal* 'der Dumme hat wenig Vernunft'. – Die Struktur der Sätze ist also: "Nomen-Gen/Loc (+ Verbum) + Nomen".

1.1.1.5 Auch im Permischen hat der Besitzer ein Kasussuffix, das gegenwärtig als Genitivsuffix funktioniert, früher war es das Morphem des Adessivs. Wenn der Besitzer ein Personalpronomen ist, kann es fehlen. Das Besitzwort enthält im Wotjakischen immer das entsprechende Possessivsuffix, im Syrjänischen dagegen nicht immer. Das Verb 'esse' braucht nicht anwesend zu sein, wenn es nicht dem Nachdruck dient. Z. B. wotj. *odig ad'ami-len* (Gen < Adess) *vi̯lem ki̯k pij-ez (*PxSg3) 'ein Mensch hatte zwei

Söhne', (*me-nam* [Gen]*) ni̯l-e (*PxSg1) *vań* 'ich habe eine Tochter', syrj. *joma-le̮n (*Gen < Adess) *(em) ki̯k ni̯v-Ø* 'die Hexe hat zwei Töchter', *si̯-le̮n (*Gen < Adess) *ve̮li e̮ťik pi-Ø* 'er hatte einen Sohn'. – Im Wotjakischen kommt ab und zu auch eine Konstruktion mit einer aus dem Nomen 'Hand' gebildeten (Quasi-)Postposition vor, z. B. *mi kija-mi̯ (*InessPxSg1) *ki̯k kńiga-Ø* 'в наших руках (= у нас) две книги'. — Die Struktur der Sätze ist also in der Regel: "Nomen-Gen (+ Verbum) + Nomen-Px/Ø".

1.1.1.6 In den obugrischen Sprachen wird das 'Haben' normalerweise mit einem Verb 'habere', in dieser Funktion jungen Ursprungs, wiedergegeben, aber auch Konstruktionen mit 'esse' oder einer verneinenden Partikel sind im Gebrauch. Z. B. ostj. Vj *mĕn-ə* (Loc) *wăγ-Ø ĕntim* 'ich habe kein Geld', Kr *χuj pĕŋət-nə* (Postp-Loc) *wăγ-Ø ut* 'der Mann hat Geld', wog. TJ *näjǟr-Ø püw-ī* (PxSg3) *āləs* 'der Kaiser hatte einen Sohn' ~ *püw-ǟn* (PxPl3) *āl* 'sie haben einen Sohn' (~ N *luw ōńśi* 'er hat ein Pferd', s. 3)*, jükǟ pǟl-t* [Postp-Loc] *ǟw-īťī* (PxSg3) *āləs* 'die Frau hatte eine Tochter', So *taw pāl-t-e* [Postp-Loc-PxSg3] *nomt-Ø mośśa* 'er hat wenig Sinn'. – Die Struktur der Sätze ist also: ostj. "Nomen-Ø/Loc/Postp + Verbum/ParticulaNeg + Nomen-Ø/Px", wog. "Nomen-Ø/Postp (+ Verbum/ParticulaNeg) + Nomen-Ø/Px".

1.1.1.7 Auch im Ungarischen wird eine Konstruktion mit 'esse' oder einer verneinenden Partikel verwendet. Wenn der Besitzer genannt ist, ist er durch das Dativ-Genitivsuffix erweitert und das Besitzwort hat das entsprechende Possessivsuffix. Das Verb ist in den habitiven Konstruktionen immer obligatorisch. Z. B. *a fiú-nak* (Gen < Dat) *könyv-e* (PxSg3) *van* 'der Junge hat ein Buch' ~ *neki* (Gen < Dat) *könyv-e* (PxSg3) *van* 'er hat ein Buch' ~ *könyv-e* (PxSg3) *van* 'id.'. – Ziemlich selten werden auch Verben, die 'habere' bedeuten (*bír* 'besitzen, innehaben, halten', *birtokol* 'besitzen' und *rendelkezik* 'besitzen, verfügen (über etw.)'), gebraucht. – Die Struktur der Sätze: "(Nomen-Gen < Dat +) Nomen-PxSg + Verbum/ParticulaNeg".

1.1.1.8 In allen samojedischen Sprachen werden vorwiegend Konstruktionen mit dem Verb 'esse / non esse' gebraucht. Der Besitzer ist im Nominativ, mit Ausnahme des Kamassischen; im Selkupischen hat er ein Lokativsuffix oder eine Postposition mit lokativischer oder Dativfunktion. Das Besitzwort hat das entsprechende Possessivsuffix.

1.1.1.8.1 Das Jurak-Samojedische hat zwei Typen: (a) Die habitive Konstruktion enthält entweder (α) ein positives oder (β) ein negatives Existenzverb: *tańāś* 'da sein, existieren', *jaŋkoś* 'nicht dasein, nicht vorhanden sein', z. B. (α) *ńebʹe-da* (PxSg3) *tańā* 'er hat Mutter', (β) *mań-Ø ŋamć-Ø jaŋkū* 'ich habe keine Speise (eigtl.: mein Essen ist nicht da)', (b) dasselbe Verhältnis kann auch durch den Besitzer im Genitiv und durch das Besitzwort

mit Possessivsuffix ausgedrückt werden, z. B. *matʔ ńeneć-aʔ* (Gen) *śiďe matoʔ* (PxPl3) 'sechs Männer haben zwei Zelte'. – Die Struktur der Sätze: "Nomen-Ø + Nomen-Px + VerbumPos", "Nomen-Ø + Nomen- (Px?/) Ø + VerbumNeg", "Nomen-Gen + Nomen-Px".

1.1.1.8.2 Im Jenissej-Samojedischen ist der Besitzer (wenn er überhaupt genannt wird) im Nominativ, das Besitzwort hat das entsprechende Possessivsuffix, ihnen folgt das positive oder das negative Existenzverb, z. B. *kutuj ťeʔ pońďeʔ-Ø śiδi búnkťγu-δa* (PxSg3) *eδaγiʔ* 'у некоторых оленеводов по две собаки бывает', *ȩsȩ-j* (PxSg1) *ďagu* 'у меня нет отца', *(moď) nɛ-j* (PxSg1) *tonāś* 'ich habe eine Frau' (vgl. *eδaγiʔ* 'sie sind (Du)', *tonȩā(ś)* '(vorhanden) sein, быть, иметься', *ďago(ś)* 'nicht vorhanden sein'). – Die Struktur der Sätze: "Nomen-Ø + Nomen-Px + Verbum (Pos/Neg)".

1.1.1.8.3 Im Tavgi-Samojedischen gibt es zwei Möglichkeiten die Habitivität auszudrücken: (a) mit einem Verb 'habere' (*honsi̯* 'besitzen', *ŋuδasa* 'id.'), oder (b) mit dem Verb *iśa-* 'sein' oder mit einem speziellen Existenzverb *təiśü* 'hier/da sein' (< Demonstrativpronomen *tə* + *iśa-* 'sein'), das Verb kann auch fehlen; der Besitzer, wenn er überhaupt präsent ist, ist im Nominativ, das Besitzwort trägt das entsprechende Possessivsuffix. Z. B. *kümā-ma* (PxSg1) *eiťu* 'ich habe ein Messer', *maaďa mənə-Ø tərəďi ńimə* (PxSg1)[3]*?* 'warum habe ich einen solchen Namen (wörtlich etwa: warum ich solcher Name-mein)?'. – Die Struktur der Sätze: "(Nomen-Ø +) Nomen-Px (+ Verbum)".

1.1.1.8.4 Im Selkupischen haben die habitiven Konstruktionen drei Typen, in denen 'esse / non esse' durch *eqo* 'sein' und *čǟŋki̯qo* 'fehlen' ausgedrückt wird. (a) Der Besitzer ist nicht genannt, und das Besitzwort hat ein Possessivsuffix, z. B. *nā̊qər åt-əm* (PxSg1) *eŋa* 'три оленя у меня есть', *ťemńa-m* (PxSg1) *ťaŋgwa* 'брата нет у меня', (b) der Besitzer steht im Nominativ, das Besitzwort hat ebenso wie im vorangehenden Typ ein Possessivsuffix, z. B. *man-Ø man-ma* (PxSg1) *ek* 'у меня есть дом', *mi-Ø man-wut ťanga* 'у нас нет дома', *īm-Ø orep-ta* (PxSg3) *koť ek* 'у моего сына имеется много силы', (c) der Besitzer ist im Genitiv und wird durch eine Postposition lokativischer Funktion (α) *nan*[4] im Süden bzw. (β) *mi̯qi̯t* im Norden gefolgt, das Besitzwort kann mit oder ohne Possessivsuffix stehen, (γ) nach N. Sebestyén (1957: 54-55) gibt es auch eine Postposition mit dativischer

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[3] *nimə* 'mein Name' < *nim* ' Name' + *-mə* PxSg1 (vgl. Wagner-Nagy 2002: 67).

[4] Wenn sich die Postposition im Süden den Pronomina der 1. und 2. anschließt, wird die Sequenz an der Morphemgrenze gekürzt, vgl. *man* 'ich' + *nan* > *manan; tan* 'du' + *nan* > *tanan; tebən* 'ihr Du/Pl' + *nan* > *tebənan*.

Funktion *magan, magand*, z. B. (α) *tendi̯-nan* (Postp) *ira-ʌ* (PxSg2) *eη?* ‘у тебя муж-твой есть?’, *eraga-nan* (Postp) *jezan ī-t* (PxSg3) ‘у старика был сын-его’, (β) *iman mi̯-ki̯n* (Postp) *ira-ti̯* (PxSg3) *cäηηimpa* ‘у женщины мужа-ее не было’, *ti me mi̯-qi̯ni̯t* (Postp) *kulat te̯ti̯pi̯t-Ø ašša nātna* ‘jetzt brauchen wir (eigtl.: bei uns) keine Kulaken, Schamanen’, (γ) *kwälek-Ø soma porgo-t* (PxSg3) *ēηa* ‘der Jurak hat ein gutes Kleid’ ∼ *kwälek-Ø magan* (Postp) *porgo-t* (PxSg3) *ēηa* ‘beim Juraken ist sein gutes Kleid, dem Juraken ist sein gutes Kleid eigen’ (hierzu vgl. *åtä-l* (PxSg2) *man mi̯-qät* (Postp) *eηa* ‘dein Rentier ist bei mir’). – Die Struktur der Sätze: “ (Nomen-Ø +) Nomen-Px + Verbum”, “Nomen-Gen-Postp + Nomen (-Px) + Verbum”.

1.1.1.8.5 Das Kamassische setzt den Besitzer in den Genitiv und dem Besitzer fügt es das entsprechende Possessivsuffix hinzu, das Prädikat ist entweder ein positives oder ein negatives Existenzverb. Z. B. *urāžᵊ-n* (Gen) *šide nuкà-t* (PxSg3) *i’bi* ‘Urāžᵊ hatte (seine) zwei Frauen’, wörtlich: ‘Urāžᵊns zwei Frau seine war’, *man* (Nom&Gen) *ko’ptō-m* (PxSg1) *ībi’* ‘ich hatte eine Tochter’, *man* (Nom&Gen) *nmyšhakə̂-m* (PxSg1) *īge* ‘у меня есть жена’. – Die Struktur der Sätze: “Nomen-Gen + Nomen-Px + Verbum”.

1.2 Die Morphologie des Besitzers in habitiven Konstruktionen mit ‘esse’ im Uralischen

Da die uralischen Sprachen kein uraltes Verb ‘habere’ haben, kann man annehmen, daß die habitive Konstruktion mit dem Verb ‘esse’ auch in der uralischen Grundsprache als “Nomen-Dat + Nomen (-Px) (+ Verbum)” verwendet wurde (hierzu vgl. Ravila 1965: 62, Lakó 1991: 28). Für diese Annahme spricht die Tatsache, daß Konstruktionen dieses Typs in allen Mitgliedern der Sprachfamilie üblich sind.

In den uralischen Sprachen gibt es verschiedene Verfahren für die morphologische Gestaltung des Besitzers: “Nomen-Ø/Gen/Dat/Loc/Lat/Abl/Postp + Nomen-Ø/Px” (das Verbum habe ich nicht angegeben, da es in mehreren Sprachen im Präsens nicht obligatorisch ist. Des weiteren habe ich die Wortfolge wegen ihrer Instabilität nicht veranschaulichen können). Es gibt Unterschiede zwischen den Sprachen auch in der Hinsicht, durch – historisch gesehen – welchen Genitiv bzw. durch welche adverbialen Lokalkasussuffixe und Postpositionen der Besitzer markiert wird. Ein weiterer Unterschied besteht darin, daß gewisse Sprachen (oder Sprachgruppen) das Besitzwort nie mit einem Possessivsuffix markieren (wie das Ostseefinnische und das Lappische), oder daß die Präsenz des Possessivsuffixes in anderen Sprachen (im Mordwinischen, Tscheremisischen und Ungarischen) obligatorisch ist, während in den übrigen beide Möglichkeiten vorkommen, wobei die eine oder die andere dominiert.

Nach Nikolaeva (2002: 275, Anm. 4) wird nur im Ostseefinnischen ein lokativisches Kasusuffix zur Bezeichnung des Besitzers in den habitiven Konstruktionen verwendet. Aus obig Gesagtem muß sich herausgestellt haben, daß diese Aussage jeder sachlichen Grundlage entbehrt. Das heutige permische Genitivsuffix (wotj. *len*, syrj. *lẹn*) war ursprünglich ein Adessivsuffix; vor kurzem hat man es in der Finnougristik noch in diesem Sinne betrachtet (s. Uotila 1938: 46, Fuchs 1954: 135, Serebrennikov 1963: 53, Fokos-Fuchs 1967: 2-3). Etwas Ähnliches haben wir auch im Ostjakischen gesehen (s. 1.1.1.6), wo das uralte Lokativsuffix den Besitzer bezeichnen kann. Es ist aber noch nicht so weit in der Funktionsentwicklung fortgeschritten, wie das permische Suffix.

1.2.1 Habitive Konstruktionen mit Besitzer im Dativ auf **ń*

Bei den nächsten Verwandten des Ostseefinnischen, d. h. in einigen Dialekten des Lappischen, im Mordwinischen und im Tscheremissischen wird der Besitzer durch das Genitivsuffix, das auf grundsprachliches **n* zurückgeht, markiert. Die Konstruktionen in den erwähnten Sprachen sind historisch der Konstruktion *pojan on nälkä* im Finnischen gleich, die gegenwärtig als Archaismus gilt. Die beiden Suffixe aus Nasalen, d. h. das Genitivsuffix **n* und das Lativ-Dativsuffix **ń* (nach mehreren Forschern: **n*), sind in diesen Sprachen in *n* (> z. T. -Ø) zusammengefallen; das letztere hat sich jedoch im Kurlandlivischen erhalten, dessen Funktion Kettunen (1938: XLI) mit lettischem Einfluß erklären wollte.

1.2.2 Habitive Konstruktionen mit Besitzer und Dativsuffixen jüngerer Herkunft

Kangasmaa-Minn (1969: 39) hat in tscheremissischsprachigen Quellen nur sechs Sätze mit Besitzer im Dativ auf *lan/län* gefunden, die z. T. aus Bibelübersetzungen stammen. Es kann sich nicht um eine isolierte Erscheinung handeln, es gibt auch weitere Belege dafür, vgl. *kuruk-lan* (Dat) *üšək-Ø ulo* 'der Berg hat Schatten', *kuku-lan* (Dat) *šəδaŋəm βüδalš-Ø ulo* 'der Kuckuck hat ein Weizensaatgerät' (Beke 1911: 213). Das nasale Element dieses Suffixes geht übrigens auf das urfinnisch-ugrische Dativsuffix **ń* zurück (Bereczki 1988: 342).

Auch das aus dem Urpermischen stammende syrjänische Dativsuffix *li̮* kann den Besitzer markieren, z. B. *źept-as* (IllatPxSg3) *d'ad'ẹ-li̮ ki sujas* 'er steckt seine Hand in die Tasche des Mannes', *jeĺena carovna-li* (Dat) *voʒ-as* (IllatPxSg3) *jurse puktis* 'den Kopf legte er der Zarewna Helene in den Schoß'.

Auch das Ungarische ist eine Sprache, die ein Dativsuffix jüngeren Ursprungs zur Bezeichnung des Besitzers verwendet, das bis heute auch die Funktion des Genitivs übernommen hat (s. aber Kiefer 2000: 577-578). Nach Nikolaeva (2002: 272) sei das Ungarische die einzige uralische Sprache, die den Dativ in einer solchen Funktion gebraucht, aber etwas später (op. cit. S. 277, Anm. 6) hat sie auch behauptet, das Livische sei wohl die einzige Ausnahme. Dieser Umstand erwecke ihrer Meinung nach Zweifel hinsichtlich der Erklärung von Benkő (1979: 57), nach der die neue Funktion des Dativsuffixes eine innere Entwicklung sei. Deshalb schließt sich Nikolaeva einer von Simonyi (1913: 153) vertretenen Meinung an, nach der die neue Funktion dem slawischen Einfluß zuzuschreiben wäre. Bei der Beurteilung der zwei widersprüchlichen Ansichten, scheint mir die Ableitung der Genitivfunktion aus der des Dativus possessivus restlos zufriedenstellend zu sein (s. Benkő 1979: 57, 1988: 24-25, Korompay 1991: 301-302, vgl. auch Havers 1911: 1-2, von Gabain 1950: 97, Itkonen 1966: 268). Daß der Dativ geeignet ist, Possessivität zu bezeichnen, beweisen auch die nächsten Verwandten des Ungarischen (s. 1.2.3). Nikolaevas Auffassung hinsichtlich der Entfaltung des Dativus possessivus im Ungarischen ist ebenso widersprüchlich: "the Dative possessor construction in Hungarian is a likely result of the convergence with European languages and therefore is relatively recent. It emerged after the Hungarian Conquest, first probably in the written language influenced by the Latin texts, although we cannot exclude the influence of the neighboring languages on spoken Hungarian either" (Nikolaeva 2002: 283), hierzu vgl. "Hungarian copied the morphology of the neighboring languages" (Nikolaeva 2002: 284). Eigentlich verstehe ich nicht, ob der Dativus possessivus im Ungarischen durch Konvergenz oder durch Kopieren fremdsprachlicher Konstruktionen zustandegekommen ist oder nicht. Aus der Annahme der Verfasserin, daß der Dativus possessivus im Ungarischen einer Konvergenz mit europäischen (?!) Sprachen zu verdanken wäre, folgt nicht, daß er eine ziemlich junge Erscheinung sein sollte, da das Ungarische seit über 1100 Jahren zumindest im Karpatenbecken (!) gesprochen worden ist.

1.2.3 Die Aussage der obugrischen Sprachen

Auch im Ostjakischen und im Wogulischen hat der Dativ der Personalpronomina eine Rolle bei der Bezeichnung des Besitzers, aber nicht in habitiven Konstruktionen und in Konstruktionen mit besitzanzeigendem Attribut, sondern als ein den Besitzer ausdrückendes Prädikat in Sätzen. Vgl.

- Im Ostjakischen:

(a) *mănem* 'mir, meinťm': "*Тами ма шукем! – лупас Айвой. – Ма нанг киньсена ар рэпитсум! – Антэ, манэт! – увл Кервой.* 'Это моя крошка! – говорит Мышонок. – Я больше тебя работал! – Нет, моя! – кричит Снегирь'. *Манэт* – личное местоимение 1-го лица ед. числа в форме датива, т. е. при буквальном переводе не 'моя', а 'мне'" (Kolpakova 1997: 52, 2000: 134-135).

(b) *naŋen* 'dir; dein', *łuvel* 'ihm/ihr; sein/ihr', aber: *naŋiłan* 'die deinen', *neŋiłan*: 'euer (2. P Du)': *tam łaŋki muj naŋen muj łuveł* 'эта белка или твоя, или его?'; *tam łaŋket muj naŋiłan muj niniłan* 'эти белки или твои, или ваши (вас дв. ч.)?' (Steinitz 1980: 36-37).

(c) *mănem* 'mir; mein', *măŋew* 'uns; unser': "*χŏj ewi tăm? χŏj pŭti̯lka? χŏj pŭti̯lka?? a-a? măŋem. măŋew – śĭ lŏpəл.* (Die Wirtin zu ihrem Töchterchen:) – 'Wessen Tochter ist sie? Wessen Glas (ist es)?, Wessen Glas (ist es)?' Haa? Das meine (eigtl.: mir). (Dann interpretiert sie die Antwort des Mädchens, die kaum zu hören war:) – Das unsere (eigtl. uns) – sagt sie.' (Schmidt 1988: 319-320).

- Im Wogulischen (wo der Akkusativ und der Dativ-Lativ zusammengefallen sind, s. Liimola 1944: 20-22, 28-39):
  N *ānəm* 'mich/mir; mein', *tawe* 'ihn/sie, ihm/ihr; sein/ihr', *mēnmēn* 'uns; unser (1. P Du)', *mānaw* 'uns; unser (1. P Pl)': *nēpək ānəm* 'бумага моя', *pisaĺ tawe* 'ружье его', *koləγ mēnmēn* 'дома (дв.) наши (дв.)', *sālit mānaw* 'олени наши'. Besonders klar zeigt diese Funktion das folgende Beispiel: T *äm(ā̄n) waŋkā ki̯rt kāləŋ̥ kā̆šəm ā̄ sows* 'ich hatte keine Lust, in dem Brunnen zu sterben (eigtl.: mir kam [eigtl.: wurde] nicht meine Lust… zu sterben)'. Der Satz ist also auf zwei Weisen davon abhängig zu interpretieren, ob das Pronomen im Nominativ (*äm*) als besitzanzeigendes Attribut, d. h. als Besitzer in direkter (innerer) Possessivkonstruktion 'meine … Lust' oder im Dativ-Lativ als Besitzer in indirekter (äußerer) Possessivkonstruktion 'ich hatte … (keine) Lust' auftritt.

1.3 Habitive Konstruktionen mit 'esse' im Indogermanischen

Im Latein wird Dativus possessivus mit 'esse' verwendet, wenn der Besitz hervorgehoben ist, z. B. *mihi liber est*, wenn aber der Besitzer mit Nachdruck versehen wird, ist er im Genitivus possessivus, z. B. *patris est domus*. Nach Havers war dieser Dativus (auch Dativus sympatheticus genannt) ursprünglich (im Sanskrit und Griechischen) auf die Pronomina,

hauptsächlich auf die Personalpronomina begrenzt, im Vulgärlatein, Germanischen und Baltoslawischen hat er sich aber auch auf die Substantive verbreitet (Havers 1911: 319, vgl. noch Miklosich 1868-1874: 611, Havers 1911: 317-319, Beke 1925: 112, Royen 1929: 902, Benveniste 1960: 122-123, Ramat 1986, Rocchi 2003: 197-200, Anderson 1978: 54). Z. B. d. dial. *er ist ein Vetter zu mir*, fr. *ce livre est à moi* (≈ *j'ai un livre*) (hierzu vgl. noch den Dativus possessivus: d. *dem Vater sein Sohn* ~ *des Vaters sein Sohn*, nl. *de vader zijn zoon*, eng. *server to his master*, alteng. *him on set heafod* 'to-him on the head (= on his head)', fr. *le cheval à mon père*, it. *la città rimase in mano ai Turchi*, ru. *ему шесть лет, доктор ему осмотрел горло*, lett. *kas tev ir?* 'wen/was hast du?'). Ursprünglich gab es kein Verb 'habere', nicht einmal im Indogermanischen, in der habitiven Konstruktion war der Besitzer im Dativ und das Prädikat war das Verb 'esse' (Gamkrelidze und Ivanov 1984: 288-289 mit Literatur). – Wie geläufig die habitive Konstruktion mit dem Dativus possessivus auch in gegenwärtigen europäischen Sprachen ist, veranschaulichen das von Plautus stammende geflügelte Wort und seine Übersetzungen: lat. *lupus est homo homini* ~ d. *der Mensch ist dem Menschen ein Wolf* ~ eng. *man is a wolf to man* ~ ru. *человек человеку волк* ~ it. *l'uomo è un lupo per l'altro uomo*, ung. *ember (az) embernek farkasa* ~ fi. *ihminen on ihmiselle susi* ~ est. *inimene on inimesele hunt.*

Der Besitzer ist übrigens auch im Hebräischen im Dativ (Givón 1976: 59).

2. Eventuelle gegenseitige uralisch-indogermanische Einflüsse bei der Herausbildung habitiver Konstruktionen

Das oben Gesagte z. T. zusammenfassend gebe ich eine Übersicht der Stellungnahmen aus der Fachliteratur zu dieser Frage. Hinsichtlich der habitiven und possessivattributiven Konstruktionen, in denen der Besitzer mit Dativ markiert ist, enthält die diesbezügliche Fachliteratur eine Menge einander entgegengesetzte Meinungen und unbegründbare Auffassungen.

(a) Mehrere Forscher (Misteli 1893: 74, Veenker 1967: 117-119, Kiparsky 1969: 15-16, Stolz 1991: 73-74, Suhonen 1993: 161) rechnen bei der Entstehung der lettischen und der russischen Konstruktion mit finnisch-ugrischem Substrat, andere (Birnbaum 1997: 28, Winkler 2003: 203) dagegen lehnen diese Annahme ab. Winkler hält – meiner Meinung nach zu Recht – die Annahme für verfehlt, nach der man im Falle des Russischen an ostseefinnisches Substrat denken müßte. Zugleich stellt er aber auch die Frage, ob die ostseefinnische Struktur

(z. B. fi. *minu-lla* (Adess) *on…* 'ich habe…') nicht russischer Herkunft sei. Er will die Frage nicht beantworten, solange keine weiteren Untersuchungen durchgeführt worden sind (Winkler 2003: 205). Wie ich die Sachlage beurteile, muß die Frage verneinend beantwortet werden (s. unten).

(b) Nach Kettunen (1938: XLI) und Winkler (2003: 201) hat das Lettische die Funktion des Dativs im Livischen beeinflussen können (hierzu vgl. 1.2.1).

(c) Im Ostjakischen "wird der Lokativ der Personalpronomina zum Ausdruck des Besitzers verwendet. Die ostjakische Konstruktion weist mutmaßlich auf russischen Einfluß hin" (Winkler 2003: 201). Es muß aber bemerkt werden, daß nicht nur ein Personalpronomen sondern auch ein Substantiv als Possessivattribut durch Lokativsuffix erweitert werden (s. 1.1.1.6), und es keine Rede vom russischen einfluß sein kann.

(d) Nach Riese (1990: 178) und Winkler (2003: 201) ist die wogulische Konstruktion mit postpositionellem Possessivattribut der russischen habitiven Konstruktion zu verdanken. Bartens' Argument (Bartens 1996: 63), nach dem es sich hier nicht um ein Anzeichen des russischen Einflusses handeln kann, da auch das Ostjakische eine ähnliche Fügung hat, weist Winkler zu Recht ab. Bartens hat aber zweifelsohne Recht, daß es unnötig sei, hier mit russischer Wirkung zu rechnen.

(e) Winkler (2003: 201) vermutet auch im Falle des selkupischen postpositionalen Syntagmas (s. 1.1.1.8.4 (c) (g)) ein Kopieren der russischen Konstruktion – ohne Grund.

Aufgrund der Parallelität, die man zwischen den uralischen habitiven Konstruktionen mit Besitzer mit ortsbezeichnenden Kasussuffixen oder Postpositionen und mit den präpositionellen russischen Konstruktionen sehen kann, könnte man in jedem einzelnen Fall entweder einen Einfluß "russisch > uralisch" oder "uralisch > russisch" annehmen, wenn die Markierung des Besitzers mit einem ortsbezeichnenden Element insbesondere in den Sprachen, die kein Verb 'habere' haben, nicht ziemlich allgemein wäre (vgl. z. B. Rocchi 2003: 196; vgl. auch 1.3). Da ähnliche Konstruktionen in vielen uralischen Sprachen bekannt sind, handelt es sich sicherlich um eine selbständige, spontane Entwicklung, die auch in vielen anderen Sprachen keine Seltenheit ist.

3. Transitive Verben in uralischen habitiven Konstruktionen

Auch in uralischen Sprachen entstanden Verben, die als Verben 'habere' gebräuchlich sind, und die sehr oft ursprünglich 'halten' bedeutet haben oder immer noch bedeuten. Nach Bartens (2000: 122) haben das Südlappische, das Ostjakische, das Wogulische und das Samojedische habitive Konstruktionen mit solchen Verben entwickelt; dies trifft aber für das Samojedische nicht zu, in dieser Sprachgruppe gibt es gelegentlich nur ein einziges "echtes" Verb 'habere'.

Das Ostseefinnische verwendet in begrenzter Maße ein transitives Verb in habitiven Konstruktionen, z. B. fi. *omistaa* 'besitzen, haben': *poika omistaa kirjan* (Acc) 'der Junge besitzt ein Buch'.

Ähnlich ist die Lage im Lappischen, vgl. lp. N *âdnet*, L *atnēt*, S *utnedh* 'gebrauchen, verwenden; halten') z. B. N *âně gier'dâvâšvuođá!* 'habe Geduld mit mir!', L *Laara bïenje-m* (Acc) *åtna* 'Lars has a dog'.

Im Tscheremissischen wird das Verb *kućem* 'fassen; halten; besitzen' in dieser Funktion gebraucht, z. B. *ćoδra-m* (Acc) *kućem* 'ich habe einen Wald'.

Wohl in der Mehrheit der Fälle wird ein Verb 'habere' in der habitiven Konstruktion der obugrischen Sprachen verwendet. Vgl. ostj. VVj *tăja-* ~ *tŏj-*, Sur Irt Kaz usw. *tăj-* besitzen, haben; halten': V *lŏ̆γ ri̯t tŏjas* 'er hatte ein Boot', wog. T *ḙńś-*, N *ōńś-* usw. 'haben': T *šålkhā̆n-mā̆-Ø äńčā̊st* 'sie hatten ein Rübenland', N *luw ōńśi* 'er hat ein Pferd'. Die ursprüngliche Bedeutung dieser Verben ist 'halten, tragen', vgl. ostj. Trj *imi ńeγ̥rəm tŏj* 'die Frau gebar ein Kind', Trj *tăjə̑m*, Irt Kaz *tăjəm* 'getragen, gebraucht (Kleidungsstück, Werkzeug u. a.)', wog. T *šupú khåltḗrèm ńårtím äńčíu* 'es gibt eine Brücke über es (eigtl.: es ist eine Brücke (über den Fluß) gelegen gehalten)', LM *kwän-äńśi* 'austragen (ein Kind)', T *īsənt ḙńśən ämā̆nmī!* 'gedenke meiner! (eigtl.: behalte mich in deinem Sinn!)', T *nawəwsəm kül ki̯rt ḙnśəŋ̥* 'man fing an, mich in der Stube zu halten'.

Im Ungarischen werden relativ selten die Verben *bír* 'haben, besitzen', *birtokol* 'id.' und *rendelkezik* 'id., verfügen über etw.' in dieser Funktion verwendet, z. B. *bírok egy házat* 'ich habe ein Haus', *birtokolok egy házat* 'id.', *rendelkezem egy házzal* 'id., ich verfüge über ein Haus'.

Auch im Selkupischen wird das Verb 'halten' (*wḙri̯qo*) gelegentlich als 'habere' gebraucht, z. B. *kapitalisti̯t munti̯k wlasť wḙrati̯t* 'die Kapitalisten haben jede Macht', *man ukón aatam wueresam tiè aata-m tjanga* 'я прежде держал оленей (букв. олень-мой), теперь оленей у меня (букв. олень-мой) нет' (*kapitalist* 'Kapitalist', *munti̯k* 'ganz, völlig', *wlasť* 'Macht', *wḙri̯qo* 'halten; haben; enthalten', *man* 'ich; mein', *ukon* 'früher', *ti* 'jetzt', *aat* 'Rentier', *čäŋki̯qo* 'fehlen').

In manchen indogermanischen Sprachen hat ebenso ein Bedeutungswandel 'halten' > 'haben' stattgefunden. Dieser Prozeß ist in den iberoromanischen Sprachen am deutlichsten zu sehen: im Spanischen hat das Verb *tener* (< lat. *tenere*) die meisten Funktionen des Nachfolgers des lat. *habere* übernommen, während das port. *ter* (< lat. *tenere*) auch als Hilfsverb auftritt (Renzi und Andreose 2003: 224).

4. Fazit

In den uralischen Sprachen sind die habitiven Konstruktionen vom Typ lat. *tibi liber est* und *habes librum* unabhängig von den entsprechenden indogermanischen Konstruktionen entstanden, was auch vice versa gültig ist.

Friderice carissime, nunc **habes** *magnificum* **librum**. **Opus** *exquisitum quod nunc* **tibi est**, *te spero toto corde libenter lecturum!*

Udine – Budapest

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ON THE ČAKAVIAN DIALECT OF KOLJNOF NEAR SOPRON

PETER HOUTZAGERS

1. Introductory remarks

Koljnof is one of approximately eighty villages in the Austrian province of Burgenland and adjacent areas in Hungary and Slovakia where Croatian dialects are spoken.[1] In his standard work on Burgenland Croatian, Neweklowsky (1978; henceforth "N78") assigns the Koljnof dialect to the (Čakavian) Haci and Poljanci group, which is the northermost dialect group within Burgenland Croatian (not counting two isolated dialects north of Bratislava).[2] From the partial map of the Burgenland dialects on the next page it can be seen that, geographically speaking, Koljnof occupies a marginal position with respect to the rest of the Haci and Poljanci group – from which it is also separated by Sopron and the Austrian-Hungarian border – and that it is nearer to the (Kajkavian speaking) villages of Hidegség and Fertőhomok and the (Čakavian) Dolinci group.

Until 1993 little was known about the dialect of Koljnof. Although N78 mentions it and classifies it as a Haci and Poljanci dialect, it is clear that the amount of material that he has from Koljnof is very limited. Not a single attested form in the book is marked as being from Koljnof and of the 52 maps after page 376 on which he presents the most important Burgenland isoglosses, 48 give no information on Koljnof, including the maps on the presence vs. absence of length oppositions and diphthongization.[3] In 1993 an article by Šojat appeared on Koljnof, which contains some valuable

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[1] *Koljnof* (along with *Koljnov*) is how the Croatian name of this village is most commonly spelled. In the Koljnof dialect the village is called *Kȍĺnou̯*. The stem-final *f* appears in the flexion, e.g. locative singular *Koĺnuõfi*. The *f* is probably original, considering that the German name of the village is Kohlnhof. The Hungarian name is *Kópháza*.

[2] The Haci and Poljanci constitute two separate groups of villages, but N78 treats them linguistically as one group.

[3] This leads one to wonder on which basis N78 could assign the dialect to any group whichsoever. I take it that he had more material at his disposal than he presented on the maps. It is a pity that he does not give his readers clarity on this issue. Of course, this and other critical remarks in the present article do not in any way alter the fact that book is a splendid achievement and a most valuable source of information.

information but, in my opinion, also has serious flaws, to which I shall return below.

Map of the Burgenland Croatian dialects, northern part (after N78)

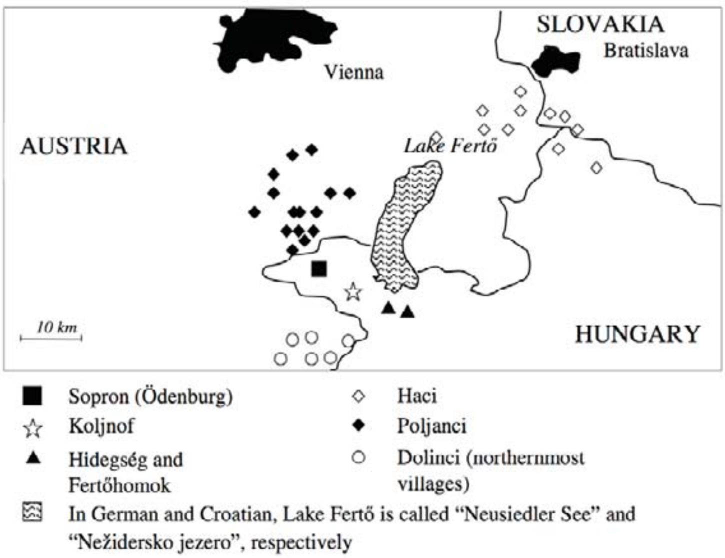


Figure 1

In the period when I was working on my monograph on the Kajkavian dialect of Hidegség and Fertőhomok (1999), I visited Koljnof a couple of times and seized the occasion to make recordings of the dialect. I have approximately ten hours of recorded speech from Koljnof, dating from 1985, 1988 and 1994. I chiefly worked with the age group born around 1920. During one recording session a speaker born in 1948 was present, whom I also met on several other occasions, together with her children, so that I have a good impression of the speech of younger generations as well.

In contradistinction to Hidegség and Fertőhomok, which are magyarizing very quickly, Koljnof seems not be in immediate danger of losing its Croatian dialect. Croatian is spoken by all generations, on all occasions and with equal fluency. It is taught at school and it is also the language of the church. One would perhaps expect that the varieties of Croatian spoken at school (Standard Croatian) and in church (literary Burgenland Croatian, see N78: 24) would exert influence on the local dialect in the

sense that it would lead to code switching, mixing, interference, lesser fluency in the dialect, etc. The only thing that I noticed in that respect during my recording sessions is that there was a lot of "spontaneous borrowing" from non-local varieties of Burgenland Croatian, chiefly motivated – as far as I could make out – by the speakers' wish to make themselves better understood. It is obvious that the speakers' knowledge of Croatian extends well beyond the boundaries of their own village and that they have ideas about which word, expression or pronunciation is understood more easily by an outsider. Yet my informants had no problem whatsoever in distinguishing between local and non-local elements.

2. Available literature

For those specifically interested in the dialect of Koljnof, the relevant literature is restricted to Koschat 1978 (henceforth "K78"), N78 and Šojat 1993.[4,5] N78 and Šojat were briefly mentioned in the preceding section.

K78 gives a monographic description of all Poljanci dialects in Austria (that is all Poljanci dialects except Koljnof). She takes her own native dialect (that of Baumgarten) as a starting-point and presents data from the other dialects in those instances where they differ from the Baumgarten dialect. Baumgarten is the Poljanci village that is geographically closest to Koljnof (17 km.).

Although N78 gives almost no information that refers explicitly to Koljnof, he does assign the dialect to the Haci and Poljanci group and gives a systematic description of the characteristics of that group and of the Dolinci group, both from a synchronic and a diachronic point of view, thus providing a set of predictions with which I could compare my findings.

Šojat's contribution has, as I see it, two main weak points, which diminish its descriptive value:

(1) he describes the dialect as having no distinctive tone contrast, which I consider incorrect;

(2) his observations sometimes show a lack of sound linguistic reasoning, which would include a clear distinction between phonetics and phonemics and between synchrony and diachrony.

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[4] In Ivšić 1971 merely a few forms from Koljnof are given on page [783].

[5] There is an unpublished dissertation by Vass on the Dolinci dialects (1965), which contains no accent signs except for the place of the ictus. In my opinion, its linguistic value is also limited in other respects, especially since N78.

Ad (a) – In Šojat's words:

"Premda još ima govornika sa starim čakavskim troakcenatskim sustavom, dakle u koijh akcenti ˜ i ˆ imaju fonološku funkciju i u minimalnim parovima, kao što je naprimjer u N *jûdi,* A *jûde* ~ GI *jũdi*, u tipičnom se suvremenom koljnovskom govoru različita intonacija dugih naglasaka pojavljuje samo na fonetskoj razini …" (1993: 346).

Elsewhere in the same article even the older informants seem not to have a fully functioning tonal opposition:

"… u onih ispitanika koji još koliko-toliko čuvaju troakcenatski sustav, a to su oni najstariji s kojima sam razgovarao …" (1993: 342)

Šojat's findings differ from mine. The informants on my recordings, as I hear it, including the one born in 1948, all have a tonal opposition on long vowels, with a distribution more or less along the lines described by K78 and N78. Of course it is hard to prove that I am right and Šojat is wrong, but I am inclined to think that Šojat failed to hear the tone distinction because it was acoustically different from what he expected to hear. This is a phenomenon that is not uncommon with tones in Čakavian dialects, even if the field-worker is a native speaker of Croatian, as I have tried to show long ago when I was studying the dialects of Cres (1982).[6] Let me add that if Šojat were right, the Koljnof dialect would be the only Čakavian dialect in the northern Burgenland to have almost completely lost its tone distinction: K78 describes a tone distinction in her native dialect and the other representatives of the Poljanci group, and N78 has experimental proof for the existence of a tone distinction in the Dolinci dialects (cf. 97-102).

Ad (b) – I shall give two examples:

(i) Šojat writes:

"Osobito se fonem /a/ često realizira poludugo, a može biti promijenjen i u jedinom zatvorenom slogu riječi (usp. npr. Nsg. *brȁt/brât/brât*, Gsg. *brȁta/brâta/ brâta*, ali inf. *brȁt* "brati", samo tako)." (1993: 345)

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[6] As a matter of fact, Šojat also did not hear the tone distinction in the dialect of Cres, about which he wrote a contribution to the *OLA*, see Ivić et al. (ed.) 1981: 235-240 and my remark about it in my monograph on Orlec (1985: 409-410 note 18).

I think that there is no way of explaining how the same phoneme /a/ can have different sets of allophones in *brȁt* 'brother' and in *brȁt* 'take'. There is a chance that Šojat intends to make a diachronic observation, formulating it in synchronic terms, but that is anything but certain, because the observation could also have something to do with his idea that the length opposition in Koljnov is threatened "mnogim neutralizacijama dugoga i kratkoga naglaska u akcentu ˆ (o tome više u daljnjem tekstu)" (1993: 348). Unfortunately, "u daljnjem tekstu" I cannot find any clear example of neutralization, but I do find a confused picture of the situation in the dialect with regard to length, in which almost everything seems to be possible.

(ii) Another citation:

"Opreka između dugoga i kratkoga akcenta, poduprta razlikovanjem dugih i kratkih naglašenih vokala u madžarskom jeziku, *relevantna je*, ali se ona, kako sam već rekao, sve više narušuje čestim kraćenjem dugoga akcenta – osobito u položajima primarnoga i sekundarnoga akuta (već i zbog toga što je, kao i u drugim gradišćanskohrvatskim čakavskim govorima, kvantiteta akuta osjetna kraća nego kvantiteta cirkumfleksa) – do vrijednosti poludugoga akcenta, pa i kratkosilaznog akcenta." (1993: 349, original italics)

So what we have here is a dialect with no tone distinction, but in which the long vowels behave differently according to their once having been rising or not. I must admit that here Šojat has completely lost me.

3. Some characteristic innovations

In this paragraph I shall briefly list a few characteristics of the dialect from a diachronic point of view, part of which I shall return to in more detail in section 6. The reason for introducing them now is that it prepares the reader for most of the instances of unexpected place of stress, falling tone and posttonic length to be found in the examples in section 4.

The dialect belongs, as N78 puts it, to the "ikavisch-ekavischen Mundarten mit partieller regressiver Akzentverschiebung" (58). The term "ikavisch-ekavisch" refers to the reflex of *jat*, which is a high front or a central front vowel, according to Jakubinskij's law (1925), e.g. *mlîko* 'milk', *svîća* 'candle', *siêno* 'hay', *ciêl* 'whole'.[7,8]

[7] Together with the absence of neo-circumflex in forms like *porȉže* 'cut' PR3sg, the i/ekavian reflex of *jat* characterize the dialect as "Central Čakavian" in the sense of Vermeer (1982: 293).

The *partielle regressive Akzentverschiebung* is a stress retraction by one syllable (i) from final syllables, e.g. *žȅna* 'woman', *zȍra* 'sunrise'; (ii) from internal syllables if the vowel in the first pretonic syllable was long. If the vowel that received the stress was long, it became falling, e.g. *glâva* 'head', *pûti* 'way' Npl. The vowel that lost the stress became long, e.g. *ȍtāc* 'father', *jȅzīk* 'language', unless it was word-final, as in the first four examples of this paragraph (N78: 70-71).

Before the stress retraction, short and stressed *o and *e were lengthened, except in open final syllables. Examples: *diẽlo* 'work', *čiẽle* 'bee' Npl, *kuõža* 'skin', *duõma* 'at home' (N78: 73).[9]

N78 mentions three other lengthenings: (a) lengthening in closed monosyllables, resulting in long falling vowels, e.g. *brât*, *mîš* (72);[10] (b) optional lengthening of short stressed *a*, resulting in *ã* (62, 72); (c) lengthening of short stressed vowels in closed non-final syllables, resulting in long rising vowels (67-68).[11]

The *jers* have merged with **a*, e.g. *jȅdān* '1', *snȁha* 'daughter-in-law', *dân* 'day'; **ǫ* and syllabic **l* have merged with **u*, e.g. *mûka* 'flour', *sût* 'barrel', *pȕni* 'full' Nsg m, *bȕhe* 'flea' Npl, cf. *kûpit* 'buy', *slûžit* 'serve'; **ę* has merged with **e*, e.g. *miêso* 'meat'.

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[8] As in all dialects with an i/e-kavian reflex of *jat*, there are exceptions to Jakubinskij's rule. I shall pay no special attention to the reflex of *jat*, since in that respect the Koljnof dialect seems to agree fully with the dialects described in K78.

[9] Abbreviations: "N", "G", "D", "A", "I" and "L" mean "nominative", "genitive", "dative", "accusative", "instrumental" and "locative"; "sg" and "pl" mean "singular" and "plural"; "m", "f" and "n" mean "masculine", "feminine" and "neuter"; "INF", "PR", "IMP", "LP" and "PP" mean "infinitive", "present", "imperative", "l-participle" and "passive participle"; "1"-"3" mean "first person"-"third person".

[10] In the present dialect, however, the opposition long vs. short is operative on closed monosyllables. There are short closed monosyllables and closed monosyllables with doublet lengths. These can be the result of "exceptions" to the lengthening rule discussed here, later restorations, different syllabic make-up at the time of the lengthening, later loans, etc. Examples: *pȅć* 'bake' (N78: 72), *dȁt/dât* 'give', *pȉt/pît* 'drink', *vȑć* 'throw', *gȍnc* 'entirely' (K78, lexicon). Therefore I do not agree with N78 that the length alternation in *brât*, *brȁta* 'brother' and *pȓs*, *pȑsta* 'finger' is phonologically predictable (74).

[11] N78 also observes the reverse: shortening of long rising vowels, and assumes that the accentual system of these dialects is developing into one without distinctive length. Although he uses the word "neutralization", he does not seem to assume that the length distinction is nonexistent in the present dialect. Apparently, the neutralization he has in mind is restricted to certain types of sentence intonation and certain ranges of speech velocity (67-68). K78 also observes an optional lengthening of short stressed vowels to what she calls "ein halblanger, steigender Akzent", for which she uses the sign ″ (72-73). She makes no mention of any kind of shortening. In her analysis, the distinction between long rising and short vowels seems never to be neutralized.

4. Phoneme inventory

4.1 Accentuation, vowels and syllabic resonants

Stressed vowels and syllabic *r* can be (a) long and falling, (b) long and rising or (c) short. The long mid vowels are realized as opening diphtongs, and I chose to include that in my notation, with the accent mark on the second component of the diphthong:

vowels									syll. resonants		
long						short			long		short
falling			rising						fall.	ris.	
î		*û*	*ĩ*		*ũ*	*ȉ*		*ȕ*			
iê		*uô*	*iẽ*		*uõ*	*ȅ*		*ȍ*	*r̂*	*r̃*	*ȑ*
	â			*ã*			*ȁ*				

Diagram 1: stressed syllables

Examples: *sîn* 'son', *mûka* 'flour', *tiêsto* 'dough', *mrtfuôga* 'dead' Gsgm, *blâgo* 'livestock', *čelĩńak* 'bee-hive', *fũćkat* 'whistle', *diẽlat* 'do', *guõdina* 'rain', *rãdo* 'with pleasure', *pȉnezi* 'money', *ȕčit* 'learn', *žȅna* 'woman', *rȍďāk* 'relative', *škȁdāń* 'barn', *kr̂ma* 'fodder', *pȑĺe* 'before; in the old days'.

My material contains no instances of *r̃*, which is not surprising in view of the limited amount of data: even in K78 forms with *r̃* are rare.

I am inclined to believe that the opposition falling vs. rising tone is also operative in monosyllables, but I would need more material to be confident about it.[12,13] In the vast majority of monosyllabic forms with a long vowel I heard a falling intonation, with the exception of *dãn* 'day' Gpl (cf. *dân* Nsg), *stãr* 'old' indefinite m and *stvãr* 'wild animal'. I have no examples of rising vowels in the last syllable of polysyllabic words.

In the first posttonic syllable, vowels can be either long or short. Again, the long mid vowels are realized as opening diphtongs. I shall omit the length sign ¯ on the unstressed diphthongs, since it would be redundant. I have no examples of long posttonic *r̄* except for one instance where the

[12] If pitch is not distinctive in this position, there is a chance that long vowels can be realized phonetically both falling and rising. Therefore presence in the material of a few attested monosyllables with a phonetically rising intonation is not conclusive.

[13] K78 (74) and N78 (71, 99) suppose that there is no tone opposition on monosyllables in the Poljanci and the Dolinci dialects, although in K78 there is some uncertainty as to the intonation of the monosyllabic forms of personal pronouns.

stress shifts from the noun to the preposition: *nȁ tr̄k* ‘to the market’. There are four more syllabic resonants along with *r*, which occur only in German loans.[14]

vowels						syllabic resonants				
long			short							
ī		*ū*	*i*		*u*					
ie		*uo*	*e*		*o*	*r*	*l*	*ĺ*	*m*	*n*
	ā			*a*						

Diagram 2: first posttonic syllable

Examples: *jȅzīk* ‘language’, *vȅlū* ‘say’ PR3sg, *vȍdie* ‘water’ Gsg, *dȍmuon* ‘home (direction)’, *kȍnāc* ‘thread’, *kȍsit* ‘mow’, *kȑčmu* ‘pub’ Asg, *krãve* ‘cow’ Npl, *dȕgo* ‘long’ (adverb), *brâda* ‘chin’, *ȍbrve* ‘eyebrow’, *mȍntl* ‘coat’, *kȉfĺ* ‘locust bean’, *mȁjstns* ‘mostly’.
In other unstressed syllables than the first posttonic there is no length distinction:[15]

vowels			syllabic resonants				
i		*u*					
e		*o*	*r*	*l*	*ĺ*	*m*	*n*
	a						

Diagram 3: other unstressed syllables

Examples: (pretonic) *pi̱jân* ‘drunk’, *u̱grȉca* ‘Hungarian woman’, *te̱plȉje* ‘hotter’ Nsgn, *do̱vȉca* ‘widow’, *vra̱čȉteĺ* ‘doctor’, (posttonic) *divȍjkami̱* ‘girl’ Ipl, *špȍtadu̱* ‘mock’ PR3pl, *nasȍlite̱* ‘salt’ PR3pl, *posȉjemo̱* ‘send’ PR1pl, *spȁmeta̱n* ‘clever’.

As a consequence of the stress retraction described in section 3 above, end-stress is rare on polysyllabic forms. It occurs in some adjectival and verbal paradigms and in a few loanwords, always with a long and falling stressed vowel, e.g. *svitskî* ‘worldwide’, *razumîš* ‘understand’ PR2sg, *soldât*

[14] I have no examples of syllabic *m* and my examples with syllabic *l*, *ĺ* and *n* do not cover all types of unstressed syllables.

[15] This rule needs refining: I have one attestation of a compound word where it does not apply: *prȅotāc* ‘great-grandfather’. K78 mentions the word *nȅzavalnu̯ōst* (74).

'soldier', *mašȋn* 'machine'. N78 and K78 mention one form with a short stressed vowel in the final syllabe, viz. *nekȁ*, a particle used in combination with the infinitive to express a negated imperative, cf. *nȅka*, which is also a particle, but is used with the third person present to express a positive imperative. In Koljnof, only *nȅka* exists. The only cue for the listener to differentiate beween 'don't' and 'do' is the choice of the verb form (infinitive or present) after *nȅka*: *nȅka to diẽlat* 'don't do that', *nȅka to diẽla* 'may he do that'.

A few remarks on the phonetic realization of the vowels. The first component of the diphthongs can be realized as a vowel, as a glide, or in between. The second component of both diphthongs is sometimes realized very low, more or less as an [a]-like vowel, resulting in [ia], [ua]. In my perception, the high vowels – not only short and unstressed *ȉ*, *ȕ*, *i* and *u* but also long *ĩ*, *ũ*, *ȋ* and *ȗ* – often sounded somewhat on the low side, resulting in high-mid [e], [o]. Whether the variation in the realization of the diphthongs and high vowels is free and, if not, on what factors it depends, could be a subject of further investigation. N78 mentions a tendency in part of the Haci and Poljanci dialects of the diphthongs *ie* and *uo* to be raised before a glide (e.g. *stȗ* '100'); according to him, *uo* can also be shortened, resulting in forms like *divȕjka* 'girl', *dȕjt* 'come'. I did not attest exactly the same, but my material does contain a short vowel in *divȍjka* and doublets *dȕjt*/*dȍjt*, *dȕjde*/*dȍjde* 'come' PR3sg. In view of what was said above about the realization of short *u* and *i*, it is not excluded that upon closer inspection the "doublets" of the type *dȕjt*/*dȍjt* will turn out not to be doublets but different realizations of phonemic *dȕjt*.

All vowels tend to be strongly nasalized in the vicinity of a nasal consonant, that is before or after *m*, *n* or *ń* and not separated from it by another vowel. The degree of nasalization varies, especially from one informant to another. The nasalization can have a strong effect on the timbre of the vowel, and there were instances where I did not immediately recognize which vowel it was that was nasalized.

Syllabic *r* is realized differently by different informants. In the realization of part of the speakers, syllabic *r* is preceded by an ultra-short vocalic element, which is much shorter than the trill. Here, length and pitch can be heard on the trill itself. In the speech of other informants, the trill is preceded and followed by a short vowel (mostly schwa-like, but sometimes [i]-like, probably depending on the phonetic surroundings) and the trill element is relatively short. In these cases, length and pitch characterize the vocalic and trill elements of *r* as a whole.

Voiceless stops, especially *p*, *t* and *k*, are often realized long after short stressed vowels, including *ȓ*, e.g. *kȓpe* ‘piece of cloth’ Npl, *bȉti* ‘be’, *bȉke* ‘bull’ Apl.

4.2 Consonants

The dialect possesses the following consonant phonemes:[16]

	stop	fric.	affr.	nas.	lat.	trill	glide			
voice:	+	–	+	–	+	–				
lab.	*b*	*p*	*v*	*f*			*m*			*u̯*
dent.	*d*	*t*	*z*	*s*		*c*	*n*	*l*	*r*	
pal.	*d’*	*ć*	*ž*	*š*		*č*	*ń*	*ĺ*		*j*
vel./lar.	*g*	*k*		*h*						

Diagram 4: consonants

The labial glide *u̯* occurs only tautosyllabically after a vowel or syllabic *r*. It is almost always the reflex of **l* or **v* and it very often alternates with *l* or *v*, e.g. *zdrȁu̯ĺe* ‘health’, *ȍu̯de* ‘here’, *ditȉćou̯* ‘boy’ Gpl, *mi je žâu̯* ‘I am sorry’, *rȅkau̯* ‘say’ LPm.[17] However, the alternation *l* – *u̯* does not seem to operate stemfinally in adjectival paradigms, e.g. *dȅbel* ‘fat’, *ciêl* ‘whole’, *zriêl* ‘ripe’, so that *u̯* is still opposed to *l* and must be analysed as a full-fledged phoneme.[18]

The palatal stop *d’* appears very often prothetically before morpheme-initial *i* and as a variant of morpheme-initial *j*, e.g. *d’imȁla* ‘have’ LPf, *zd’ȉskat* ‘look for’, *d’ȅsen* ‘autumn’, *d’âje* ‘egg’, *D’ugoslãvije* ‘Yugoslavia’ Gsg. Occasionally it even replaces morpheme-internal *j*, e.g. *mȍd’a* ‘my’ Nsg f. However, this does not threaten the phonemic status of *d’*, since not every

16 Strictly speaking, the monophonematic status of at least *d’*, *ć*, *č*, *ń* and *ĺ* would have to be proven by their being distinct from *dj*, *tj*, etc. I have not attested any forms that provide such proof and I very much doubt that the potential phonemes *d’*, *ć*, etc. would survive the test even if there were substantially more material. However, I shall maintain the notation *d’*, *ć*, etc. since it agrees with common practice in Croatian dialectology.

17 Examples in which *u̯* has a different etymological origin: *pȁu̯tat* ‘build’, *trȁuf* ‘on it’, *Kȍĺnou̯* ‘Koljnof’, cf. Lsg *Koĺnuõfi* (see also note 1), *stȍu̯* ‘100’. I have no explanation for the form *stȍu̯*. In K78 it appears as *stôu̯* (110), with a long falling monophthong, which, in her analysis, is not an existing phoneme (64). Ivšić (1971: 783) gives the form *stȕo*, which I never heard.

18 On this point Koljnof differs from the Haci and Poljanci dialects (e.g. *biêu̯* ‘white’, K78: 190).

d' can be replaced by *j*, e.g. in *zîd'e* 'build'PR3sg, *rȍd'āk* 'relative', *mȅd'a* 'boundary'. Something similar exists between *j* and *ĺ*. There is reason to believe that *j* can always replace *ĺ*, though the attestations with *ĺ* are more frequent: *ĺûdi/jûdi* 'people'. The reverse, however (replacement of *j* by *ĺ*, e.g. in *jâje* 'egg') is not found.

5. Other characteristics of the dialect

N78 presents 52 maps (after page 376), which give a picture of the principal isoglosses in the area. Koljnof is only represented on four of them. In the following I shall give the missing information on Koljnof. For the sake of brevity I shall do so in a somewhat condensed form. The marginal numbers below are the numbers of Neweklowsky's maps. "=/≠HP" means "Koljnof shares/does not share this isogloss with the Haci and Poljanci dialects". In the same context the abbreviations "Dol" (Dolinci dialects), "Hi" (Hidegség dialect) and "Fe" (Fertőhomok dialect) are used; "≠N78" means "this does not agree with the information in N78".

1. The interrogative pronoun 'what' is *ča*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe.
2. The reflex of *jat* is i/ekavian, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe.
3. *Jat* is reflected *a* in *gńâzdo*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe.
4. There is a length opposition in stressed and posttonic syllables, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe.
5. There is a partial stress retraction, as N78 calls it, of "type 1" (*žȅna*, *ȍtāc*, *dîte*, *sûsietka*, *žȅnie*, *pedȅsiet*), =HP =Dol ≠HiFe.
6. Length of (once) stressed final syllables: *ȍtāc*, *člȍvīk*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe.
7. Diphthongization of (i) old long **ē*, **ō* and (ii) old short **e*, **o* with original stress, not if word-final, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe.[19]
8. Presence of syllabic *r*, =HP =Dol =HiFe (HiFe ≠N78).
9. Reflex of *jer* in Isg *mȁnon*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe.
10. Reflex of weak jer in **dьnьsь*: *dȅnās*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe.[20]
11. Reflex of front nasal in **žędьnъ*: Npl m *žãjni*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe.
12. Reflex of front nasal in **žętva*: *žiẽtva*, =HP ≠Dol =HiFe.
13. Development **ra > re* in *riêbac* but not in *râs*, *krãs*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe.
14. Preposition *va*, =HP =Dol =HiFe.[21]
15. Reflex of **vъ* in ** vъzęti*: *ziêt*, =HP =Dol =HiFe.
16. Accentuation in the verb *morati*: *mȍre* (sic), =HP =Dol =HiFe.

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19 HiFe also have diphthongization here, but of an entirely different type.

20 HiFe agrees in one of the two reflexes of *ь*: *dȅnes*.

21 Fe can have *vu*, Hi also when it is stressed.

17. Presence of *-i* in *mãti*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe (HiFe have *mȁjka/m'äjka*, ≠N78).
18. Vowel in *tepal/topal*: *tȅplo*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe (HiFe have *tȍplo*, ≠N78).
19. Form of the verb 'pull': both *vlîć* (=HP) and *vûć* (= some dialects to the south) attested, HiFe have *vlêč*.
20. Absence of initial *i-* in *šlȉ*, =HP ≠Dol ≠HiFe.
21. Presence of opposition *č* vs. *ć*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe.
22. The masculine singular form of the *l*-participle ends in *-u̯*, e.g. *bîu̯*, =HP ≠Dol ≠HiFe.
23. Retention or loss of the phoneme *ĺ* as opposed to *j*: in this respect, the dialect is intermediate between HP (*ĺûdi*) and the majority of Dol dialects (*jûdi*). In Koljnof *ĺ* persists, but can always be replaced by *j*: *ĺûdi/jûdi*, =HiFe.
24. Presence of prothesis of *j-*, *d'-* or *dž-* before initial *i-*: Koljnof has *đȉskat*, =HP ≠Dol ≠HiFe.
25. Absence of prothesis of *v-* in *ȕčit*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe (1 attestation of *vȕčī*).
26. Absence of initial *š* in *tȉu̯* 'want' LPm, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe.
27. Final *-m* has almost always become > *n*, ≠HP =Dol ≠HiFe.
28. No *-k-* in the comparative of *velik*: *vȅći*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe (Hi has *v'äkči*, ≠N78);
29. Ordinal numeral *triêti* (as opposed to *treći*), =HP =Dol =HiFe.
30. The Lsg ending of o-stems is *-i*, =HP =Dol =HiFe. However, Koljnof and HiFe are unique in that they have no ending *-u* along with *-i*; *-u* is restricted to a very small set of words, which never have *-i*; these words include *svît* and *mîr*.
31. The Isg ending of a-stem nouns is *-un*, ≠HP (except three villages, one of which is Baumgarten) ≠Dol =HiFe.[22]
32. Lpl ending of neuter pluralia tantum: no data, HiFe have *na vrâti*, =HP =Dol.
33. Ending *-u* (not *-i*) in *po nimšku* (as opposed to *po nimški*), =HP =Dol =HiFe.
34. The enclitic accusative of neuter personal pronoun is *je* (not *ga*), =HP =Dol ≠HiFe (HiFe have both *je* and *ga*, ≠N78).

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22 In 4.1 it was said that he realization of unstressed *u* sometimes is somewhat low. Therefore one sometimes tends to hear *-on* in the Isg of a-stems instead of *-un*. In most cases, however, the [o]-like part of the vowel is preceded by an [u]-like part, resulting in something like [uo] or [u̯o]. In contradistinction to phonemic posttonic /uo/, these diphthongal realizations of phonemic /u/ are short.

35. Habitual past with *ȍni su tili povȉdat* (habitual past), =HP =Dol ≠HiFe (HiFe have either *mȍgli povȅdat* or *bi bili povȅdali*).
36. The word 'ear' is *ûho*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe (HiFe *vušêso*).
37. Preposition *kod* in *kȍd nās*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe (HiFe *prȉ nas*, ≠N78).
38. 'Always' is *sȅnek*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe (HiFe *vêke*).
39. 'He goes' is not **gre* but *hȉde/jȉde*, ≠HP =Dol =HiFe (HiFe *ȉde*, ≠N78).
40. The word **poredan* was not attested, =HP =Dol =HiFe.
41. The word for 'forest' is *lȍza*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe.
42. The word for 'cock' is *pȅtie*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe;
43. The word for 'Monday' is *pandȉlǟk*, =HP =Dol =HiFe.
44. The most frequent word for 'kitchen' is *viêža* (=HP =Dol); *kȕhińa* (≠HP ≠Dol) was also attested, according to the informant it has a slightly different meaning; Hi has *pȉterba*, Fe *pȉtarba*.
45. The word for 'lazy' is *nižvrîdān*, ≠HP ≠Dol =HiFe.
46. The word for 'spring' is *protolȉće* =HP =Dol =HiFe.
47. The word for 'wedding' is *pîr*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe (HiFe have *vesêje*).
48. The word for 'dog' is *kûcāk*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe (HiFe have *cȕcek*).
49. The word for 'harrow' is *brâna*, ≠HP =Dol, not attested in HiFe.
50. The word for 'acre (parcel of arable land)' is *lȁpāt*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe (HiFe have *pȍje*, ≠N78).
51. The word for 'corn' is *tiêk*, =HP ≠Dol, *zȑnje* is also used; HiFe have *zȑnje*.
52. The word for 'farmer' is *pȁu̯r*, =HP =Dol; HiFe *pôr* is probably a Hungarian loan.

Summarizing, there are 9 characteristics that distinguish the Haci and Poljanci type from the Dolinci type of Burgenland Čakavian. Koljnof shares 5 of these with the Haci and Poljanci (numbers 12, 20, 22, 24 and 51 above) and 3 with the Dolinci (numbers 27, 39 and 49 above). With respect to nr. 23, Koljnof is intermediate between the two groups. The same more or less holds for map 19, although in this case there is no clear isogloss between the two groups. With regard to nrs. 30, 31 and 45, the Koljnof dialect has its own characteristics, which it shares only (or almost only) with the dialect of Hidegség and Fertőhomok.

6. Problems regarding the reconstruction of the present-day accentuation and vowel system

The accentual sound changes presented in section 3 were formulated along the lines of N78.[23] On the whole, if one takes as starting-point the typical

Čakavian accentual system with the "old" place of the stress, distinction of three tonemes in stressed syllables (̏ ̑ ̃) and distinctive length in the first pretonic syllable and applies the rules proposed by N78, the output agrees with the distribution of accentual features found in the dialect. However, a number of questions remain to be asked. In this section I shall address two of them: (i) the lengthening of short stressed **e* and **o* and the possible participation in it of **a*; (ii) the assumed lengthening of the vowel that lost the stress at the time of the stress retraction.

The scope of this section will be broader than that of the preceding ones: the sound changes under discussion regard at least all the Haci and Poljanci dialects and in most cases larger areas of Burgenland Croatian.

The lengthening of short stressed **e* and **o* before the partial stress retraction explains the length difference of the stressed vowels in *kuõsi* 'mow' PR3sg vs. *kȍsit* INF; *luõkfa* 'puddle' vs. *nȍga* 'leg'; *gliẽdat* 'look' vs. *tȅle* 'calf'; *miẽsto* 'place' vs. *sȅlo* 'village' (N78: 73). The short stressed vowels in these examples received the stress as a result of the retraction, i.e. after the vowel lengthening had ceased to operate.[24]

In view of such convincing evidence for the lengthening of **e* and **o* it seems natural to wonder what happened with **a*. Did it take part in the same lengthening, and if not, why? This question is not asked in N78. However, there are signs that **a* did not remain unaffected. In the paragraph about the phonetic realization of the vowels in the Haci and Poljanci dialects, N78 states: "Das kurze betonte /a/ kann fakultativ zu [á:] gedehnt werden, z.B. *br'ata* neben *brá:ta*" 'brother' Gsg (62). On the same page he mentions "*m'aša/má:ša*" 'mass' and a few pages later "*j'abuka* (neben *já:buka*)" 'apple' (66). K78 does not report any optional lengthening of /a/ (apart from the phenomenon that was described in note 11 and that regarded all short vowels, not /a/ in particular), but she gives

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[23] Some caution should be exercised here, since the statements in N78 on the diachronic phonology of the Burgenland dialects are not always unambiguous. The long posttonic vowel in such words as *ȍtāc*, for instance, is sometimes treated as a result of lenghtening of short stressed vowels that lost the stress to a preceding vowel (71) and sometimes as a result of lengthening of stressed vowels in closed final syllables before the stress retraction in the northern Burgenland (133 and map nr. 6).

[24] If the Haci and Poljanci dialects are considered separately from the rest of Burgenland Croatian, the lengthening rule also accounts for the length difference in *sȅlo* vs. *siẽla* 'village' Nsg and Npl. However, there is evidence from part of the Dolinci dialects ("Dolinci b", cf. N78: 94) that the length is *siẽla* is older than the lengthening of **e* and **o*. – In my view, N78 erroneously treats *liẽto* vs. *lȅtā* 'year' Nsg and Npl on a par with *sȅlo* vs. *siẽla* (72). The Dolinci b data show that the length difference in *liẽto* vs. *lȅtā* is more recent and should be explained by the overall lengthening of **e* and **o* (104).

many forms with doublet length on originally short and stressed *a*, e.g. *blȁto/blãto* 'mud', *bȁba/bãba* 'midwife' (K78: lexicon), *gȁnem/gãnem* 'move' PR1sg, *gãnut* PP indefinite m (K78: 119). In addition, both K78 and N78 give forms with *ã* (without optionality or doublet length) instead of expected *ȁ*, such as *prãga* 'threshold' Gsg (K78: 88, N78: 76) and *kãpa* 'cap' (K78: lexicon). The accentual class to which *prâk*, *prãga* belongs is restricted to words with an originally short stressed **e*, **a* or **o*, and a similar situation exists for neuter and feminine nouns (K78: 88-92). Against the idea of a possible lengthening of **a* along with **e* and **o* one could object that in the case of **a* the results of the supposed lengthening are much less straightforward: there are many cases in which original short stressed **a* shows no trace of lengthening. Moreover, the occurrence of doublet length (K78) or optional lengthening (N78) of **a* is not by far as convincing as the apparently exceptionless, non-optional and non-doublet lengthening of **e* and **o*. One should keep in mind, however, that the long counterparts of short **e* and **o* have probably been diphthongs for a long time, which makes the situation for **o* and **e* on the one hand and **a* on the other very different. It is well imaginable that after the lengthening of **e*, **o* and **a* – if there was such a lengthening – and before the stress retraction, there was a period when length was not distinctive on *e*, *o* and *a* and the phonetic realization of *e*, *o* and *a* could vary freely with respect to length. When later new short stressed *e*, *o* and *a* developed as a result of the stress retraction, new short *e* and *o* were distinct from old stressed *e* and *o* by their being monophthongal. New stressed *a*, however, found itself in the same phonetic area already occupied by the shorter allophones of old stressed *a*. This could have given rise to confusion and all kinds of reshuffling.

Another question that should be asked concerns the assumption in N78 of lengthening, at the time of the stress retraction, of the short vowels from which the stress was retracted, unless they were word-final (see section 3 above and N78: 71). This lengthening, together with the retraction itself, is discussed on page 70-71 and a number of examples are given. Unfortunately, none of these examples provide evidence of the lengthening. The posttonic vowels in the examples either were already long (*glâvū* 'head' Isg), or they were not lengthened because they were word-final (*glâva* Nsg), or they were in a closed syllable, which leads to lengthening anyhow, independently of the lengthening discussed here (*jȅzīk* 'language'), or they can be supposed to have been subject to the lengthening of originally short and stressed **o* and **e* discussed in the previous two paragraphs (*râstuoka* 'taproom' Gsg, *sûsieda* 'neighbour' Gsg). If one does not reject the idea of

a possible lengthening of originally stressed short *a*, proof for the lengthening of the vowel which lost the stress in the process of stress retraction can only be provided by lengthened *i* or *u* in an open, nonfinal syllable that is presently posttonic. I have been looking for such evidence myself in N78, K78 and my own material and all that I found was doublet length on LP forms of the type *ubȓnuli/ubȓnūli* 'turn over' LP plm (K79: lexicon) and *kûpili/kûpīli* 'buy' LP plm (my material and K78:118-119),[25] doublet length in adjectival forms like *lîpimi/ lîpīmi* 'beautiful' indefinite Ipl (K78: 103), and posttonic length in the lexeme *prîlīka* 'occasion' (my material; K78: lexicon gives doublet length). That is not much, the more so as the doublet length in the LP and Ipl forms mentioned might have a morphological origin, just as the absence of lengthening in the final syllable of infinitives (*kȍsit* 'mow', *pîtat* 'ask', cf. N78: 71) the imperative of the type *pîtaj* (cf. *kȍpāj* 'dig'), and the passive participle of the type *raspîtan* and *ubdȑžān* (last four examples K78: 118-120).[26,27]

7. Conclusions

The dialect of Koljnof seems not to be in immediate danger of dying out. As can be expected from its geographical position, it is intermediate between the Haci and Poljanci and the Dolinci group. It also shares a few isoglosses exclusively with Hidegség and Fertőhomok. It has a "troakcenatski sistem" (̏ ̑ ˜) in stressed syllables and an opposition between long and short vowels in the first posttonic syllable. The vowel system and the distribution of the vowels, including their accentual characteristics, are not essentially different from the situation in the Haci and Poljanci and Dolinci dialects, with the exception of those Dolinci dialects that have two degrees of opening for the mid vowels.

In section 6 I have discussed two problems connected with the diachronic – and partly also synchronic – phonology of the Haci and Poljanci dialects. I think that the historical development of these dialects,

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[25] The forms *ubȓnuli/ubȓnūli* and *kûpili/kûpīli* are not given in K78, but one can infer them from the accent classes to which the verbs are assigned.

[26] K78 probably does not assume that there was a lengthening of the vowel from which the stress was retracted, since she explains the doublet length in *pîtala/pîtāla* by analogy to the masculine *pītãl* (before the stress retraction) > *pîtāl* (afterwards).

[27] N78 comments: "Da es in den Infinitivformen wie *pîtat* nicht zu Dehnung der Silbe, von der sich der Iktus verlagert hat, gekommen ist, kann man annehmen, daß Akzentverlagerung und Abfall des *-i* nicht gleichzeitig stattgefunden haben" (72). It is unclear to me what is meant here. According to the author's formulation of the stress retraction, the operation of neither the retraction nor the lengthening in this form depended on the presence or absence of a final *-i*.

especially the chronology of the various lengthenings and other changes in the accent and vowel systems, deserve further study. Since many of these changes are not restricted to this area of Burgenland Croatian – nor indeed to Burgenland Croatian – such a study should preferably involve a somewhat wider dialectological context.

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K78 = Koschat 1978
N78 = Neweklowsky 1978

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ON THE "EARLY BALTIC" LOANWORDS IN COMMON FINNIC

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As is well-known, Common (Baltic) Finnic (> Finnish, Karelian, Veps, Votic, Estonian, Livonian, etc.) has about 200 loanwords of apparent Baltic origin (see e.g. Suhonen 1988 on the most recent survey).[1] In this article, I label them "Early Baltic" in distinction from "Late Baltic" (or Latvian) loanwords, which never occur in Common Finnic but in South Finnic (i.e. Estonian and Livonian) alone.

Contrary to the "Late Baltic" loanwords, all the "Early Baltic" loanwords also go back to the so-called Early Proto-Finnic stage, as if they had already occurred in Proto-Finno-Saamic, although only about 30 of them have a cognate in Saamic (Sammallahti 1998: 127). The "Early Baltic" loanwords must therefore have been borrowed at the time when the Finnic and Saamic branches were still linguistically uniform but already areally diverged, which according to the traditional Fenn(o-Ugr)icist chronology would mean the second and first millennia BC (cf. Kallio 1998).

Although many Fenn(o-Ugr)icists speak of Proto-Baltic loanwords, there did not necessarily even exist any Proto-Baltic stage, but it was already Proto-Balto-Slavic that simultaneously split up into at least three dialects, namely West Baltic (> Old Prussian), East Baltic (> Lithuanian and Latvian), and Slavic. Thus, unless the concepts of 'Proto-Baltic' and 'Proto-Balto-Slavic' are considered synonymous, we should in fact talk about Proto-Balto-Slavic loanwords. According to the most realistic estimations (e.g. Kortlandt 1982: 181), the splitting up of Proto-Balto-Slavic took place around 1000 BC, which also fits the traditional Fenn(o-Ugr)icist datings of these loanwords.

As Eino Nieminen pointed out years ago (see especially Nieminen 1957a = 1957b collecting his earlier ideas), however, many of the "Early Baltic" loanwords were after all borrowed from some Balt(o-Slav)ic dialect posterior to the Proto-Balt(o-Slav)ic stage. As a matter of fact, he went even

[1] True, Lembit Vaba (1990) lists as many as 374 "Early Baltic" loanwords, only 188 of which, however, are considered unquestionable by himself. On the other hand, although Kari Liukkonen (1999) speaks about "etwa 550 sichere baltische Lehnwörter" (p. 10), even he admits that all the rest speak about "nahezu 200 sichere baltische Lehnwörter" (p. 11).

further by claiming that this dialect was no other than Old Curonian, an alleged West Baltic dialect earlier spoken in coastal Latvia. Of course, the concept of 'Old Curonian' is somewhat anachronistic in the case of the loanword stratum in Early Proto-Finnic, and I therefore prefer the more neutral concept of 'North Baltic'. In any case, the rest of his ideas would nowadays deserve further investigation, especially because of recent significant progress in Balto-Slavic historical phonology, not least due to our *Jubilar* Frederik Kortlandt.

In this article, therefore, I shall compare the Proto-Balto-Slavic phonemes (see the table in Kortlandt 1989: 46) with their Early Proto-Finnic reflexes (see e.g. Thomsen 1890: 72-107, Kalima 1936: 52-75) in order to find out what exactly the source language of the "Early Baltic" loanwords was. Namely, as our corpus consists of about 200 more or less unquestionable etymologies (i.e. more than in many of the so-called Indo-European *Restsprachen*), it is not at all impossible to outline the basic phonological features of this language, once we first clear the loanwords of the sound substitutions made by the Early Proto-Finnic speakers. As a matter of fact, this task is not so different from clearing the Old Prussian texts of their German orthography (except that almost all the Baltologists know German much better than they know Early Proto-Finnic!).

Consonants

For the sake of brevity, I content myself with giving the sound correspondences between Proto-Balto-Slavic and Early Proto-Finnic as well as the most relevant examples of them. The reader who is interested in further examples may consult the admittedly out-of-date standard handbooks (Thomsen 1890, Kalima 1936) which, however, are still more usable than most more recent works swarming with partisan views.

*Proto-Balto-Slavic *p, *b ~ Early Proto-Finnic *p*
*Proto-Balto-Slavic *t, *d ~ Early Proto-Finnic *t*
*Proto-Balto-Slavic *k, *g ~ Early Proto-Finnic *k*

As there was simply only one Early Proto-Finnic stop series, the two Proto-Balto-Slavic stop series seemingly merged as one plain voiceless stop series in all the "Early Baltic" loanwords. Needless to say, such a merger tells us nothing about the real number of stop series in the source language. Indeed, Early Proto-Finnic (just like Uralic in general) was so short of stops that perhaps the only interesting observation concerning them is the fact that no palatalization of velars had taken place before front vowels (cf. Lithuanian *geltas* 'yellow' ~ Finnish *kelta* 'id.'; Lithuanian

kir̃vis 'axe' ~ Finnish *kirves* 'id.'). In this respect, the loanwords remind us of Lithuanian and Old Prussian rather than Latvian and Slavic, whose palatalizations, however, must be dated later anyway.

*Proto-Balto-Slavic *ʔ ~ Early Proto-Finnic Ø*

According to Kortlandt (1989: 46), the three Proto-Indo-European laryngeals *$*h_1$*, *$*h_2$* and *$*h_3$* merged as the Proto-Balto-Slavic glottal stop **ʔ*. As no reflexes of this glottal stop can be seen in the "Early Baltic" loanwords, it was probably so weak that it was no longer replaced by any Early Proto-Finnic phoneme, contrary to the case of the earlier Northwest Indo-European loanwords (see Koivulehto 1991).

*Proto-Balto-Slavic *s ~ Early Proto-Finnic *s*

Under normal circumstances, Proto-Balto-Slavic **s* corresponds to Early Proto-Finnic **s* in the "Early Baltic" loanwords. There is one exception, namely its allophone **ṣ* (due to the retraction of **s* to **ṣ* after **i*, **u*, **r* and **k*), which corresponds to Early Proto-Finnic **š* (> Late Proto-Finnic **h*). Interestingly, the "Early Baltic" loanwords sometimes point to **ṣ*, even though Baltic itself does not (cf. Lithuanian *líesas* 'thin' ~ Finnish *laiha* 'id.'). Apparently, these loanwords were borrowed from Proto-Balto-Slavic itself in which the allophony still occurred, or from its early dialect in which the allophony had furthermore become phonemic (cf. Slavic).

*Proto-Balto-Slavic *ś, *ź ~ Early Proto-Finnic *š*

As to the lack of voice correlation, the Proto-Balto-Slavic voiced sibilants correspond to the Early Proto-Finnic voiceless sibilants just because Early Proto-Finnic simply had no voiced sibilants. Thus, it tells us nothing about the actual situation in the source language of the "Early Baltic" loanwords. Far more probative is the fact that the Proto-Balto-Slavic palatal sibilants correspond to the Early Proto-Finnic alveolar sibilars. Thus far, this fact has generally been taken for a proof that the source language was indeed Baltic (or even Lithuanian!), in which **ś* and **ź* had already yielded **š* and **ž*, respectively. However, it is equally possible that the general loss of palatalization (e.g. **ś* > **s*) had already taken place in Early Proto-Finnic, whose speakers therefore substituted Early Proto-Finnic **š* for

Proto-Balto-Slavic **ś* and **ź*.[2] Needless to say, these two alternatives do not exclude one another, but we may also assume that only the earliest "Early Baltic" loanwords were borrowed from Proto-Balto-Slavic itself, whereas the latest ones were borrowed from a Baltic dialect, in which **ś* and **ź* had yielded **š* and **ž*.

*Proto-Balto-Slavic *m ~ Early Proto-Finnic *m*
*Proto-Balto-Slavic *n ~ Early Proto-Finnic *n*
*Proto-Balto-Slavic *l ~ Early Proto-Finnic *l*
*Proto-Balto-Slavic *r ~ Early Proto-Finnic *r*

In general, the resonants of the source language were just replaced by the corresponding resonants of the target language. Instead, the case of their syllabic allophones is far more interesting, because the Late Proto-Balto-Slavic dissolution of the syllabic resonants into **i* (or **u* after the earlier labiovelar stops) and the resonant in question (Kortlandt 1989: 45) would seem to have taken place during the period when the "Early Baltic" loanwords were borrowed into Early Proto-Finnic. Namely, while the latest of these loanwords were clearly posterior to the dissolution (cf. Lithuanian *kir̃vis* 'axe' ~ Finnish *kirves* 'id.' above), the earliest of them were possibly anterior (cf. Lithuanian *kirmìs* 'snake' ~ Finnish *kärme* > *käärme* 'id.', in which Early Proto-Balto-Slavic **r̥* was possibly replaced by Early Proto-Finnic **är*, because there was no **r̥* in Early Proto-Finnic; Koivulehto 2000: 118).

*Proto-Balto-Slavic *j ~ Early Proto-Finnic *j*
*Proto-Balto-Slavic *w ~ Early Proto-Finnic *v*

As in the case of the resonants, also the semivowels of the source language were simply replaced by the corresponding semivowels of the target language, so that there is hardly anything interesting here. Needless to say, bilabial **w* was replaced by labiodental **v* just because there was no bilabial **w* in Early Proto-Finnic.

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[2] Remarkably, there would also seem to be Proto-Balto-Slavic loanwords anterior to the Early Proto-Finnic loss of palatalization (cf. the Northwest Indo-European/Pre-Balto-Slavic etymologies by Koivulehto 1983: 142-145):
–Proto-Balto-Slavic **śoro-* (> Lithuanian *šãras* 'fodder') → Proto-Finno-Volgaic **śora* (> Finnish *sora* 'gravel, grit'; Mordvin *śuro*, *śora* 'corn, grain'; etc.).
–Proto-Balto-Slavic **źalgo-* (> Lithuanian *žal̃gas* 'pole') → Proto-Finno-Ugric **śalko* (> Finnish *salko* 'pole'; North Saami *čuolggu* 'lever'; etc.).

Short Vowels

Before moving on to deal with the vowel substitutions, I must emphasize that I mainly concentrate on those in the initial syllables, because the Early Proto-Finnic non-initial (and unstressed) syllables were so reduced[3] that their probative force is therefore more limited than that of the Early Proto-Finnic initial (and stressed) syllables. Remarkably, this fact seems unknown to most non-Fenn(o-Ugr)icists, who often make a big deal out of the vowel substitutions in the final syllables (cf. especially Nieminen 1957a: 191-201).

*Proto-Balto-Slavic *i ~ Early Proto-Finnic *i*
*Proto-Balto-Slavic *u ~ Early Proto-Finnic *u*

The short high vowels of the source language were replaced by the corresponding short high vowels of the target language with the exception that the Proto-Balto-Slavic short high back vowel **u* was sometimes replaced by the Early Proto-Finnic short high front vowel **ü* (> Finnish *y*), too (cf. Lithuanian *duktẽ* 'daughter' ~ Finnish *tytär* 'id.'). There are no reasons to think that the substitution **u* → **ü* had anything to do with the actual pronunction of Proto-Balto-Slavic **u*, but it was instead due to the alternation **u* ~ **ü* on the Uralic side (cf. also Old Prussian *angurgis* 'eel' ~ Finnish *ankerias*, *änkeriäs* 'id.'; Lithuanian *strãzdas* 'thrush' ~ Finnish *rastas*, *rästäs* 'id.').

*Proto-Balto-Slavic *e ~ Early Proto-Finnic *e, *ä*

Proto-Balto-Slavic **e* usually corresponds to Early Proto-Finnic **e* (cf. Lithuanian *gel̃tas* 'yellow' ~ Finnish *kelta* 'id.' above), although it can also correspond to Early Proto-Finnic **ä* (cf. Lithuanian *meñtė* 'shoulderblade, mixing paddle, trowel, shovel, blade' ~ Finnish *mäntä* 'churn staff, dasher, whisk'). As a matter of fact, the latter substitution is anything but unexpected, because at least to my native Finnish ears Lithuanian *e* still sounds like Finnish *ä* rather than Finnish *e*. It would therefore be tempting to

[3] In other words, while the Early Proto-Finnic initial (and stressed) syllables had seven short vowels (i.e. **i*, **ü*, **u*, **e*, **o*, **ä* and **a*; N.B. **ö* did not occur until the shift **eü* > **öü*) as well as four long vowels (i.e. **ī*, **ū*, **ē* and **ō*; N.B. **ǖ*, **ȫ*, **ǟ* and **ā* did not occur until the loss of intervocalic **j*, **w*, **ŋ* or **γ*), the Early Proto-Finnic non-initial (and unstressed) syllables had only four short vowels: **i* (> Late Proto-Finnic **-i*, **-e-*), **ä*, **a*, and the newcomer **u* (< **Vw*), which very early split up into **u* and **o* (cf. Korhonen 1988). Interestingly enough, the heavier the initial syllable was, the more probably the non-initial syllable(s) had **i* (< **ə*?).

suggest that these two reflexes would also represent two chronologically different "Early Baltic" layers, namely earlier **e* and later **ä* (= IPA [æ]), although it is equally possible that Proto-Balto-Slavic **e* was phonetically somewhere between Early Proto-Finnic **e* and **ä* (e.g. IPA [ɛ]?). In any case, the pronunciation [ɛ] or [æ] would seem to have been rather widespread among early Balto-Slavic dialects, such as Middle Slavic, whose **e* was similarly replaced by Late Proto-Finnic **ä* (cf. Russian *печь* 'oven' ~ Finnish *pätsi* 'furnace').[4]

*Proto-Balto-Slavic *a, *o ~ Early Proto-Finnic *a, *o*

According to Kortlandt (1989: 46), **a* and **o* did not yet merge in Proto-Balto-Slavic but soon after its splitting up when West Baltic, East Baltic, and Slavic still "developed along similar lines" (1994: 98). As to the "Early Baltic" loanwords, however, many of them are clearly posterior to this merger considering the two Early Proto-Finnic reflexes **a* and **o* sometimes in the case of just one Proto-Balto-Slavic root (cf. Lithuanian *taũras* 'aurochs, bull' ~ Finnish *tarvas* 'elk, roe deer', but Latvian *tàure* 'horn' ~ Finnish *torvi* 'horn, pipe'). The same conclusion can also be supported by the fact that in many more cases the Early Proto-Finnic reflex can be either **a* or **o*, irrespective of whether its source goes back to earlier Proto-Balto-Slavic **a* or **o*. Under these circumstances, it is of course impossible to know, if any given "Early Baltic" loanword was borrowed before or after the merger of **a* and **o*, whenever Proto-Balto-Slavic **a* happens to correspond to Early Proto-Finnic **a* or Proto-Balto-Slavic **o* to Early Proto-Finnic **o*!

According to the traditional explanation (e.g. Kalima 1936: 64-65), these twofold reflexes were due to the Proto-Balto-Slavic merger of **a* and **o* as **å* (= IPA [ɔ]), which the Early Proto-Finnic speakers replaced by either **a* or **o*, because there was no Early Proto-Finnic **å*. Nieminen (1957a: 202-205), however, challenged this view by claiming that his Old Curonian source language had instead undergone the labialization **a* > **å* (or maybe even**a* > **o*?) in the initial syllable whenever there had been a front vowel in the following syllable. Even though his postulated sound law very often works, it does not always work (cf. already Steinitz 1965: 299-300 on several counterexamples).[5] Therefore, he was circularly forced

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[4] As I discuss in further detail elsewhere (Kallio 2006), the source language of the earliest Slavic loanwords in Common Finnic (see e.g. Kalima 1952 = 1956) indeed corresponds to Kortlandt's "Middle Slavic" stage (Kortlandt 1989: 47-52).

[5] Still, Nieminen may have been on the right track, because Common Uralic *a-ï*-stems (and especially those which yielded Late Proto-Finnic *a-e*-stems) were surprisingly rare,

to reconstruct several Old Curonian *i*- and *ē*-stems which are not attested from any documented Balto-Slavic language. Needless to say, loanword studies will become far too easy, if any given Finnic word is taken for a proof of what there used to occur on the Balto-Slavic side.[6]

Nieminen as well as his contemporaries used to regard the source language of the “Early Baltic” loanwords as a monolith. In other words, they hardly ever paid attention to the possibility that the twofold reflexes **a* and **o* could very well be due to two different dialects or two different chronological layers. As I noted above, the change **e* > **ä* might also have occurred in our so-called North Baltic, so that the simultaneous change **a* > **å* would in fact have been anything but unexpected from a typological viewpoint (especially because certain North Baltic long vowels may have taken part in the same vowel shift, as I shall discuss below).

Long Vowels

Before I can move on to deal with the substitutions themselves, I must remind the reader of the important phonotactical fact that the Early Proto-Finnic long vowels only occurred in the initial stressed syllables that were open (i.e. followed by neither consonant clusters nor geminates). Everywhere else the Proto-Balto-Slavic long vowels always correspond to the Early Proto-Finnic short vowels (cf. Lithuanian *sėbrà* ‘company’ ~ Finnish *seura* ‘id.’), which is also the reason why I concentrate on the substitutions in the open initial syllables in this connection.

*Proto-Balto-Slavic *ī ~ Early Proto-Finnic *ī*
*Proto-Balto-Slavic *ū ~ Early Proto-Finnic *ū*

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and they nearly always included medial **j*, **w*, **ŋ* or **γ* (cf. Sammallahti 1988: 488). On the other hand, Late Proto-Finnic *a-e*-stems hardly ever go back to Common Uralic *a-ï*-stems, but they instead go back to Common Uralic *ï-ï*-stems (cf. Finnish *appi* < **ïppï* ‘father-in-law’), *ä-ä*-stems (cf. Finnish *talvi* < **tälwä* ‘winter’) as well as *o-a*-stems (cf. Finnish *sarvi* < **śorwa* ‘horn’). As Early Proto-Finnic *a-i*-stems were therefore more or less nonexistent, it is not impossible that the Early Proto-Finnic speakers instead preferred *o-i*-stems in their “Early Baltic” loanwords. I wonder if the same avoidance of *a-i*-stems could also explain certain unexpected *e-i*-stems (cf. Lithuanian *mãrė* ‘sea’ ~ Finnish *meri* ‘id.’; Lithuanian *rãgės* ‘sleigh’ ~ Finnish *reki* ‘id.’).

[6] Admittedly, Nieminen was still rather moderate compared to his modern follower Kari Liukkonen (1999: 76-77), who argues that Finnish *koipi* ‘leg’ is a borrowing from an unattested Old Curonian contamination of Lithuanian *kója* ‘foot’ and *stáibis* ‘shin’. No wonder according to Liukkonen there are at least 2.75 times more “sichere baltische Lehnwörter” than according to anyone else.

The long high vowels of the source language were simply replaced by the corresponding long high vowels of the target language. Contrary to short **u*, however, long **ū* was not replaced by the corresponding front vowel **ǖ*, which seems not to have occurred in Early Proto-Finnic yet.

*Proto-Balto-Slavic *ē ~ Early Proto-Finnic *ē, *ä*

As the Early Proto-Finnic reflex of Proto-Balto-Slavic **ē* can be either **ē* (> Finnish *ie*) or **ä* (N.B. there was no **ǟ* in Early Proto-Finnic), one cannot help but speculate on two different "Early Baltic" layers, namely earlier **ē* (cf. Old Prussian *semen* 'seed' ~ Finnish *siemen* 'id.') and later **ä* (cf. Lithuanian *vėžỹs* 'crab' ~ Estonian *vähi* 'id.'). The latter can be compared with the fact that Middle Slavic **ē* was still replaced by Late Proto-Finnic **ǟ* (cf. Old Church Slavic *měra* 'measure' ~ Finnish *määrä* 'amount'). Indeed, Common Balto-Slavic **ē* already seems to have been rather low (e.g. IPA [ɛː]?), because in East Baltic **ē* (> Lithuanian *ė*) did not merge with secondary **ē*$_2$ (> Lithuanian *ie*), due to the monophthongization of stressed **ei*, **ai*, and **oi* (see below).

*Proto-Balto-Slavic *ā ~ Early Proto-Finnic *a, *ō*

Once again, the Early Proto-Finnic reflex of Proto-Balto-Slavic **ā* can be either **a* (N.B. there was no **ā* in Early Proto-Finnic) or **ō* (> Finnish *uo*), and this time in fact the idea of two different "Early Baltic" layers, namely earlier **a* (cf. Old Prussian *wobilis* 'clover' ~ Finnish *apila* 'id.') and later **ō* (cf. Lithuanian *tóšis* 'birch bark' ~ Finnish *tuohi* 'id.'), has already been substantiated by Jorma Koivulehto (2000: 103-118). Still, although we may safely postulate the North Baltic development **ā* > **å̄* (or maybe even**ā* > **ō*?), it must have occurred independently of the similar developments in certain later Baltic dialects, because the latter largely took place during the historical period.

*Proto-Balto-Slavic *ō ~ Early Proto-Finnic *ō, *ū*

One can no longer be surprised that the Early Proto-Finnic reflex of Proto-Balto-Slavic **ō* can be either **ō* (cf. Latvian *znuõts* 'son-in-law, brother-in-law' ~ Finnish *nuode* 'id.') or **ū* (cf. Lithuanian *šlúota* 'broom' ~ Finnish *luuta* 'id.'). According to Koivulehto (2000: 118-121), the former would reflect the earlier monophthong **ō*, whereas the latter would reflect the later diphthong **uo*, which would, of course, have been replaced by the Early Proto-Finnic monophthong **ū*, because there was no Early Proto-Finnic diphthong **uo*. Still, it is no less probable that North Baltic instead

underwent the raising **ō* > **ū* rather than the diphthongization **ō* > **uo*, because whatever the North Baltic treatment of **ō* was, it occurred independently of the East Baltic diphthongization **ō* > **uo*, which most likely coincided with the other East Baltic diphthongization **ē*$_2$ > **ie*, and neither **ē*$_2$ nor **ie* are reflected in the "Early Baltic" loanwords but their predecessors **ei* and **ai* alone (see below).

Diphthongs

According to the traditional view, Early Proto-Finnic (like early Uralic in general) had no diphthongs, but the Proto-Balto-Slavic diphthongs were first replaced by the Early Proto-Finnic combinations of short vowels and semivowels, which later yielded the Late Proto-Finnic diphthongs. Still, it is no less probable that the diphthongs were first introduced by the "Early Baltic" loanwords and that they later merged with the inherited combinations of short vowels and semivowels (cf. Uotila 1986).

*Proto-Balto-Slavic *ei ~ Early Proto-Finnic *ej, *äj*

The Early Proto-Finnic reflex of Proto-Balto-Slavic **ei* (> East Baltic **ei* or **ie*) can be either **ej* (> Late Proto-Finnic **ī*) or **äj* (cf. the twofold reflexes of Proto-Balto-Slavic **e* and **ē* above). Even though the examples are very limited (cf. Lithuanian *liẽkas* 'odd, superfluous' ~ Finnish *liika* 'excessive, surplus'; Lithuanian *víevesa* 'goose or cattle louse' ~ Finnish *väive* 'cattle louse'),[7] the "Early Baltic" loanwords seem to show no reflexes of the monophthongization **ei* > **ē*$_2$, not to mention the subsequent diphthongization **ē*$_2$ > **ie*, both typical of East Baltic alone. This being the case, North Baltic would seem to be closer to West Baltic in this respect, even though it is no less probable that these East Baltic developments were simply posterior to the Early Proto-Finnic contacts.

*Proto-Balto-Slavic *ai, *oi ~ Early Proto-Finnic *aj*

As Proto-Balto-Slavic **ai* and **oi* (> East Baltic **ai* or **ie*) always seem to correspond to Early Proto-Finnic **aj* (cf. Latvian *laĩsks* 'lazy' ~ Finnish *laiska* 'id.'; Lithuanian *piemuõ* 'herder' ~ Finnish *paimen* 'id.'), they had most probably merged as **ai*. Contrary to South Proto-Finnic and Early Proto-Saamic, however, North Proto-Finnic often underwent the sporadic

[7] Indeed, the examples of "Early Baltic" **ei* are so limited compared to the examples of "Early Baltic" **ai* that it makes me wonder whether not only **ai* and **oi* but also **ei* eventually merged as North Baltic **ai* (cf. the merger of stressed**ei*, **ai* and **oi* as East Baltic **ē*$_2$).

shift **aj* > **ej* (cf. Lithuanian *šiẽnas* 'hay' ~ Finnish *heinä* 'id.' ~ Livonian *āina* 'id.' ~ North Saami *suoidni* 'id.'; N.B. the same shift is also attested from inherited words like Finnish *seiso-* 'to stand' ~ South Estonian *saisa-* 'id.' ~ North Saami *čuožžo-* 'id.'). In any case, the "Early Baltic" loanwords once again show no reflexes of the East Baltic shift **ai* > **ē*$_2$ > **ie*.

*Proto-Balto-Slavic *eu ~ Early Proto-Finnic *ev*

Important, Proto-Balto-Slavic **eu* corresponds to Early Proto-Finnic **ev* (cf. Lithuanian *briaunà* 'edge, side, border' ~ Finnish *reuna* 'id.'). Indeed, this substitution is particularly interesting, because while both East Baltic and Slavic shared the development **eu* > **iou* > **'au* (cf. Lithuanian *liáudis* 'people' ~ Latvian *ļàudis* 'id.' ~ Old Church Slavic *ljudъje* [pl.] 'id.'), the case of West Baltic is not that self-evident: even though Old Prussian *eu* no doubt corresponds to Lithuanian *iau* (cf. Old Prussian *keuto* 'skin' ~ Lithuanian *kiáutas* 'case, cover'), it is often maintained that the Old Prussian grapheme combination <eu> was phonetically [ʲau] rather than [eu] (but see Levin 1974: 5).

In any case, the idea that Early Proto-Finnic **ev* could also have been substituted for dialectal Balto-Slavic **'au* (cf. Uotila 1986: 214-216) looks improbable to me, because at least Early Proto-Finnic **äv* would have been a much more expected reflex of dialectal Balto-Slavic **'au*. As the source language of the "Early Baltic" loanwords must therefore have preserved Proto-Balto-Slavic **eu*, either they must be dated to the very early period (except that Finnish *reuna*, violating vowel harmony, cannot be dated too early!), or their source language must have been a later Balto-Slavic dialect (like West Baltic?) which did not share the development **eu* > **iou* > **'au*.

*Proto-Balto-Slavic *au, *ou ~ Early Proto-Finnic *av, *ov*

Just like in the case of **a*, the Early Proto-Finnic reflex of "Early Baltic" **au* can be either **av* or **ov*, irrespective of whether its source goes back to earlier Proto-Balto-Slavic **au* or **ou*. Thus, Proto-Balto-Slavic **au* and **ou* must sooner or later have merged as **åu* or the like.

Conclusions

Even though my analysis of the material was anything but detailed, we may arrive at the conclusion that the "Early Baltic" loanwords in Finnic consist of the two chronologically different layers: while the earlier stratum corresponds to Kortlandt's Proto-Balto-Slavic stage (1989: 43-46), the

later one represents an otherwise unattested Balto-Slavic dialect, whose phonological system was approximately the following:

p	*b*			*m*				
t	*d*	*s*		*n*	*r*	*l*		
		š	*ž*					
k	*g*							
					j	*v*		
			i	*ī*			*u*	*ū*
			ä	*ā̈*			*å*	*å̄*

While the consonant system strictly corresponds to the Proto-Baltic stage by Christian Stang (1966: 88-113),[8] the vowel system (even including diphthongs) in turn reminds me of the Pomesanian dialect of Old Prussian (see e.g. Levin 1974: 5, Kortlandt 1998: 115)![9] Therefore, no matter what we think about Eino Nieminen's Old Curonian hypothesis, he might after all have been on the right track that the source language of the "Early Baltic" loanwords was indeed West Baltic rather than East Baltic. Even so, at least I still prefer the safer concept of 'North Baltic' just in case.

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[8] Which is no wonder, because Stang always praiseworthily took the Finnic evidence into account.

[9] True, the treatment of Proto-Balto-Slavic **ō* was different, because in Pomesanian Prussian **ā* and **ō* merged as **å̄*, whereas in North Baltic **ō* and **ū* merged as **ū*. Admittedly, our limited corpus allows of several interpretations in this case.

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THE QUANTITY OF THE VOWEL *i* IN STIPAN KONZUL'S *KATEKIZAM* (1564)

JANNEKE KALSBEEK

1. Introduction

The sixteenth century was the age of the Reformation in western and central Europe. The ideas of Martin Luther, formulated in 1517 in his famous ninety-five propositions critical of the traditional church, were briefly successful among part of the South Slavs too. Especially in the regions along the southern fringe of the Habsburg Empire, the new religion was accepted relatively early. Luther's ideas met with some support in the regions which are now part of Slovenia (Austrian Carniola and southern Styria), and in the regions which are now the northern parts of Croatia near the Slovene border: in Istria, in the area northwest of Zagreb, and also, to a lesser extent, in Slavonia.

"In the sixteenth century the Habsburg lands were to a wide extent under estates control, and the noble estates in turn were then largely dominated by Protestantism" (Kann 1974: 125). Also, at least equally importantly, this part of East Central Europe had a tradition of religious diversity. It was at the center of the dividing line between the Roman Catholic and Orthodox religious spheres of influence; "it experienced the first serious challenges to the unity within those two Christian worlds (Bogomilism in religiously mixed Bosnia during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and Hussitism in Catholic Bohemia-Moravia in the fifteenth century); and virtually its entire southern half had by the sixteenth century come under the rule of the Ottomans […]" (Magocsi 1993: 48). In the light of this religious pluralism, "it is not surprising that the lands of East Central Europe, especially its northern "non-Ottoman" half, proved to be fertile ground for the spread of the Protestant Reformation" (ibid.).

In addition to the factors mentioned by Kann and Magocsi for a wider region, the special position of the so-called glagoljaštvo in Istria and the Kvarner region must have contributed to the acceptance of the Reformation. In these regions, this combination of Roman Catholic liturgy and the vernacular, instead of Latin or Church Slavonic, in combination with writing in the glagolitic script, had managed to establish itself, and to survive, despite several attempts by Rome to prohibit the ordaining of "glagolitic"

priests.[1] The fact that many of the later Croatian protestant activists were originally "popovi glagoljaši" can hardly be accidental (Bratulić 1983).

In promoting the new creed, an important role was played by the relatively recently invented art of printing. For the project of conversion of the South Slavs a printing office was established in Urach (near Tübingen); later on, the printing activities were moved to Regensburg.

The "Windische, Chrabatische und Cirulische Trukherey" at Urach aimed high: the goal was not only to convert the South Slavic peoples by way of the printings produced, but, if possible, the organizers meant to spread the evangelical faith "bis in die Türkhey" (Vorndran 1977: 1), hoping "da das Kroatische sogar bis nach Constantinopel gesprochen werde, durch die kroatischen Bücher auch die Türken mit der evangelischen Lehre vertraut zu machen und sie auf diese Weise von den Einfällen in die Christenländer abzuhalten" (Kostrenčić 1874: III-IV). The sponsor and organizer of the protestant printing project, baron Hans Ungnad, and the initiator and leader of the printing office of Urach, the Slovene Primož Trubar, contracted two translators for Croatian and Serbian: Stipan Konzul and Antun Dalmatin.

Seven centuries after Cyril and Method, again a new religion had to be promoted among at least part of the Slavs, and again problems concerning script, orthography and language for the texts needed for the new converts (bible translations) had to be solved (see section 2). In a letter from 1562 by the priest of Tinjan in Istria, Konzul and Dalmatin were literally compared to Cyril and Method: "[…] Anthonien Dalmatin vnnd Stephanus Consul Ysterreicher, weliche die andern Cirillus vnnd Metodeus, die warhait der heiligen schrifft in vnser crabatischer sprach eröffnet vnnd an das licht pracht" (Kostrenčić 1874: 132).[2]

Between 1561 and 1565, the protestant printing office at Urach produced a total of thirty works in Croatian and Serbian, nine of which were written in the Latin alphabet, the rest in glagolitic and cyrillic (Bučar 1910: 240-241). Most of these works were written by Stipan Konzul Istranin and Antun Dalmatin (translations of parts of the bible, abecedaria, pamphlets). Furthermore, the "Uracher Bibelanstalt" published, in addition to the

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[1] Ivić thinks the glagoljica succeeded to establish itself in an otherwise Roman Catholic environment due to Byzantium's direct political control over the region in the 9th century, and, on the other hand, managed to maintain itself whereas elsewhere in the 9th and 10th century Slavic speaking world cyrillic took over, thanks to its position within the Roman Catholic sphere of influence (Ivić 1986: 110).

[2] The German text is a "[g]leichzeitige Übersetzung aus dem kroatischen Originale" (Kostrenčić 1874: 133).

already mentioned Slovene texts, texts in Italian and German (see also Vorndran 1977: 1).

2. The activities of Konzul and Dalmatin

Stipan Konzul, or Stipan Istrian, as he signs his works, was born in Buzet in North-Istria, in 1521. He worked as a "pop glagoljaš" in Stari Pazin (Central Istria). In 1549, Konzul was banished from Istria because of his inclination toward the "new religion", and fled to Germany. In 1559 a special commission in Metlika declared Konzul's language to be understandable for all of Dalmatia and Bosnia. From then on, Konzul, at Trubar's request, worked as a translator of biblical texts into Croatian, and as an organizer of the work of Ungnad's Protestant printing office at Urach. In 1561 he was joined by Antun Dalmatin, who probably came from Senj and became Konzul's collaborator. In 1564 their protector and financer baron Ungnad died; after that, Dalmatin and Konzul went to Regensburg, where in 1568 their last work was printed: a Postila in the Latin alphabet. For the most part in collaboration with Antun Dalmatin, Stipan Konzul published among other things the following works: *Tabla za dicu* (1561; in glagolitic), *Katehismus* (1561; in glagolitic and cyrillic), *Edni kratki razumni nauci* (1562; in glagolitic and cyrillic), *Artikuli ili deli stare vere* (1562; in glagolitic and cyrillic), *Prvi del novog teštamenta* (1562 in glagolitic; 1563 in cyrillic), *Drugi del novog teštamenta* (1563; in glagolitic), *Katehismus* (1564; in the Latin alphabet), *Beneficium Christi. Govorenje vele prudno* (1565; in the Latin alphabet), *Prvi del Postile* (1568; in the Latin alphabet, printed in Regensburg), *Drugi del Postile* (also in the Latin alphabet and printed in Regensburg).

3. The language of the *Katekizam:* Istrian elements

The Croatian protestant texts were the subject of many investigations during all of the 20^{th} century, cf. in particular Bučar 1910, Fancev 1916, Murko 1925, Bratulić 1983, Jembrih 1990. Actually, the language of the Croatian protestants presented a problem even before they were writing: "O jeziku hrvatskih protestantskih prijevoda počelo se raspravljati već prije, nego što su išli u štampu" (Fancev 1916: 148). From time to time, Trubar expressed his doubts about the correctness of Konzul's language; at his request, more Croatian priests from Istria were contracted as collaborators and correctors (see Bučar 1910: 107, Murko 1925: 72); also, for a brief period, two orthodox priests from Serbia and Bosnia were contracted to control the language (Bučar 1910: 101).

In order to reach a broad public, the Protestant translators wrote in all three available alphabets, and consciously worked with contact synonyms (of the type *Tako bißmo [...] dvoili i ßumnali* 107; *krivo ili pogriſſeno* 6; *pobolſſati i popraviti* 6, *pripravno i gotovo* 66) in order to avoid semantical problems for the readers (Fancev 1916: 136). In this respect they were in fact the forerunners and cultural model for the Croatian writers of the Catholic Counter Reformation of the 17th century (Kašić, Glavinić etc.) whose texts are considered to be the first attempts to create a more or less uniform language for Croats, Bosnians and Serbs (see Bratulić 1983: 49, Murko 1925: 106).

Konzul and Dalmatin themselves express some doubts concerning the understandability of their language for all potential readers they had in mind in the preface of *Katekizam*, "Onim koi ove knisicze sstati budu" (3-4), in which the reader is asked for corrections in case there should be "koya rits ili ko ßlovo krivo ili pogriſſeno". Fancev thinks the critical remarks about Dalmatin's and Konzul's language by some of their contemporaries may have been provoked by two facts: on the one hand the fact that the protestant writers "su se u svojim izdańima odvojili od crkvene tradicije" (1916: 7), as they considered the language of that tradition to be insufficiently understandable, and on the other hand the fact that the "[j]ezik hrvatskih protestantskih kńiga u glavnome je primorski i istarski govor čakavskoga narječja imajući bar u tragovima sve osobine starijih a i današńih govora tih krajeva" (1916: 12). Of course, the language of the protestant texts cannot be completely identified with 16th century Istrian or North-Dalmatian dialects, if only because they did not start to write from scratch, but had some models, for instance the *Lekcionar Bernardina Splićanina* (Murko 1925: 74).

In most of the texts of the Croatian Protestants, the distribution of work between Konzul and Dalmatin is not completely clear; usually they both signed the texts. Some investigators think Dalmatin's task was correcting the cyrillic texts in particular (Bučar 1910: 96). In the case of *Katekizam*, it seems likely Konzul's contribution dominated (cf. Murko 1925: 79-80). In the text we find a considerable number of undoubtedly Istrian elements. In Kalsbeek (2003) I discussed some of these elements. Some examples are:

- Phonological elements**:** *z* as the reflex of the preposition **sъ*, e.g. *zißtinu* (75), *zveßelyem* (78), Gpl *znebeß* (91); the semivowel reflected as *a* in examples of the type Apln *zala* (98), *zalimi selami* (59), Dative *mani* 'me' (132), adverb *kadi* (57, 59).

- Morphological elements: merging of *i*-stem inflection endings with the *ā*-stem endings: *ßtvarami* (44), *vavßih ßtvarah* (135), Gsg *lyubave* (6); Isg in *-u* of *ā*-stems, and of feminine *i*-stems, e.g. *Zmolytvu ovu* (71), *pod ßijlnu ruku Bosyu* (87), *zyednu takovu Veru* (104), *zmuku ßvoyu* (122), *ßa vßu mißalyu* (89), *tsaßtnu Krvyu* (100), *Da ne zlatom ni ßrebrom, Nego ßvoyu predragu Szvetu i pretsißtu Krvyu, i ßvoyu ne zaßlusenu Muku i Szmrtyu* (46), *koya yeßu uvodah pod Zemlyu* (7) (once also *-om*, cf. *Ritsiom Bosyom* 57). This Isg in *-u* of feminine nouns reminds one of the situation in dialects in the surroundings of Buzet, e.g. Nugla (Kalsbeek 1984-85: 317).

- Lexical elements, e.g. *kij rad prijmle i drsi goßti* (75), *koi nij rad ußvadi* (75); *tsigova Ditcza* (75), *tsa* (78) etc., *ZATS* (78) etc., *ta* 'this, that' (83); combination of the pronoun *ta* etc. with *isti*: *ti ißti* (78), *kada ta ißti nij oßkvrnen* (83); *prez Griha* (101), *prvo* + Gen. (91); *naiprvo* 'first of all' (90), *guffche* 'more often' (63), mpl *latsni* 'hungry' (106), mpl *saini* 'thirsty' (106), *tste* (112), *neodpelayu* (108); *ta* with weakened meaning, almost a definite article, e.g. *ta verni Tslovik* 'the faithful man (Christian)' (111); pr3sg *tetse* meaning 'run' (119), Aplm *ffegaue* 'clever' (115), Lsg *gumnu* (77), *ßtvrdim nadianien* (130).

4. The contents, script and orthography of *Katekizam*

4.1 Contents of *Katekizam*

The *Katekizam* counts 141 pages, and contains the following sections:

(1) *title page* (1)[3]
(2) *Regula* (2 – about the spelling etc.)
(3) *Predgovor* (3-6)
(4) *Deszet zapovedi Bosye* (7-17)
(5) *Prava czila krsztianszka vera* (18/19-21)
(6) *De oratione* (22-30 – The Lord's Prayer)
(7) *De baptismo*, *De sacramento Altaris*, *De potestate clavium* (31-36)
(8) *KATEKISZMVSZ* (37-73 – Catechism with instructions and explanations for schoolmasters and house fathers)
(9) *Hisna tabla* (73-90 – code of conduct for different groups in society)
(10) *Szymbul i szpoznanie Vere Niczenßke* (91-92)
(11) *Szymbul ili szpoznanie Vere Katoliczaßke S. Atanasia Alekffandrinßkoga Bifskupa* (93-98)

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[3] The numbers in brackets behind examples refer to the page numbers in the 1991 reprint edition of *Katekizam*. In the examples in this article, I quote the forms as they are spelled in *Katekizam*, including its specific usage of capitals.

(12) *Peszan blasenih utsiteli Ambrosa i Augußtina* (99-101)
(13) *Primi Truberi sermo Croaticè redditus* (102-139)
(14) *Molitva za ohranenie szlova Bosyega* (140-141)

Sections (4), (5), (6), (7), (9), (10), (11), (12) and (13) have headings in Latin, followed by a Croatian translation or explanation. Sections (1)-(12) constitute the *Katekizam* proper; section (13) is a translation of Trubar's sermon on Matthew 15; section (14) is a prayer for use in church services.

Sections (1), (4), (5), (6), (7) and (8) are illustrated with woodcuts; on all pages of the book there are decorative woodcut borders along the edge of the text.[4]

4.2 The script of *Katekizam*

In Konzul's time, there existed a tradition of over two hundred years of writing Croatian in the Latin alphabet, but this tradition was concentrated mainly in regions more to the south. In North-West Croatia, glagolitic continued to be the normal alphabet. Hence also the instruction at the beginning of Konzul's *Katekizam*, about the reading of the different Latin letters and combinations of letters, explained through glagolitic.[5]

Konzul's *Katekizam* from 1564 was the first Protestant text printed in latinica.[6] At least some of Konzul's texts in the Latin alphabet have an advantage concerning historical phonology over the glagolitic and cyrillic Protestant texts: they contain some information on vowel length.

4.3 The orthography of *Katekizam*

The orthography of the *Katekizam* is reasonably adequate, but contains a few irregularities. The dental and palatal fricatives and the affricates (in modern Croatian spelled as *s, z, š, ž, č, ć, c*), which in the writing

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[4] In the 1991 facsimile edition of *Katekizam*, pages 18 and 19 are mixed up; the right order should be: first page (19), then page (18).

[5] As is well known, in North-West Croatia the glagolitic script survived until well into the 19th century, developing into the specifically Croatian angular glagolitic (in which numerous inscriptions, namely in Istria and the Kvarner, have been preserved, beautifully described in Fučić 1982), and still later, into a specific italic form (see e.g. the illustrations in Jembrih 1990: 243-246, 248, 250). Cyrillic was also used, albeit much less often (e.g. the *Povaljska listina* from 1250). Croatian texts written in the Latin script existed at least from the 14th century on, the oldest dated text in latinica being *Red i zakon sestara Dominikanki* (1345), from Zadar.

[6] Murko, following the track set out by Leskien (1914: 425-426) makes a plausible case for the proposition that Konzul and Dalmatin made use of at least *Lekcionar Bernardina Splićanina* (1925: 74ff.).

tradition in Latin script usually constitute a problem, are spelled here in the "continental" (Hungarian-based) way.[7] In the *Katekizam*, the following graphemes apparently correspond to the following sound values:

grapheme	**sound (in modern Croatian spelling)**
s	*ž* e.g. *knisicze* (3), *Senu blisnega tvoga* (17)
z	*z* e.g. *Zakon* (89), *na Zemli* (12), *zats* (77)
ſſ, ſs, SS, Ss	*š* e.g. *naſſ* (23); *teſsko* (105); *SSESTA* (40); *Sseßt* (9)
ß, SZ, Sz	*s* e.g. *ßada* (3); *DESZET* (7); *Szlovo* (110)
cz	*c* e.g. *Otacz* (7), *Czrijkva* (100)
ts	*č* e.g. *utsiti* (60), *tsuva* (45)
ch, chi	*ć* e.g. *obechalye* (22); *pichiu* (44)

For the sound [š] the double grapheme *ſſ* is used in lower case italics, elsewhere the lower case double grapheme ſſ is used.[8] It is sometimes printed as *ſſ*, or ſſ, and sometimes as *ſs*, or ſs, e.g. *prez ſskode* (135), pr3sg *poſsle* 'send' (136), *budeſs* (141). The reason for spelling lower case *ſs* (which occurs 70 times) for [š], instead of much more frequent *ſſ* (which occurs 352 times), is apparently of a printing technical nature. Namely, one finds *ſs* before *i* (47 times), before *l* (ten times), and before *k* (nine times), whereas *ſſ* before *i* occurs only three times, and *ſſ* does not occur at all before either *l* or *k*. Before these letters, the right-hand curve of *ſ* would flow into the dot over i, or into the stem of *k* or *l*. In addition, *ſs* is found in word-final position (2 occurrances, versus 53 occurrances of word-final *ſſ*), before *ß* (in one case, there is also only one occurrance of *ſſ* before *ß*), and before *t* (once, versus 38 occurrances of *ſſ* before *t*). It should be mentioned that in the printing of *Katekizam*, the stem of the letter *t* is considerably lower than those of *l* or *k*, and also lower than the position of the dot over *i*.

The normal notation for the sound value [ć] is *ch*, cf. *Tisucha* (8), *ßtoyechi* (67), *chutimo* 'we feel' (105), *moguch* (75). However, in seven cases we find *chi* for [ć]: Asg *pichiu* 'drink' (44), *vßemoguchiega* (46, 91), *vechie* (81), *yednoßuchia* (91), *hochieſſ* (67), *hochie* (112). Next to five of these forms, there occur doublet forms without *i*, cf. *pichu* (71, 72, 127), *vßemoguchega* (19, 20, 44, 97, 104), and *vßemoguchemu* (90), *veche* (17 instances, plus twice

[7] As opposed to the (Italian-based) south čakavian way; the two main spelling systems distinguished by Maretić (1889). *Katekizam* itself was not analyzed by Maretić.

[8] In the examples in this article, printed in italics, I write *ſſ*.

naiveche), *hocheff* (2, 69), *hoche* (5, 12, and 24 other attestations). There are no other attestations of *yednosuchia*.

Nouns are often, but not consistently, written with a capital letter, e.g. *Otacz* (48), *Miloßt* (87), *Sztvar* (71), *Tsaffa* (64), Isg *Muku* (46), Dsg *Tsloviku* (39), Lsg *Szvitu* (32), Npl *Ritsi* (65); but also Gsg *miloßti* (114), Gsg *ßtvari* (37), *tslovik* (60), *ßvit* (51), Dpl *ritsam* (66). When a noun form is preceded by a clitic preposition incorporated into it, the preposition is often written with a capital letter, e.g. *Kpaklom* (20), *Nanebeßih* (23, 55), but also *na Nebeßih* (36); *Nanebi* (26, 51), but also *na Nebi* (32, 36), *Vaißukrßta* (47) etc.

Clitics are often, but not consistently, incorporated into word forms. We find *neßlusi* (4), *Nanebeßih* (55), *nato* (119, 125, 140), *naveche* (137), *naße* (40, 78, 123), *nate* (101), *nanega* (87), *utsiteih* (32), *ßtanovitomußeye ißpuniti* (104), *mijßmo* (106), *boyechißega* (73), *ßpaßenihie* (58), but also *ne iffchemo* 'seek' (41), *da bi otavßih prieta bijla* (90), *na Zemli* (7), *na nega* (43), *da ße to ne zgodij* (50). The prepositions *k*, *v* and *ß/z* are always incorporated into word forms, e.g. *Vrim* 'to Rome' (119), *vßebi* (5), *Ktomu* (44), *knemu* (47, 132), *ßpunimi ußti* (45), *zvodu* 'with water' (58), *Znebeß* (91). Often, an apostrophe is placed between the preposition and the orthotonic word form, e.g. *K'utsenikom* (35), *v'nevolah* (108).

In capitals, the grapheme *v* can denote both [v] and [u]. This is the case especially in headings of paragraphs, cf. *DRVGI* (86), *DIVICZAM* (87), *KATEHISZMVSZ* (37). In italics, the grapheme *u* represents both [u] and [v], e.g. *od ouih deßet Zapouidi* (42), *A fftoie Kruh ußagdani?* (52). In the non-italic parts of the text there are also a few cases of the grapheme *u* for [v], e.g. *praude* (41), *Takoui lyudi* (5), Aplm *siue* (20), *verouati* (47).

There are also a few more seriously problematic imperfections and inconsistencies in the orthography. Several graphemes can represent more than one sound value, and several sound values can be represented by different graphemes. As some of these inconsistencies are connected with the problem of the rendition of the quantity of the vowel *i*, I will discuss those in more detail.

(a) We frequently find *l* and *n* in cases with an arguable sound value [l̦] and [ń], compare: *poßtavlene* (3), *Vmileni Szluge* (6), *na Zemli* (12), Gsg *obiteli* (37), Asg *obitel* (37), Lpl *nevolah* (38), *dobrovolno* (38), *ßkuplati* (47), Npl *Knisicze* (3), *Proffna* (24), Nplm *ohraneni* (82). The sequences *li*, *ni* also occur denoting [l̦] and [ń]: *volia* (26, 51 four times); *Kralievßtvo* (30; also *Kralevßtvo* 25, 50), Gsg *Zemlie* (44; also *Zemle* 7, 19), *oßtavlieno* (63), *poßtavlien* (63), *ßtavliayuch* (87), *ffalie* (118), Gsgf *niegove* (36), Asgf *niegovu* (42), Gsg *konia* (72). But before *u*, *y* is written: Apl *lyudi* (1), Nsgm *Bogolyubni* (2), Apl *Klyutse* (36), *lyubiti* (38), Gplf *lyutih* (125), *v'ponovlienyu* (59), *k'yidenyu*

(63), Acc. *nyu* 'her' (130). This is undoubtedly to be seen as a continuation of the glagolitic spelling, with a separate grapheme for [ju]; *yu* is one of the Latin graphemes and digraphs which are explained by way of their glagolitic equivalents in the reading instructions ("Regula") on page 2 of the *Katekizam*. The grapheme sequences *lu* for [l̦u] and *nu* for [ńu] are very rare, and possibly printing errors: only pr2sg *kraluyeſſ* (73; cf. *kralyuie* 46), Isg *obitelu* (118; cf. *obitelyu* 134), *nanu* (*na* plus *nu*, 'in her' 111; cf. *nyu* 130), Asg *Rabinu* (17, 42).

The spelling *ly* (not counting the cases where *y* indicates [ī]) is found almost only before *u*; the only exceptions are: Dsg *voly* (51), *ßpravlya* (75), *ne valya* (86), *zveßelyem* (78), and the instances where clitic *ye* is written together with a msg *l*-participle: *obechalye* (22, 56, 105), *prizvalye* (47), *dalye* (129).

The spelling *ny* (not counting the cases where *y* indicates [ī]) is found almost exclusively in verbal nouns like Isg *tlmatsenyem* (1), *zlamenye* (4), *dugovanye* (38), Gsg *ßtuorenya* (44), *Potstenye* (53); further in Acc. *nyu* 'her' (130), and in instances where clitic *ye* 'is' is printed together with an orthotonic word ending in -*n*, e.g. *Yedanye* (95).

Thus, [l̦] and [ń] are rendered by *l*, *li* and (rarely except before *u*) *ly*, resp. *n*, *ni* and (in one case) *ny*.

The spelling of the sequence *t* + *j* is clearly distinguished from that of [ć], cf. *opomenutie* (3, 34), Voc. *Bratio* (126), Gsg *bitya* (1), Asg *ußpomenutye* (34; also *ußpomenutie*, 64 twice), *pitye* (52, 65) also *pijtye* (122), Dsg *priſſaßtyu* (97), Isg *prijatyem* (97), Isg *veßtyu* (76). This points to a phonological difference between *ć* and *tj*; thus, there is reason to assume a parallel phonological difference between *nj* in e.g. *sivlenie* (118), *zaotpuſſchenie* (118), *pogubleniem* (119), *obitovanyu* (108) and [ń] in e.g. *Proſſna* (24), and between *lj* in *zveßelyem* (78), Isg *mißalyu* (89) and [l̦] in *v'nevolah* (108).

(b) Apart from the cases mentioned above sub (a), the grapheme *y* represents three more different sound values:

- In most cases, *y* represents [j], cf. Isg *yazikom* (5), *ya* 'I' (7), *yeßu* (3), *nareyeno* (4) etc.[9] In 321 cases, *y* is found in the sequence *yu*, where in most cases it also renders [j], e.g. Isg *Krvyu* (46), pr1sg *veruyu* (18), *po obitsayu* (2), *vyutro* (67), *yure* (96). This spelling is a direct consequence of the existence of a special grapheme for [ju] in the glagolitic alphabet with which the authors of the text were more familiar. Where *yu* is preceded by *l* however, in cases like *lyudi* (5), *lyubiti* (38), Gplf *lyutih* (125), Dsg *Kralyu* (80), it is reasonable to assume a sound value [l̦] for *ly.* The sequence *yu* preceded by *n* is

found only in Asg *nyu* (130), where phonetic [ń] can be assumed, and in DLsg forms of verbal nouns, e.g. Lsg *natsynanyu* (82), *naßlayenyu* (88), where it probably renders the sequence [nj], cf. the spelling *Potstenye* (53), Gsg *ßtuorenya* (44).

- *y* represents [ji] in Lsg *Troyczi* 'Trinity' (4), Gplm *tuyh* 'somebody else's; strange' (7, 37), and in Nsgm *Bosy* 'divine; God's' (22). Of the adjective *Bosy*, the Nsgm is attested 11 times, the Isgn form *Bosym* is attested five times, Dplf *Bosym* twice, Iduf *Bosyma* once; there is one attestation of Dplm *Bosyim*. Thus, in all cases except this last one, everywhere where one would expect *božj-* followed by an ending with *-i-*, only the spelling *Bosy-* is found.[10] The Nsgf of this adjective is *Bosya* (51), Dsgf *bosyoi* (58), Asgf *Bosyu* (109), Gsgm *Bosyega* (18). In neither case *y* is the only grapheme which denotes the sound in question. [j] can be denoted by *i* as well, cf. Gpl *iazykov* (3), *Ia* 'I' (7, 47), and [ji] by *yi*, cf. *yißtvina* (52).
- In approximately 130 cases, *y* denotes the sound [ī], see further section 5.[11]

(c) The sequence *ij* can denote:

- the sounds [i] plus [j], as in *ßkimije* (35), *kije* 'who is' (114), pr3sg *pije* (121), *ne ubijaj* (12), Ipl *Zmijami* (117), *pijanacz* (86), Gsgm *nijednoga* (95) and Asgn *nijedno* (61), Isgm *nijednim* (83), Gsgf *nijedne* (61);
- the sounds [i] plus [i], as in Lsg *Ortografij* (2), *u Biblij* (112, 120), further in *datijm* 'give them' (114), and probably in the present forms of *prieti*, e.g. pr1sg *prijmlyu* (61), *prijmlie* (103) and pr3sg *prijmle* (66, 75, 135);

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[9] [j] is spelled in five different ways: (i) *j*, cf. *tsagodije* (41), *Pijanßtvo* (137); (ii) *y*, cf. *imayu* (5, 97), Asg *zmiyu* (before *u*) (125), and in: Gpl *Yazik* (1), *yeli* 'je li' (4), *veruye* (112) next to e.g. *veruiemo* (103), Nsgf *tvoya* (10), *pogryen* (111), *royen* (96); (iii) *i*, cf. *naiprvo* (1), Gpl *iazykov* (3) (cf. also Gpl *yazik* (1)), Nplf *iedne* (3), Lsgf *ßvetoi* (3), *znaite* (5), Nsgm *tvoi* (10), Asgn *koie* (31), Asgm *oßuiena* (46), *moi* (109); (iv) (rarely) *ij*, cf. *moij Otse* (132); (v) it is often omitted between *i* and an other vowel in: Asg *niednu* (7), Gsgf *niedne* (10), *niedna* (108), Asg *likariu* (120).

[10] Cf. Isgn *netsißtim* (69), *ißtim* (36), *kratkim* (37), *negovim* (38), Dplm *zalim* 'bad' (52), *mladim* (72), *duhovnim* (74), *vaffim* (82), *vlaffchim* (82).

[11] This number is approximate, as in cases of the type Gpl *tuyh* (7) one cannot be completely sure whether *y* denotes [ji] or [ī].

- probably [j] plus [i] in *goijte* imper2pl (83);
- probably [j] in Vsgm *moij* 'my' (132);
- in approximately 560 cases, the sound [ī], see further section 5.[12]

In none of these cases *ij* is the only graphic possibility which denotes the sound in question, cf. [ij] in Isg *oholiyu* (75), [ii] in *datiim* (39), [ji] in *yißtvina* (52), [j] in Lsgf *deßnoy* (20).

Further characteristics of the spelling of *Katekizam* are:

- Irregularly, a tilde over *ã*, *õ*, or *ẽ* represents *m* or *n* after the vowel in question, in cases like Dative *vã* 'you pl.'(32), *vazãſsi* (34), *na ovõ ßvitu* (108), *uvißokõ* (74), *v'nẽ* (10), Lsg *Evãgelyu* (129). However, *ẽ* in *zmuku ßvoyu ẽ platil* (122) represents [j(e)].[13]
- Only a few accent marks occur, only on *a* 'and, but', cf. *à* (5, 61, 65, 67, 80, 83, 85, 87, 95, 97, 98).[14]

5. Prosodic information in *Katekizam*

5.1 *ij* and *y*

Katekizam (1564) contains no accent marks (except the grave accent on the conjunction *à*, see section 4.3). Still, the text contains some information on vowel quantity, but only for the vowel *i*: we find two different spellings, *ij* and *y*, apparently connected with length of *i*, e.g. *Tijlo* (97), Npl *Kijpi* (96), *vy* 'you pl.' (81), *nyßu* (94). A complicating factor is the fact that both *ij* and *y* are apparently used to denote other sounds as well (see section 4). The notation *ij* is much more frequent than *y* (approximately 560 vs. 130). There does not seem to be any phonetic difference between the sounds denoted by *y* and *ij* for [ī], as they are found frequently in the same lexemes, cf. *Tijlo* (97), Apl *Tijla* (81), *Tylo* (34), Gsg *Tyla* (55), *ryts* (63), *rijts* (83), pr3sg *utsy* (49), pr3sg *utsij* (50, 74), etc. Two lexemes show an extreme proportion *ij* vs. *y*, however, namely *Szyn* (55 attestations with *y* vs. 3 with *ij*), and *Grijh* (60 attestations with *ij* vs. 0 with *y*). For the examples of *Grijh* see also

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[12] This number is approximate, as in cases of the type pr1sg *prijmlyu* (61) one cannot be sure whether *ij* denotes [ii] or [ī].

[13] *ẽ* representing [je] is quite frequent in Dalmatin and Konzul's work *Beneficium Christi. Govorenye vele prudno* (1565).

[14] In *Postilla* (1568), *2. del*, accents probably indicating quantity occur, albeit far from consistently, e.g. *obrácheni* (title page).

section 5.2. For *Szyn*, the attestations are: Nsg *Szyn* (10, 22, 94 five times, 95 three times, 96, 100, 104, 105, 114, 120, 122, 125, 127, 129) and *Szijn* (94), GAsg *Szyna* (18, 19, 32, 45, 57, 67, 68, 90, 91, 93, 94, 95, 100, 123 three times, 131, 133, 139), *V'ßyna* (121), *Szijna* (92), Dsg *Szynu* (73, 121), Isg *Szynom* (49, 92, 141), Lsg *Szynu* (67, 140), *Szijnu* (69), Npl *Szyni* (95), *Szynove* (129), Gpl *Szynij* (83), Dpl *Szynovom* (132), Apl *Szynove* (49, 84, 116), *ßynove* (124).[15]

5.2 Instances of long *ī*

The notation of long *ī* is not consistent. Fluctuation occurs between *ij* or *y* on the one hand, and *i* on the other in nearly all lexemes in which notation of long *ī* is found. The following table may serve as an illustration of the frequency of denotation of length in *i* in words with a reasonable number of attestations (number of vowels denoted as long versus number of attestations without indicated length; and percentage of indicated length in the total number of attestations).[16]

vij 'you'	*kij* Nsg+Npl 'who'	*szyn* 'son'	*vrijme*	*prijti* 'come'	*tsinij* pr3sg
vij 11	*kij* 85	*szijn* 3	*vrijme* 4	*prijti* 4	*tsinij* 11
vy 6	*ky* 4	*szyn-* 55	(**vryme* 0)	(**pryti* 0)	(**tsiny* 0)
**vi* 0	*ki* 4	*szin-* 2	*uvrime* 2	*priti* 2	*tsini* 11
100%	96%	97%	66%	66%	50%

A score close to 100% seems rather normal for monosyllabic words with word-final long *ī*. Thus, apart from the pronouns in the table above, we find for the pronoun *tij* 'you sg': 10 vs. 0 (there are no attestations of **ty*); for the pronoun *tij* 'those': 4 vs. 1 (there are no attestations of **ty*); for the pronoun *mij* 'we': 25 vs. 5 (24 attestations of *mij* plus 1 attestation of *my*); for negated *nij* 'is': 30 vs. 0 (there are no attestations of **ny*); for the numeral *trij*: 11 vs. 1 (there are no attestations of **try*).

The stem vowel of the lexeme *Grijh* has a score of 60 vs. 11. The attestations are: NAsg *Grijh* (61, 105, 116 twice, 119), *grijh* (120, 136, 137), Gsg *Grijha* (105, 106, 116, 118, 119 twice), *grijha* (120, 124, 125, 126 twice, 137 twice), *Griha* (101), *griha* (68), Dsg *Grijhu* (117), Gpl *Grijhov* (47, 57, 61, 65

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[15] Possibly, the spelling *y* in this root reflects PSl **y*, as the latinica orthography of this word which is so frequent in religious texts may be influenced by cyrillic and glagolitic.

[16] This section is a first modest attempt towards a more systematic treatment of the language material of the kind proposed in Zaliznjak 1990 (the "koèfficient vyražennosti" of, in this case, length on *i*) and elaborated by Vermeer (1998). A more thorough study of the different aspects of the language of *Katekizam* will have to await a later occasion.

five times, 66, 92, 104, 118 three times, 129, 137), *grijhov* (121, 122, 124 twice, 126, 128 twice, 129), *Grihov* (21, 34, 46, 61, 62, 63 twice, 64), Apl *Grijhe* (36, 48, 53, 114, 118 twice, 131), *grijhe* (69, 120, 121, 122, 123), *grihe* (54), Ipl *Grijhi* (59), Lpl *grijhih* (60).

Considerably lower scores are found e.g. in the lexemes *Szvijt/ßvijt*: 13 vs. 13 (e.g. NAsg *ßvijt* 117, 123 three times, Lsg *Szvijtu* 140, Gsg *Szvita* 55, Lsg *Szvitu* 32) and *Czrijkva*: 6 vs. 8 (e.g. Nsg *Czrijkva* 100, Gsg *Czrijkve* 82, Asg *Czrikvu* 21, 92), and in the lexeme *Rijts*: 4 vs. 6, cf. NAsg *rijts* (83), *ryts* (63), NApl *rijtsi* (88 twice), NAsg *rits* (6, 42), *Rits* (38), Dsg *Ritsi* (50), NApl *ritsi* (43, 45). Neither for *Szvijt* nor for *Czrijkva* there are any attestations with *y* for [ī].

Other examples of long stem vowel *ī* in nouns are Gsg *vijna* (76), Nsg *yedijnßtvo* (96), Lsg *yedijnßtvi* (93), Gsg *pijßma* (74), Lsg *pijßmu* (102), *on hijp* (118), Nsg *pijtye* 'drinking' (122), Gsg *pijche* (122), and *pyche* 'a drink' (122), and the lengthened stem vowel in the Genitive plural forms *vnogo lijt* (141), *zmij* (125), *Tslovijk* (91). Long stem vowel *ī* in adjectival forms is found in Aplm *syve* (46), Nsgn *lijpo* (82), Nplf *lijpe* (83), Isgf *ßijlnu* (87), Asgf *ßijdu* (87), Asgf *yedijnu* (92), Gsgf *yedijne* (119), Npln *prijlitsna* (137). In verbs, long stem vowel *ī* is found in the infinitives *zaklynatiße* (38), *prijti* (92), in the present forms *prolijva* (34, 64), *odryfsiff* (36), *schijti* (45), *pokrijpi* (51), *dobijvamo* (53), *prijde* (55), *prijme* (55, 104), *proßtijraff* (71), pr3sg *znijde* (91), *ißpovijdayu* (92), *promijni* (102, 131), *pijffu* (104), pr3sg *opomijna* (121), and negated *nijma* (53), *nijßu* (82), in the *l*-participles *pijli* (34, 64), *bijla* (90), *bijleßu* (83) and in the aorist *bij* (64).

In all instances of long *ī* as a stem vowel mentioned so far in this section, *ij* or *y* is written in cases in which we expect stressed, or pretonic, long *ī*.

A special case of length in etymologically short *i* is found in pr3sg *brijne* (87, 88) and pr3pl *rijnu* (137). The stem vowel is short in ger *brinuchiße* (62) and in inf *odrinuti* (130), respectively. The explanation for the length in forms of this type, the neocircumflex, which "originated from the lengthening of a stressed short vowel before either a non-final weak *jer*, which was lost, or a following long vowel, which was shortened", was given by Frederik Kortlandt (Kortlandt 1976: 2). This lengthening of the stem vowel, at least in stem-stressed *e*-presents, is a phenomenon which Slovene shares with the kajkavian and north čakavian dialects of Croatian.

Long *ī* in endings is found in several nominal, adjectival and verbal forms, in all of which one expects stress on the ending:

- Gpl ending -*ī* of nouns (this ending is printed as -*ij* only, not as *y*): 8 vs. 9, viz. *koßtij* (73), *Oblaßtij* (78), *ritsij* (80, 106), *vekij* (91, 96), *Szynij*

(83), *nepriatelij* (113), but compare Gpl *ritsi* (105 twice, 107, 136), *veki* (46), *utsiteli* (99), *lyudi* (5, 111, 138).

- Isg and Dpl endings of the adjectival/pronominal inflection. Monosyllabic and disyllabic pronominal forms show a considerable number of attestations with long *i*. Examples: Dpl *ßvoijm* (36, 76 twice, 81, 83, 84), *ßvoym* (32), *ßvoim* (82, 132), Dpl *vßijm* (43 twice, 47, 48, 54, 57, 74, 105 twice, 120 three times), *vßim* (22, 45, 49, 52, 89, 135), *zovijm* (48), *zovim* (56), Dplf *ovijm* (65, 66 twice), Dpl *onijm* (43 twice, 75, 88, 90), *onim* (3, 77), etc. (there are only 5 attestations of Gpl with long *ī* in the ending: Gpl *kijh* 80, 126, *vßijh* 91, 116, *Teleßnijh* 106).

- Endings of verb forms with arguable stress on the ending. In present endings, the spelling *y* is found only word-finally, so in pr3sg. For pr1sg there is only one attestation with long *ī*, viz. *trpijm* (61; but cf. e.g. *tsinim* 61, *proßim* 60, 61, *selim* 62, *drsim* 113). There are no attestations of pr2sg forms with ending *-ijff* or *-yff*. Attested pr 2sg forms with arguable stress on the ending e.g. *ßidiff* (100), *tsiniff* (113). For pr3sg, there are 46 attestations with long *ī*, cf. *ßidij* (92, 97), *ßidy* (45), *utsij* (50 twice, 74), *utsy* (49), *razumij* (4, 103, 111), *ßtoij* (51, 78 twice, 82, 87, 110 twice, 111, 138), *nadßtoij* (88), *ßtoy* (4), *prißtoy* (49), *drsij* (93, 137), *ßkrbij* (87), *zgodij* (50), *ßlobodij* (57), *tsinij* (57, 58, 75, 102, 109, 112, 119, 135, 138 twice), *ponovij* (102, 139), *dvoij* (131, 133), *dvoy* (66), *oholij* (138), *ßvidotsij* (121), *boij* (132), *zatay* (134). But compare e.g. *utsi* (3, 4, 134), *razumi* (5, 103, 104, 111), *ßtoi* (137), *drsi* (5, 40, 75 twice, 104, 106, 108, 112, 119, 124, 134, 135 twice, 137), *obdrsi* (51, 136), *uzdrsi* (44, 75, 114), *tsini* (50, 51 twice, 61, 65, 68, 69, 79, 106, 107, 117, 135, 137), *utsini* (131, 136, 139), *ßvidotsi* (109), and also e.g. *moli* (4, 132 twice, 134, 136, 140), *trpi* (136). For pr1pl, there are only 3 attestations with long *ī*, namely *molijmo* (100), *dobijmo* (124), *ßtoijmo* (126); but compare *molimo* (49 twice, 55 twice), *dobimo* (54), *tsynimo* (42), *tsinimo* (80), *drsimo* (49, 103, 107), *razumimo* (103, 105), *dvoimo* (108). For pr2pl there is only one attestation with long *ī*, viz. *dobijte* (139); length is not indicated in *zadrsite* (36).

In the *l*-participle msg, long *ī* is found, apparently as a result of lengthening before a tautosyllabic sonorant. There are no attestations of *ī* spelled as *y*. In 3 cases length is indicated, cf. *pohvalijl* (130), *odpußtijl* (131), *ßtvorijl* (120), but compare e.g. *ßtvoril* (10, 44, 103), *poßvetil* (11), *blagoßlovil* (11), *naredil* (31, 32, 34, 77), *odkupil* (46, 100), *ohranil* (47, 68, 140), *nautsil* (22, 77), *utsinil* (58, 69, 126, 127, 131), *govoril* (35, 92), *hotil* (5, 133, 138), *raßvitil* (47),

razfsiril (140), *odlutsil* (120), *dobil* (122), *platil* (122), *lyubil* (81), *polyubil* (90, 123), *pogubil* (117), *otvoril* (100), *odrifsil* (129), *zaßlusil* (138), *yavil* (140).

One attested gerund form of an *i*-verb has long *ī*, cf. *prominijvfsi* (115); but cf. *dobivfsi* (100).

In a number of forms, the presence of long *ī* is less obvious. These are:

- *negoijh* (54), Isg *zymenom* (38), *vaijme* (68), *zijßtinu* (116). Lengthening could possibly be caused by a sandhi phenomenon in these cases, cf. also Vermeer (1986: 581-582).[17] Also, there is a possibility the spelling *ij* and *y* denotes [ji].
- *radi kaßtijge* (79), Gsg *potrijbe* (87), Gplm *potrybnih* (3). In these cases, the dialect of Žminj in central Istria also has long vowels (Kalsbeek 1998).
- pr1pl *netsynimo* (42, cf. also *tsinim* 61, *tsinimo* 80), where we possibly find a parallel with forms in Hektorović's language, cf. Vermeer 1998: 511-512).
- Asg *molytvu* (67 twice), *molijtvu* (69), where a neocircumflex before a lost non-final *jer* does not seem very probable.
- *iazykov* (3), *zvnogimi bijtsi* (116), inf *pijti* (65; length by analogy with *l*-p *pijli*?), and the Nsgm ending in *yakij* (7; cf. *yaki* 42), and *vetsnij* (48, 94). These cases remain to be explained.

Of course, in these last mentioned less explicable cases, there is also the possibility of printing errors.

6. Tentative conclusions

(1) *ij* and *y* for [ī] occur too regularly to be accidental; they often indicate long *ī*.

(2) It seems clear that the ictus plays a role in relation to the notation of long *ī*. The spelling *ij* and *y* for [ī] occurs almost exclusively in arguably pretonic and accented positions. Posttonic length was probably lost already in the dialect underlying the text at the moment *Katekizam* was written.

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[17] I would like to thank Willem Vermeer for providing me with additional information and explanation on phenomena of this type.

(3) There is lengthening of stressed *i* before tautosyllabic sonorants, cf. *pohvalijl* (130).

(4) The language of *Katekizam* has neocircumflex in *e*-presents.

(5) If, speculatively, it can be assumed that the language of *Katekizam* to some extent reflects 16th century north Istrian, this text offers information on vowel quantity, which has since been lost in the dialects of the region. The vowel system of the living dialect of Nugla near Buzet, for instance, has no quantity oppositions. Proto-Slavic quantity oppositions in **ě*, **o*, **e* = **ę* and **a* = **ǫ* = **semivowel* are reflected in timbre oppositions. In **i* and **u* (> *ü*) there are no traces of the Proto-Slavic quantity oppositions.

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INTERROGATIVE SEQUENCES IN THE RIGVEDA

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1. The study of lexical repetition in the Rigveda, where inflected forms are concerned, can be broken down according to classical rhetorical theory into categories relating to position and degree. The positional categories are anaphora (X ... X ...), epiphora (... X ... X), redditio (X ... X), complexio (X ... Y / X ... Y), anadiplosis (... X/X ...), and epanalepsis ([...] XX [...]). The degree categories include complete-word repetition, polyptoton (case variation), and paronomasia (variant derivatives of the same root).. Since these latter cannot be easily schematized, we provide examples of them in (1a-c):

(1) a. Anaphora: IV.12.3ab agnír īśe br̥hatáḥ kṣatríyasya / agnír vā́jasya paramásya rāyáḥ 'Agni is master of lofty dominion, Agni of booty, of the highest wealth.'

b. Polyptoton: I.101.7ab rudrā́ṇām eti pradíśā vicakṣaṇó / rudrébhir yóṣā tanute pr̥thú jráyaḥ 'The widely-seeing one goes at the direction of the Rudra's; through the Rudra's the maiden extends her course broadly.'

c. Paronomasia: VI.44.21a vŕ̥ṣāsi divó vr̥ṣabháḥ pr̥thivyā́ḥ 'Thou art the bull of heaven, the bull of earth.'

2. A category of repetition that does not show the full range of positional features noted above is that of interrogative pronouns. Because of the rule of interrogative fronting (WH-movement) which is a feature of Rigvedic grammar, epiphora, redditio, complexio, and anadiplosis are lacking in these instances. In general, both polyptoton and paronomasia are common with sequences of interrogatives. The present paper is a chapter in my research program on stylistic repetition in the Rigveda. I hope that Frits Kortlandt, whose interest in languages of the most diverse types is proverbial, will find this study pleasing.

3. Sequences of interrogative pronouns and adverbs are exceedingly frequent in the Rigveda. In her exhaustive study of interrogative sentences in

this text, Etter (1985:134) notes that they are found in nearly half of those stanzas which show direct questions. Examples of anaphora involving paradigmatic interrogative forms (a-e) and adverbials (f-i) are the following:

(2) a. VI.47.15ab ká īṃ stavat káḥ pr̥ṇāt kó yajāte / yád ugrám ín maghávā viśváhā́vet 'Who will praise him, who will offer in fullness (to him), who will worship (him), if the liberal one should aid only the mighty all the time?'

b. II.29.3ab kím ū nú vaḥ kr̥ṇavāmā́pareṇa / kíṃ sánena vasava ā́pyena 'What now will we do with your latest, what with your old friendship, O good ones?'

c. IV.31.1 káyā naś citrá ā́ bhuvad / ūtī́ sadā́vr̥dhaḥ sákhā / káyā śáciṣṭhayā vr̥tā́ 'With what aid will the gleaming one appear to us, the constant increaser, the friend? With what most powerful troop?'

d. V.12.4 ké te agne ripáve bándhanāsaḥ / ké pāyávaḥ saniṣanta dyumántaḥ // ké dhāsím agne ánr̥tasya pānti / ká ā́sato vácasaḥ santi gopā́ḥ 'What are thy bonds for the deceiver, O Agni? What gleaming protectors will win? Who protect the source of untruth, O Agni? Who are the protectors of the untrue word?'

e. I.185.1a katarā́ pū́rvā katarā́parāyóḥ 'Which was the earlier, which the later of the two?'

f. X.111.8cd kvà svid ágraṃ kvà budhná āsām / ā́po mádhyaṃ kvà vo nūnám ántaḥ 'Where, pray, is the top, where their bottom, the(ir) middle, O waters? Where is your end now?'

g. IV.17.12ab kíyat svid índro ádhy eti mātúḥ / kíyat pitúr janitúr yó jajā́na 'To what extent, pray, does Indra worry about his mother, to what extent about his father, the begetter who has begotten (him)?'

h. VIII.73.4ab kúha sthaḥ kúha jagmathuḥ / kúha śyenéva petathuḥ 'Where are you two? Where have you gone? Where have you flown like eagles?'

i. X.88.18ab káty agnáyaḥ káti sū́ryāsaḥ / káty uṣā́saḥ káty u svid ā́paḥ 'How many are the fires, how many the suns? How many the dawns, and how many, pray, the waters?'

In these passages (b), (c), and (g) illustrate the threefold complex of anaphora, verbal gapping, and parallelism of a remaining verbal argument (cf. Klein 1999). In (b) the head noun ā́pyena going with the parallel arguments áparẹṇa / sánena is itself gapped in pāda a, creating complementary gapping in this distich. In (c) the gapping involves subject, verb, and object, and in (g) the verb plus subject is gapped in pāda b. (d) illustrates what I have elsewhere (Klein 2004) termed '4 x 4 anaphora': the appearance of a word in first position of all four pādas of a four-line stanza.

The passages presented so far all illustrate anaphora sensu stricto. But as pointed out by Hale (1987), the WH-movement rule of the Rigveda allows a secondary fronting of one or more constituents or part of a constituent around the WH-element. This leads to occasional sequences in which one of the members is not colon-initial. Some examples are the following:

(3) a. III.54.5ab kó addhā́ veda ká ihá prá vocad / devā́ṅ áchā pathyà kā́ sám eti 'Who, indeed, knows? Who will speak forth here? Which path goes unto the heavenly ones?'

b. VIII.64.9 káṃ te dānā́ asakṣata / vŕ̥trahan káṃ suvī́ryā / ukthé ká u svid ántamaḥ 'Whom have thy gifts accompanied, O smasher of the obstacle, whom (thy) heroic deeds? And who, pray, is closest (to thee) in (the recitation of) the hymn?'

c. IV.23.2ab kó asya vīráḥ sadhamā́dam āpa / sám ānaṃśa sumatíbhiḥ kó asya 'What hero has gained his companionship in exhilaration? Who has attained his goodwill?'

In (a) the head of the subject NP and a directional adjunct and in the third pāda of (b) a locative adjunct have been fronted. The fronted vocative in the second pāda of (b) is ambiguous as to its position in the first clause or the second. (c) shows massive fronting of everything but the enclitic asya, which belongs with sumatíbhiḥ. In this case, then, an integral constituent has been split.

4. In addition to anaphora sensu stricto or as modified in (3), one finds many instances of polyptotic sequences (cf. 3b above). By definition these are found only among paradigmatic forms of the interrogative; and we include in this group forms showing the same case but different gender (cf. 3a). Some further examples are the following:

(4) a. I.165.2 kásya bráhmāṇi jujuṣur yúvānaḥ / kó adhvaré marúta ā́ vavarta // śyenā́n̊ iva dhrájato antárikṣe / kéna mahā́ mánasā rīramāma ‘Whose formulations have the youths enjoyed? Who has turned hither to the ceremony the Maruts? With what great mind (viz. thought) shall we bring (them) to a standstill, as they dart like eagles in the atmosphere?’

b. VIII.66.9 kád ū nv àsyā́kr̥tam / índrasyāsti paúṃsyam // kéno nú kaṃ śrómatena ná śuśruve / janúṣaḥ pári vr̥trahā́ ‘What manly deed now of his, of Indra is undone? Through what fame now has he, the smasher of the obstacle, not become famous since his birth?’

c. X.31.7ab kíṃ svid vánaṃ ká u sá vr̥kṣá āsa / yáto dyā́vāpr̥thivī́ niṣṭatakṣuḥ ‘What, pray, was the wood and what was that tree from which they fashioned heaven (and) earth?’

5. In other instances the sequences are paronomastic. That is, they involve interrogatives that do not belong to the same paradigm but may be either different adverbial or adjectival derivatives of the interrogative stem mixed with paradigmatic forms. Some examples are the following:

(5) a. I.35.7cd kvèdā́nīṃ sū́ryaḥ káś ciketa / katamā́ṃ dyā́ṃ rásmír asyā́ tatāna ‘Where, now, is the sun? Who has noticed (it)? Unto which heaven has its ray extended?’

b. I.77.1ab kathā́ dāśemāgnáye kā́smai / devájuṣṭocyate bhāmíne gī́ḥ ‘How might we worship Agni? What song enjoyed by the heavenly ones is spoken to him, the radiant one?’

c. I.164.17cd sā́ kadrī́cī káṃ svid árdham párāgāt / kvà svit sūte nahí yūthé antáḥ ‘Where has she turned? Unto what part, pray, has she gone forth? Where, pray, does she give birth, for she is not among the herd?’

d. X.108.3a kīdŕ̥ṅṅ índraḥ sarame kā́ dr̥śīkā́ ‘Of what sort is Indra, O Saramā? What is (his) appearance?’

In the first of these passages the sequence involves the adverbial kvà ‘where?’ together with the adjectival katamá- ‘which?’ and the paradigmatic pronoun ká- ‘who?’. In (b) the manner interrogative kathā́ ‘how?’ stands beside the adjectival nom. sg. fem. kā́ ‘which?’. (c) shows the rare

(only here) directional adjective kadrī́cī 'where turned?' beside paradigmatic kám in adjectival value and kvà. In (d) the highly derived kīdṛ́k 'of what sort, appearance?' stands beside the phrase kā́ dṛśīkā́ of similar meaning.

6. In all the passages discussed so far the interrogatives have been associated with different cola. In one instance, however, one finds two adjacent interrogatives belonging to the same colon. The result is a kind of compound interrogative illustrating paronomastic epanalepsis. Moreover, these are themselves repeated so as to constitute a case of phrasal anaphora:

(6) IV.23.5 kathā́ kád asyā́ uṣáso vyùṣṭau / devó mártasya sakhyáṃ jujoṣa // kathā́ kád asya sakhyáṃ sákhibhyo / yé asmin kā́maṃ suyújaṃ tatasré 'How (and) what friendship of the mortal has the heavenly one enjoyed in the shining out of this dawn? How (and) what is his friendship for the friends who have extended their well-yoked wish unto him?'

In three other passages adjacent or near-adjacent interrogatives belong to different cola:

(7) a. I.75.3 kás te jāmír jánānām / ágne kó dāśvàdhvaraḥ / kó ha kásminn asi śritáḥ 'Who of men is thy relative, O Agni? Who is the one whose ceremony has been offered (to thee)? Who, indeed? In which (home) art thou given repose?'

b. X.129.1cd kím ā́varīvaḥ kúha kásya śármann / ámbhaḥ kím āsīd gáhanaṃ gabhīrám 'What was turning over and over? Where? In whose protection? What was the deep, bottomless water?'

c. I.38.2ab kvà nūnáṃ kád vo árthaṃ / gántā divó ná pṛthivyā́ḥ 'Where, now, – What is your goal? – have ye gone on earth like in heaven?'

In I.75.3 (a) the predicate śritáḥ is felicitous only with kásmin, while ha emphasizes the independent status of káḥ. In X.129.1 (b) the verb ā́varīvaḥ is gapped in the cola represented by kúha and kásya śárman. Finally, (c) shows a parenthetical question, kád vo ártham, within the larger structure kvà nūnám ... / gántā ... pṛthivyā́ḥ.

In a remaining instance the first of two adjacent interrogatives appears to be construed narrowly with the accusative of the sentence as a whole, producing an interrogative phrase within a larger interrogative structure:

(8) X.40.1ab rátham̥ yā́ntaṃ kúha kó ha vāṃ narā / práti dyumántaṃ suvitā́ya bhūṣati 'Who, indeed, prepares himself 'gainst your gleaming chariot driving where?, O men, for good passage?'

Finally, in four passages interrogatives or words containing interrogatives appearing within sequences must be understood as cola in and of themselves (or occasionally with satellite elements) even when not directly adjacent to other interrogatives:

(9) a. VIII.93.19 káyā tváṃ na ūtyā́ / abhí prá mandase vr̥ṣan / káyā stotŕ̥bhya ā́ bhara 'With what aid dost thou exhilarate us, O bull? With what? Bear hither (aid) to the singers.'

b. VIII.7.31 kád dha nūnáṃ kadhapriyo / yád índram ájahātana / kó vaḥ sakhitvá ohate 'What, indeed, (will ye do) now, O ye having friends where?, since ye abandoned Indra? Who proclaims himself (to be) in your friendship?'

c. X.64.4ab kathā́ kavís tuvīrávān káyā girā́ / bŕ̥haspátir vāvr̥dhate suvr̥ktíbhiḥ 'How? With what song will Br̥haspati, the poet of powerful voice, be strengthened with hymns?'

VIII.93.19c (a) has been convincingly explained by Etter (1985:80) (against Geldner ad loc.) as containing a one-word colon káyā, recapitulating and emphasizing the initial káyā ... ūtyā́ of pāda a, followed by an imperative clause with ellipsed object. In (b) one thinks of an ellipsis of karatha or the like in the first colon. This is one of three passages in the Rigveda showing the vocative kadhaprī- /kadhapriya- at the end of a line beginning with an interrogative pronoun. Here the form may represent an ironic question, in view of the fact that the Maruts are then immediately said to have abandoned Indra. In (c) kathā́ is a general interrogative which stands alone and receives greater specification through káyā girā́ together with the rest of its clause.

7. From the preceding discussion it should be clear that interrogativity in the Rigveda is associated with a discourse mode or "setting" that tends not to be isolated from surrounding discourse. To put it another way, when questions come, they cascade in droves, not just within the stanza,

but across stanza-boundaries as well. I have noticed nineteen instances of interstanzaic interrogative sequences in the Rigveda. Eleven of these involve two-stanza structures, five encompass three stanzas, and in one instance each one finds a four, a five, and a six-stanza sequence. In (10a-c) we illustrate sequences of two, three, and four stanzas, respectively:

(10) a. V.61.1.2 <u>ké</u> ṣṭhā naraḥ śréṣṭhatamā / yá éka-eka āyayá / paramásyāḥ parāvátaḥ /// <u>kvà</u> vo (á)śvāḥ <u>kvā̀</u>bhī́śavaḥ / <u>katháṃ</u> śeka <u>kathā́</u> yaya / pr̥ṣṭhé sádo nasór yámaḥ '<u>Who</u> are ye most beautiful ones, O men, who have driven hither one after the other from the furthest distance? / <u>Where</u> are your horses, <u>where</u> (your) bridles? <u>How</u> have ye been able (to do this)? <u>How</u> have ye driven? (<u>Where</u> is) the saddle on the back, the bridle in the nostrils?'

b. V.74.1-3 <u>kū́ṣṭho</u> devāv aśvinā / adyā́ divó manāvasū // tác chravatho vr̥ṣaṇvasū / átrir vāṃ ā́ vivāsati /// <u>kúha</u> tyā́ <u>kúha</u> nú śrutā́ / diví devā́ nā́satyā // <u>kásminn</u> ā́ yatatho jáne / <u>kó</u> vāṃ nadī́nāṃ sácā /// <u>káṃ</u> yāthaḥ <u>káṃ</u> ha gachathaḥ / <u>kám</u> áchā yuñjāthe rátham / <u>kásya</u> bráhmāṇi raṇyatho / vayáṃ vām uśmasīṣṭáye '<u>Where</u> are you today, O heavenly Aśvins, (you sons) of heaven, you whose goods consist of thoughts(?). That shall you hear, O you whose goods consist of bulls: Atri desires to win you hither. / <u>Where</u> are these? <u>Where</u> now are they heard in heaven, these heavenly Nāsatyā's? <u>Among what</u> folk do you align yourselves? <u>Who</u> (enjoys) your (presence) (in the land) of the rivers? / <u>Unto whom</u> do you drive? <u>To whom</u> do you go? <u>Unto whom</u> do you yoke (your) chariot? Whose formulations do you enjoy? We wish for you to come quickly.'

c. IV.43.1-4 <u>ká</u> u śravat <u>katamó</u> yajñíyānāṃ / vandā́ru deváḥ <u>katamó</u> juṣāte // <u>kásye</u>mā́ṃ devī́m amŕ̥teṣu préṣṭhāṃ / hr̥dí śreṣāma suṣṭutím suhavyā́m /// <u>kó</u> mr̥ḷāti <u>katamá</u> ā́gamiṣṭho / devā́nām u <u>katamáḥ</u> śámbhaviṣṭhaḥ / rátham <u>kám</u> āhur dravádaśvam āśúṃ / yáṃ sū́ryasya duhitā́vr̥ṇīta /// ... // divá ā́jātā divyā́ suparṇā́ / <u>káyā</u> śácīnām bhavathaḥ śáciṣṭhā /// <u>kā́</u> vām bhūd úpamātiḥ <u>káyā</u> na / ā́śvinā gamatho hūyámānā / <u>kó</u> vām maháś cit tyájaso abhī́ka / uruṣyátam mādhvī dasrā na ūtī́ '<u>Who</u> will hear, <u>which</u> of the ones worthy of worship? <u>Which</u> heavenly one will enjoy the praise? In the heart <u>of whom</u> among the immortals shall we fix this dearest heavenly, easily proclaimed hymn? / <u>Who</u> will show pity? <u>Which</u> is the first of those coming hither? And <u>which</u> of the heavenly ones is the best of those bringing luck? <u>What</u> chariot do they say to be swift,

> having swiftly-running horses which the daughter of the sun has chosen? / ... Born of heaven as heavenly birds, with which of the powers do you become most powerful? / What entreaty was (directed) to you? Through which one, O Aśvins, will you come hither to us, being called? Who (calls) you even in the face of great abandonment? Make broad space for us with (your) aid, O wondrous honey-lovers.'

The first of these passages represents the vision of Śyāvāśva, who sees the Maruts, only gradually making them out and recognizing them. Hence, the leading question ké 'who?' followed by the incredulous kvà 'where?' and the still confused kathā́ 'how?'. Additional pleonastic questions lurk in 2d but the WH-words are ellipsed. The question mode ends here with Śyāvāśva having definitively recognized the Maruts; and in the remaining 17 stanzas of this hymn one finds only a single isolated question (stanza 14). In (b) the poet begins his hymn with a barrage of questions about the Aśvins, beginning with their whereabouts generally (kū́ṣṭhaḥ ... kúha ... kúha ...), moving more specifically to questioning the folk among whom they abide (kásmin ... jáne) and, in another form, who enjoys their presence (káḥ). The poet next targets their goal (kám̐ yāthaḥ kám̐ ha gachathaḥ) and asks, finally, whose formulations they enjoy (kásya ...). The interrogative mode ceases here, reappearing only once more in the hymn (stanza 7) where, characteristically, the questions come in a cascade (káḥ ... káḥ ... káḥ ...). The Aśvins are also the topic of the poet's interrogative discourse in IV.43 (c), a seven-stanza hymn in which the questions are limited to 1-4. Again, the interrogation is intense, involving heavy use of the quasi-superlative katamá- 'which (of many)?', which is twice aligned sequentially with ká-. The poet also targets the goal of his hymn (kásya ... hṛdí śreṣāma suṣṭutím), the chariot of the Aśvins (ráthaṃ kám), how they have attained their power (káyā), the entreaty which was previously directed to them (kā́), and the one which will successfully bring them to the singer (káyā). Finally, the poet asks who has called the Aśvins even in the face of great abandonment (káḥ). Similar intensive employment of interrogatives found nowhere else in their hymns is seen in IV.3.4-8 and IV.23.1-6, both too long to present here.

8. In the previous section we have treated interrogative sequences as representing persistent segments of discourse isolated from their surrounding hymnic material. However, there is one particular set of circumstances in which the sequential interrogatives and their following non-interrogative discourse stretches are closely linked into a single stylistically marked

entity. These are the question-and-answer responsions. In these structures the question(s) posed by the poet is(are) immediately answered in the very next discourse frame on a part-for-part basis, often with the same phraseology (perfect vertical responsion). I have identified ten such structures in the Rigveda, the most rigid of which is the following:

(11) VI.27.1.2 kím asya máde kím v asya pītā́v / índraḥ kím asya sakhyé cakāra // ráṇā vā yé niṣádi kíṃ té asya / purā́ vividre kím u nū́tanāsaḥ /// sád asya máde sád v asya pītā́v / índraḥ sád asya sakhyé cakāra // ráṇā vā yé niṣádi sát té asya / purā́ vividre sád u nū́tanāsaḥ 'What (has he brought about) in the exhilaration of this (soma), and what in the drinking of it? What has Indra brought about in its friendship? Or what have those previous joys of his at the place of worship attained? And what the current (joys)? / The good (has he brought about) in the exhilaration of this (soma), and the good in the drinking of it. The good has Indra brought about in its friendship. Or the good have those previous joys of his at the place of worship attained; and the good the current (joys).'

In this couplet every word is the same except that kím of stanza 1 is answered by sád of 2. This structure represents a 24-word responsion. Other passages show, respectively, 13, 10, 5, 4, and 3-word responsions; but in most of these cases the repeated framework is less rigid than in (11):

(12) a. I.24.1a-c.2a-c kásya nūnáṃ katamásyāmṛ̥́tānām / mánāmahe cā́ru devásya nā́ma // kó no mahyā́ áditaye púnar dāt ... /// agnér vayám prathamásyāmṛ̥́tānām / mánāmahe cā́ru devásya nā́ma // sá no mahyā́ áditaye púnar dāt ... 'Of whom, now, of which of the immortals shall we reflect upon the dear name of (that) heavenly one? Who will give us back to the great Aditi? ... / Of Agni, of the first of the immortals, shall we reflect upon the dear name of (that) heavenly one. He will give us back to the great Aditi. ...'

b. X.82.5cd.6ab káṃ svid gárbham prathamáṃ dadhra ā́po / yátra devā́ḥ samápaśyanta víśve /// tám íd gárbham prathamáṃ dadhra ā́po / yátra devā́ḥ samágachanta víśve 'What, pray, did the waters conceive as their first embryo, where all the heavenly ones looked on? / That, indeed, did the waters conceive as their first embryo, where all the heavenly ones were assembled.'

c. X.22.1ab.2a-c kúha śrutá índraḥ kásminn adyá / jáne mitró ná śrūyate ... /// ihá śrutá índro asmé adyá / stáve vajrī́ ... // mitró ná ...

'Where is Indra famed? In what folk is he heard today like a friend? ... / Here is Indra famed; among us today is he praised, the cudgel-possessor ... like a friend ...'

d. I.75.3ab.4ab kás te jāmír jánānām / ágne ... /// tvám̩ jāmír jánānām / ágne ... 'Who of the races is thy relative, O Agni ... / Thou art the relative of the races, O Agni ...'

e. I.81.3de kám̩ hánaḥ kám̩ vásau dadho / (a)smā́m̐ indra vásau dadhaḥ 'Whom wilt thou smite, whom wilt thou set in good circumstance? Us, O Indra, wilt thou set in good circumstance.'

In (a) the sequence kásya ... katamásya ... káḥ is answered by agnéḥ ... prathamásya ... sá; hence, the structure is parisyllabic. The final pāda of each of these stanzas is identical: pitáram̩ca dr̥śéyam mātáram̩ca 'Might I see (my) father and mother'. In (b), which shows a single interrogative rather than a sequence, the response tám to kám entails a change of the normally interrogative particle svid to íd. In addition, there is also a change of verb (samápaśyanta vs. samágachanta), but the responsion is once again parisyllabic. In (c), where the morphologically parallel ihá responds to kúha, the second question, kásmin ... jáne is answered by asmé, which provides metrical space for the completely new stáve in the response. An additional feature of this sequence of stanzas is the repetition of mitrá ná. In (d), where tvám responds to káḥ, the response does not answer the question posed to Agni as to who his relative is among the races but rather asserts Agni's relationship to the races. Finally, in (e) the question to Indra regarding whom he will set in good circumstance (kám) is answered by 'us' (asmā́n), and the structure is consequently not parisyllabic.

In the remaining four examples the responsion is, with one partial exception, far less immediately imposing, and certainly less rigid than the above:

(13) a. VI.9.2cd.3b kásya svit putrá ihá váktvāni / páro vadāty ávareṇa pitrā́ /// ... / sá váktvāny r̥tuthā́ vadāti ... 'Whose son, pray, will utter here things to be spoken higher (in proficiency) than his father (thereby revealed as) lower? ... / That one will utter things to be spoken at their proper time ...' (The reference is to Agni)

b. X.90.11cd.12 yát púruṣam̩ vy ádadhuḥ / katidhā́ vy àkalpayan / múkham̩ kím asya kaú bāhū́ / kā́ ūrū́ pā́dā ucyete /// brāhmaṇó (a)sya múkham āsīd / bāhū́ rājanyàḥ kr̥táḥ // ūrū́ tád asya yád vaíśyaḥ / padbhyā́m̩ śūdró ajāyata 'When they distributed Puruṣa, in how

many ways did they fashion (him)? What are his mouth, what are his two arms, what are his thighs, his two feet called? / His mouth was the Brahmin, his two arms - the Rājanya was made (from them), that which was his two thighs, the Vaiśya. From his two feet the Śūdra was born.'

c. X.108.1.2 kím ichántī sarámā prédám ānaṭ / ... // ... katháṃ rasā́yā ataraḥ páyāṃsi /// índrasya dūtī́r iṣitā́ carāmi / mahá ichántī paṇayo nidhī́n vaḥ // atiṣkádo bhiyásā tán na āvat / táthā rasā́yā ataram páyāṃsi 'Seeking what has Saramā come here? ... How hast thou crossed over the streams of the Rasā? / I come (hither) sent as the messenger of Indra, seeking your great stores (of wealth), O Paṇi's. Through fear of (my) leaping over (her) she (viz. Rasā) aided us in that (endeavor). Thus did I cross over the streams of the Rasā.'

d. X.129.6.7 kó addhā́ veda ká ihá prá vocat / kúta ā́jātā kúta iyáṃ vísr̥ṣṭiḥ // ... /// iyáṃ vísr̥ṣṭir yáta ābabhū́va / yádi vā dadhé yádi vā ná / yó asyā́dhyakṣaḥ paramé vyòman / só aṇgá veda yádi vā ná véda 'Who truly knows, who will speak forth here? Whence was it born, whence (has) this creation (arisen)? ... / Whence this creation has arisen, whether it was created or not, the one who is its overseer in the furthest heaven, he truly knows, or perchance does not know.'

In (a) kásya svit putrá ihá váktvāni / ... vadāti ... is answered by sá váktvāni ... vadāti with considerable interruption in the responsive structure. In (b) the questions are answered one after the other, but the names and phraseology of the responses preclude parisyllabicity. (c) is the partial exception referred to above, with katháṃ rasā́yā ataraḥ páyāṃsi answered directly and parisyllabically by táthā rasā́yā ataram páyāṃsi; but the couplet contains a second responsion kím ichántī ... /// ... mahá ichántī ... nidhī́n vaḥ, which is not a parisyllabic structure. Finally, at the core of X.129.6.7 is the responsion kó addhā́ veda ... /// ... só aṇgá veda.

9. This concludes our study of interrogative sequences in the Rigveda. As is the case with all other forms of repetition, these show exact, polyptotic, and paronomastic sequences. However, unlike other forms of anaphora, which constitute stylistic figuration, the initial position of the interrogative in its clause is a matter of grammar owing to the rule of WH-movement in the language of the Rigveda.

The remaining findings of this study both relate to stylistic features associated with interrogatives: first, the strong tendency for interrogative

discourse to be concentrated in certain parts of a hymn rather than being distributed throughout. Second, the interrogatives sometimes form part of question-and-answer structures (responsions sensu stricto) which may present more-or-less rigid templates in which the response is in the same syntactic form as the question but with substitution of an answer-word for each interrogative pronoun or adverb.

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FRÜHE SLAVISCH-FINNISCHE KONTAKTE

JORMA KOIVULEHTO

Es ist allgemein bekannt, dass das Finnische, präziser gesagt das Ostseefinnische, seit Tausenden von Jahren in engen Kontakten mit indogermanischen Sprachen gestanden hat. Diese Kontakte lassen sich an Lehnwörtern ablesen, die in großen Mengen aus den benachbarten indogermanischen Sprachen ins Ostseefinnische übernommen worden sind. Am zahlreichsten sind die germanischen Lehnwörter, die aus verschiedenen Perioden stammen; die älteren sind bereits in einer vorfinnischen (= frühurfinnischen) Periode übernommen worden, wie man vor allem anhand von Kriterien der ostseefinnischen Lautgeschichte nachweisen kann. Baltische Lehnwörter sind zwar nicht ebenso zahlreich, sie sind aber desgleichen verschiedenen Alters, normalerweise jedoch vorfinnischen Alters; die ältesten gehen bereits in vorbaltische Zeiten zurück. Zahlreich sind auch die Entlehnungen aus dem Slavischen. In der älteren Forschung hielt man die Kontakte mit dem Slavischen für bedeutend später als die mit dem Baltischen. Allmählich hat sich jedoch immer mehr Evidenz dafür angesammelt, dass es auch bedeutend ältere ostseefinnisch-slavische Kontakte gibt (Koivulehto 1999: 10). Im vorliegenden Aufsatz sollen drei neue Lehnetymologien vorgelegt werden, die eine frühe Entlehnungszeit voraussetzen. Es handelt sich um drei Bezeichnungen für Körperteile.

Wörter für Körperteile sind auffallend oft entlehnt worden. Bekannte baltische Beispiele sind finn. *kaula* 'Hals' (< **kakla*) aus balt. **kakla-* (> lit. *kãklas* 'Hals'), finn. *reisi*, Stamm *reite-* 'Oberschenkel' (< vorfinn. **rajti* > saam. *ruoida* 'Bein; Keule; Oberschenkel; Hüfte') aus balt. **raita-* (> lit. *ríetas* 'Oberschenkel, Dickbein, Keule', finn. *hammas*, Gen. Sg. *hampa(h)an* 'Zahn' (< vorfinn. **šampas*) aus balt. **žambas* (> lit. *žam̃bas* 'Balkenkante', lett. *zùobs* 'Zahn'); finn. *harja* 'Bürste; Mähne, Kamm; First' (< vorfinn. **šarja*) aus balt. **šarja-* (> lett. *sars*, Pl. *sari* 'Schweineborsten, Pferdehaare der Mähne'); finn. *karva* 'Haar' (< vorfinn. **karva*) aus balt. **gaura-* (> lit. *gaũras*, Pl. *gauraĩ* 'Haar'; im Ostseefinnischen Metathese, weil ein **kavra* nicht möglich war). Germanische Lehnwörter sind finn. *hartia* 'Schulter' aus germ./urnord. **hard(i)jō* (> anord. Pl. *herðar* 'Schultern'); finn. *lanne*, Pl. *lante(h)et* 'Hüfte, Lende', *lantio* 'Becken, Hüfte' aus germ. **landīn-/*land(i)jō* (> ahd. *lentī*, anord. *lend* 'Lende'); *kuve*, Pl. *kupe(h)et* 'Weiche, Lende(n),

Hüfte, Seite, Flanke', aus frühgerm. *χ*upiz* (> got. *hups*, Pl. *hupeis*, ahd. *huf*, aengl. *hype* 'Hüfte'); finn. *maha* 'Magen, Bauch' aus germ./urnord. **magan-* (> anord. *magi* 'Magen'); finn. *mako* 'Magen (bes. eines Haustieres), Labmagen' aus demselben germ. Wort, aber zu verschiedener Zeit entlehnt; für finn. *napa* 'Nabel; Nabe' sind sowohl baltische (vgl. lett. *naba* 'Nabel') als auch germanische Herkunft möglich, finn. *parta* 'Bart' kann auf ein germanisches, aber auch auf ein baltisches bzw. slavisches Original zurückgehen.

1. Urslav. **kulkā*/**kulka-*[1] 'Hüfte' ~ ostseefinn. **külki* 'Seite, Flanke'

Das vorliegende gemeinslavische Wort hat in verschiedenen slavischen Einzelsprachen folgende Entsprechungen: ksl. *klъka* fem. 'Kniekehle'; bulg. къ́лка fem. 'Hüfte' ("бедро"), dial. 'Ecke am Herd; eingebogene Stelle', dial. auch клъ́ка "бедро, бок, ляжка" (Trubačev 1974ff. XIII: 188), also 'Hüfte, Seite, Schenkel, Keule', кък mask. 'Hüfte'; makedon. колк 'Hüfte'; skr. ку̏к mask. 'Hüftgelenk, Hüfte', dial. 'Keule, Schinken (vom Schwein)'; sloven. *kòlk* mask. 'Hüfte', Ableitung *kúkec* 'Schweineschinken'; tschech. (Jägerspr.) *kelka* fem. 'Schwanz (des Hirsches); Stummel, Stumpf'; russ. колк mask. 'Stirnzapfen (des Hornviehs), Sporn' (Trubačev 1974ff. XIII: 188, Vasmer 1953-58 I: 600, Fraenkel 1962-65: 308). Die Bedeutung dieses als Femininum und Maskulinum auftretenden Wortes wird normalerweise als 'Hüfte' angegeben (*IEW* 1959: 928, Arumaa 1964: 155), trotz einiger recht abweichender Bedeutungen. Nach Trubačev soll die gemeinsame bzw. allgemeine Bedeutung ("общее значение") zwar 'biegsames Gelenk' sein, aber das ist ja mehr eine Abstraktion, die die Bedeutungsverschiebungen erklärt, und nicht eine konkrete Bedeutung einer lebendigen Volkssprache. Für eine relativ zentrale Bedeutung 'Hüfte' spricht auch die baltische Entsprechung lit. *kùlšė*, *kùlšis* 'Oberschenkel, Hüfte' (Fraenkel 1962-65: 308), also mit inlautender Palatalvariante idg. **k̂*.

Die ostseefinnische Körperteilbezeichnung für 'Seite, Flanke, Weiche' ('бок') hat Entsprechungen in allen ostseefinnischen Sprachen: vgl. finn.

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[1] Für die maskulinen idg. *o*-Stämme gebrauche ich hier stereotypisch den Ausgang urslav. *-*a*, obwohl der gemeinslavische Nominativ Singular auf -*ъ* lautgesetzlich natürlich nicht darauf zurückgehen kann, sondern nach allgemeiner Ansicht durch die Akkusativform beeinflusst worden ist. Der Stammvokal war nun auf jeden Fall balto-slavisch **a* < idg. **o*. Auch noch in den späteren slavischen, d. h. urrussischen Lehnwörtern des Ostseefinnischen steht für das traditionell angesetzte gemeinslav. */o/ immer ostseefinn. */a/, unabhängig von der Betonung des Originals, was beweist, dass der tatsächliche Lautwert des Phonems *[a] und nicht *[o] war (Aitzetmüller 1978: 8, 23).

kylki (Gen. *kyljen*) 'Seite, Flanke, Weiche', karelisch *kylki* id., wepsisch *külg* 'Rippe', estnisch *külg*, (Gen. *külje*) 'Seite' usw. Wie auch andere Wörter für 'Seite des Körpers' wird das Wort natürlich übertragen auch für 'Seite, Flanke' verschiedener Art gebraucht. Alle Formen gehen lautgesetzlich auf ostseefinn. **külki* zurück. Auch für ältere Sprachperioden, sogar für das Ururalische, gilt dasselbe Rekonstrukt. Jedoch kennt man bisher keine (einigermaßen sicheren) Entsprechungen aus verwandten Sprachen (siehe aber weiter unten).

Das ostseefinnische Wort lässt sich lautlich und semantisch als eine alte Entlehnung aus dem slavischen oder schon aus einer älteren, vorslavisch-indogermanischen Sprachstufe erklären. Dem einzigen kurzen hohen urslavischen Labialvokal */u/ (> gemeinslav. */ъ/) standen im Ostseefinnischen zwei kurze hohe Labialvokale, */u/ und */ü/ gegenüber. Beide Vokale kamen als Substitut des slavischen Vokals in Frage, also nicht nur */u/. Es ist schon längst bekannt, dass sowohl das baltische */u/ als auch das germanische */u/ durch (vor)ostseefinn. */ü/ substituiert worden sind: vgl. finn. *tyhjä* 'leer' < vorfinn. **tüšjä* ~ lit. *tùščias* 'leer, arm', finn. *tytär* (Gen. *tyttären*) 'Tochter' < vorfinn. **tüttär-* ~ lit. *duktė̃*, Gen. *dukter̃s* 'Tochter'; finn. *hypätä* (Stamm *hyppää-*) 'springen, hüpfen, (dial.) tanzen' ~ germ. **huppō-* (> anord. *hoppa* 'hüpfen, tanzen'), finn. *ky(k)äs*, (Gen. *kyk(k)ä(h)än*), *kykkä* 'Getreidehocke' ~ germ. **χukka-* (> dt. *Hocke*) usw. Dieselbe Substitution ist somit auch für slavische Lehnwörter natürlich. Das Substitut */ü/ musste auch deshalb begünstigt sein, weil */u/ zu einer störenden Homonymie mit einem älteren Wort, dem hintervokalischen ostseefinn. (schon finn.-ugr.) Verbstamm **kulki-* 'gehen, wandern' (siehe Koivulehto 1991: 67-69) geführt hätte.

Das semantische Verhältnis slav. 'Hüfte' ~ ostseefinn. 'Seite, Flanke' macht keine Schwierigkeiten, weil es wohlbekannt ist, dass semantische Verschiebungen dieser Art nicht selten sind: die Denotate, die Körperteile an der Seite/Flanke des Menschen und der Haustiere, werden nicht immer klar abgegrenzt. Zu beachten ist zudem, dass bulg. dial. кл́ъка 'Hüfte' auch durch "бок", 'Seite' definiert werden kann (siehe oben). Weitere semantische Parallelbeispiele: finn. *kuve*, Pl. *kupe(h)et* bezeichnet in erster Linie 'den (weichen) Körperteil (an der Seite) zwischen der Hüfte und den Rippen', also 'Weiche', engl. 'loin(s)', wird aber gewöhnlich auch für 'Seite, Flanke' ("bok") – 'Flanke' besonders an Tieren – verwendet; auch mit 'Lende(n), Hüfte(n)' kann es übersetzt werden. Sein germanisches Original war ja eben frühgerm. **χupiz* > got. *hups*, Pl. *hupeis*, ahd. *huf*, aengl. *hype* 'Hüfte'. Das aus dem späten Westgermanisch entlehnte franz. *flanc* bedeutet wie finn. *kuve* sowohl 'Weiche (knochenlose Stelle

des Leibes zwischen den Rippen und der Hüfte)' als auch 'Seite', 'Flanke' (*Langenscheidt* 1972: 419); auf der germanischen Seite steht wiederum ahd., altsächsisch *(h)lanka* 'Seite, Hüfte, Lende', mhd. *lanke* 'Hüfte, Lende, Weiche' (*FEW* 1959: 211-213; Kluge-Seebold 1995: 270; Lexer 1872-78 II: 1821).

Die an sich kleine semantische Verschiebung 'Hüfte' → 'Flanke, Seite' versteht man am besten so, dass auch die oberhalb (bzw. vor, bei Tieren) der eigentlichen Hüfte befindliche Körperseite, 'the loins', im Ostseefinnischen allmählich als zur Hüfte gehörend aufgefasst wurde. Mein finnisches Sprachgefühl fasst z. B. finn. *lanne*, Pl. *lanteet* sowohl als '*loin(s)*' als auch als '*hip(s)*' auf; dasselbe gilt für finn. *kuve*, Pl. *kupeet*, das ich aber auch als 'Seite(n)', also als Synonym für finn. *kylki*, verstehe, besonders in übertragener Bedeutung, auch so nach Wörterbüchern. Erst finn. *lonkka*, Pl. *lonkat* bedeutet eindeutig 'hips', 'Hüfte(n)', den breitesten Teil des Unterkörpers unmittelbar oberhalb der Schenkel: vgl. auch finn. *lonkka-luu* 'Hüftbein, hipbone'.[2]

Das ostseefinnische Wort ist ein alter *i*-Stamm.[3] Dies bedeutet, dass die Entlehnung sehr früh stattgefunden haben muss. Unter den späteren slavischen Lehnwörtern gibt es nämlich keine alten *i*-Stämme, obwohl sie noch sogar die urslavische Quantitätsopposition der Vokale aufweisen (vgl. finn. *saapas*, Gen. *saappa(h)an* 'Stiefel' ~ russ. сапóг, Kiparsky 1963: 79). Dagegen weisen mehrere alte baltische und germanische Lehnwörter diesen Stamm auf, oft auch dann, wenn die entsprechenden Originale keinen hohen bzw. mittelhohen Vokal am Stammende gehabt haben. Normalerweise sind solche zweisilbigen Stämme/Wörter "langsilbig", d. h. dem Vokal der ersten Silbe folgen zwei Konsonanten wie eben in **külki*: vgl. das bereits erwähnte finn. *reisi* 'Oberschenkel' (< **rajti*) ~ balt. **raita-*

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[2] Ich muss hier zu finn. *lonkka* 'Hüfte' Stellung nehmen. Es dürfte klar sein, dass es aus dem gleichbedeutenden germanischen Wort stammt: vgl. eben ahd. *hlanka*. Man hat jedoch dagegen Einwand erhoben (*LÄGLOS* 1991ff. II: 217), weil ein ostseefinn. */o/ für germ. */a/ < idg. /o/ nicht regelmäßig sei. Wir haben jedoch mehrere germanische und baltische Lehnwörter, die ebenfalls ostseefinn. */o/ für germ., balt. */a/ aufweisen. Besonders vor einem germanischen Nasal ist das zu erwarten. Ostseefinn. */o/ soll also nicht als ein vermeintlicher Reflex eines vorgerm.-idg. */o/ verstanden werden (wie *LÄGLOS* andeutet), schon wegen der ostseefinnischen Geminata */-kk-/ nicht, das auf eine germanische Entlehnung weist (schon besser in *SSA* 1992-2000 II: 91, III: 91).

[3] Traditionell wurden diese Stämme *e*-Stämme genannt, weil die meisten Formen außer dem Nom. Sg. heute ein *e* aufweisen, also z. B. Essiv Sg. finn. **kylke-nä*. Doch fasst man heute den hohen Vokal als ursprünglich auf. Ein anderer Stamm sind die heutigen Wörter auf unveränderliches *-i*. Solche sind entweder Ableitungen von älteren Stämmen oder oft auch junge Lehnwörter.

(> lit. *ríetas* 'Oberschenkel, Dickbein, Keule'), oder finn. *tuppi* 'Scheide, Futteral, Hülse' ~ germ. **duppa-* (> mnd. *dop(pe)* 'Schale, Kapsel, Kelch, Hülse'). Offenbar waren diese Stämme während einer frühen ostseefinnischen Sprachperiode beliebt, denn auch mehrere vererbte Wörter wurden zu diesem Typ überführt: vorfinn. **komta* 'Deckel' > ostseefinn. **kanti* > *kansi*.

Ein alter *i*-Stamm ist auch finn. *hauki* 'Hecht' < vorfinn. **šauki* (= **šavki*) das sich aus einer frühen slavischen Lautform **ščaukā* = (> **ščuka* > russ. щука 'Hecht') herleitet. Die Entlehnung muss also vor der ostseefinnischen Entwicklung **š* > *h*, aber nach der ersten slavischen Palatalisierung (vorslav. **skeukā*) stattgefunden haben, was eine frühe Datierung dieser Palatalisierung voraussetzt. Dieselbe Datierung setzt auch finn. *hirsi* 'Balken' = estn. *hirs* 'Stange, Zaunstange' < vorfinn. **širti* voraus: aus einer frühen slavischen Form **(d)žirdi* (> russ. жердь 'Stange') (Koivulehto 1990: 151). Finn. *vilja* 'Getreide' (*viljalti* 'reichlich, im Überfluss') = saam. *vallji* 'Überfluss' < vorfinn. **vilja* gehört auch am besten zu dieser frühen Lehnschicht: vgl. ksl. *iz-vilije* 'Überfluss, Fülle', aruss. *obilьje* 'Getreide', russ. обилие 'Überfluss, (dial. auch) Getreide, Gemüse' (Vasmer 1953-58 II: 239) (Koivulehto, ebenda). Somit haben wir bereits vier Beispiele für eine frühe, urslavische Entlehnungsschicht im Ostseefinnischen: (vor)finn. **külki*, *šauki*, **širti*, **vilja*.

Die Etymologie des balto-slavischen schwundstufigen Wortes sei auch kurz kommentiert. Traditionell hat man es zu idg. **skel-* (eigentlich **skel(H)-*) angeblich 'biegen' (als Primärverb aber nicht bezeugt, vgl. jedoch gr. σκέλος 'Schenkel', σκελίς, σκελίδος 'Hinterfuß, Hüfte' (siehe *IEW* 1959: 928) gestellt. Die balto-slavische Schwundstufe mit *u*-Vokalisierung statt *i*, **kulk-*/**kulḱ-*, weist jedoch nach einer neueren Interpretation (siehe Kortlandt 1994: 96, Beekes 1995: 136) auf den idg. Labiovelar **k*^{w}- im Anlaut. Denkbar wäre dann ein Wurzelanschluss an idg. **k*^{w}*elH-* 'drehen, sich drehen', wozu auch balto-slav. 'Knie' und slav. 'Gelenk, Glied' gestellt werden, weiter auch balt. und germ. 'Hals' (siehe näher *IEW* 1959: 639-640). Dieser Anschluss passt zum Laryngal, denn der Akut in skr. ку̏к (*kȕk*) deutet ja darauf (siehe Kortlandt 1977: 321, 1994: 96, Beekes 1995: 150-151). Auch der Akzent in lit. *kùlšė*, *kùlšis* 'Oberschenkel, Hüfte' stimmt damit überein. Als ein idg. Rekonstrukt bekommen wir dann **k*^{w}*l̥H-k-* bzw. **k*^{w}*l̥H-ḱ-*. Eine andere Möglichkeit wäre es, einfach ein Wurzelnomen idg. **k*^{w}*l̥(H)k-*/**k*^{w}*l̥(H)ḱ-* anzusetzen, ohne erkennbaren weiteren Wurzelanschluss (so Arumaa 1964: 155, ohne Laryngal).

Ante Aikio hat neulich die Vermutung ausgesprochen, dass ein samojedisches Wort, das er als ursamojedisch **kəj* 'Seite' rekonstruiert, mit dem

ostseefinnischen Wort als ural. **külki* etymologisch gleichgesetzt werden könne (persönliche Mitteilung). Er hält die Gleichsetzung jedoch nicht für sicher, weil sie im Vokalismus etwas unregelmäßig sei. Wegen der lautlichen Nähe und der genauen semantischen Übereinstimmung ist die Gleichsetzung meines Erachtens jedoch beachtenswert. Die Unregelmäßigkeit könnte auf einer frühen Weiterwanderung des Wortes innerhalb des uralischen Sprachgebiets beruhen. In diesem Fall müsste die Entlehnung wohl schon in einer frühen vorslav.-idg. Zeit stattgefunden haben, aus vorslav.-idg. *$k^{w}\underset{\circ}{l}(H)k$-. Lautlich würde es keine Schwierigkeiten machen, denn ein ural. **ü* wäre auch hier ein passendes Substitut. Die lautliche Unregelmäßigkeit wäre meines Erachtens auch durch die Annahme zu überwinden, dass das Wort als ural. **kulki/külki* übernommen wurde, Vorder- bzw. Hintervokal je nach der Mundart. Es fällt nämlich auf, dass ein anderes frühes idg. Lehnwort, ural. **kulki-* 'gehen' (Koivulehto 1991: 67-69), eben auch ursamojedisch **kəj-* ergeben hat, diesmal lautgerecht (siehe Aikio 2002: 26 und Schrijver 1997: 298, Anm. 10). So könnte auch ursamojedisch **kəj* 'Seite' lautgerecht auf ural. **kulki* zurückgehen. Ein Wechsel zwischen Hinter- und Vordervokal kommt im Ostseefinnischen nicht selten vor: vgl. finn. *tuhma* 'unartig; dumm' / *tyhmä* 'dumm', finn. *kuhmu* / *kyhmy* 'Beule'; auch in Lehnwörtern: finn. *rastas* / *rästäs* 'Drossel', finn. *tupas* / *typäs* 'Raselhügel' (siehe Koivulehto 1999: 17-40, bes. Postskriptum S. 39-40).

Ein altes indo-iranisches Lehnwort für 'Seite', das nicht im Ostseefinnischen vorkommt, ist saamisch-mordvinisch-mari-permisch **ertä* (> komi орд-лы 'Rippe', 'Seitenbein', mordw. *irdes* 'Rippe', mari *ördəš* 'Seite', saam. *earti* 'Seite, Abhang') aus frühurindoiranisch *$erd^{h}o$- (> altindoarisch *árdha-* 'Seite, Hälfte'). Man könnte sich denken, dass dieses Lehnwort ural. **kulki*/**külki* verdrängt hat, das sich nur an den beiden Rändern des uralischen Sprachgebiets erhalten hat.

2. Urslav. **baka-* 'Seite' ~ ostseefinn. **paka* 'Seite'

Das slavische Wort für 'Seite' (gemeinslav. Nom. Sg. **bokъ*, Gen. Sg. **boka*) ist so gut wie überall im Slavischen vorhanden, russ. бок usw. (Vasmer 1953-58 I: 101, Trubačev 1974ff. II: 170). Seine weitere Etymologie ist unklar. Außerhalb des Slavischen hat es keine zuverlässigen Entsprechungen. Es wird vornehmlich für 'Seite' als Körperteil gebraucht.

Im Ostseefinnischen gibt es kein **paka* 'Seite' als selbständiges Nomen mehr, aber es steckt im versteinerten Prolativ-Kasus in finn. *paitsi*, älter auch *paitse* 'außer; vorbei', karel. *paittše*, lydisch *paitše* 'außer'. Das neue

etymologische Wörterbuch des Finnischen setzt dieses geschwundene Nomen als **pakз* an (*з* = irgendein Vokal, also "V"), als Bedeutung wird 'Seite o. dgl.' angegeben (*SSA* 1992-2000 II: 291). Dieses verschwundene Nomen kann nun als **paka* 'Seite' identifiziert werden, denn diese Form entspricht lautlich und semantisch genau dem slavischen Wort, aus dem sie früh entlehnt sein muss.

Für eine frühe Entlehnung spricht eben der Umstand, dass das Nomen schon als selbständiges Wort verloren gegangen ist, und besonders auch das einfache ostseefinn. */-k-/ als Substitut des urslavischen */-k-/. In späteren slavischen (urrussischen) Lehnwörtern sind nämlich die inlautenden Klusile */k, t, p/ durch ostseefinnische Geminaten */kk, tt, pp/ ersetzt worden. In alten baltischen und germanischen Lehnwörtern sind dagegen noch die einfachen ostseefinnischen Klusile in solcher Position vorherrschend und normal.

Als eine lautlich-morphologische Parallele sei finn. *taitse* 'hinter etwas herum; hinten vorbei' angeführt: Es ist eine alte prolative Form zu finn. *taka-* 'Hinter-, hintere(r/s), Rück-'.

Semantisch kann noch etwa engl. *side* 'Seite' ~ *besides* '(Adv.) außerdem; (Präp.) außer' verglichen werden; vgl. finn. *sitä paitsi* 'besides, außerdem' (*sitä* ist Partitiv des Pronomens *se* 'der, die, das').

3. Urslav. **grandi* > russ. грудь 'Brust' / urslav. **grindā* > skr. гре́да 'Balken, Sandbank, steiler Felsen' ~ ostseefinn. **rinta* > finn. *rinta* 'Brust; Abhang'

Finn. *rinta* 'Brust, Busen; Abhang' hat Entsprechungen im ganzen ostseefinnischen Sprachgebiet: karel. *rinta* 'Brust; Abhang; Rand; Seite', wepsisch *rind*, wotisch *rinta* 'Brust', estn. *rind* 'Brust; vorragender, vorstehender Teil; Reihe, Zeile, Streifen' (*liiva-rind* 'Sandstreifen, Sandlage', Wiedemann 1893: 957; *liiv* 'Sand'), livisch *rīnda* 'Brust; Reihe'. Im Saamischen entspricht *raddi* 'Brust', das entweder mit **rinta* urverwandt ist oder aber eine frühe Entlehnung daraus. Die weite Verbreitung des Wortes im Samischen (*SSA* 1992-2000 III: 80) spricht eher für Urverwandtschaft. Sonst ist das Wort unbekannt. Das alte finnisch-ugrische Wort ist **mälki* > saam. *mielga* 'Brust(stück) eines Tiers, Brustbein', ung. *mell* 'Brust' (Sammallahti 1988: 546). Bis ins Samojedische reicht ein Wort, das als ural. **śüńśi/ä* rekonstruiert wird (Sammallahti 1988: 540): ursamojedisch **sünsə* 'Brust', ung. *szügy* 'Brust (eines Tiers)', saam. *čižži* 'Brust einer Frau'.[4]

[4] Der Vokalismus ist in diesem Wort etwas unregelmäßig, und es könnte sich deshalb als eine areale Innovation erst nach der Auflösung der uralischen Grundsprache verbreitet haben, wie bereits Juha Janhunen vermutet hat (Janhunen 1981: 254). Zu vergleichen wäre

Nach allem Anschein ist somit ostseefinnisch(-saamisch) **rinta* ein späteres Wort, eine Neuerung, deren Herkunft es aufzuklären gilt. Weil es sich nicht als eine eigenständige Ableitung analysieren lässt, ist es höchstwahrscheinlich ein Lehnwort. Auch seine einzigen Reimwörter, finn. *hinta* 'Preis' und *pinta* 'Oberfläche; Splintholz; Speck' sind Lehnwörter (Uotila 1990, Koivulehto 1986, *SSA* 1992-2000 I: 165, II: 370).

Früher (Karsten 1943-44: 460-462) hat man *rinta* als eine Entlehnung aus dem Germanischen erklärt: aus einem frühen germ. **strindā* (> altnord. *strind* 'Kante, Seite; Land', neunorw. *strind* 'Streifen, eine Reihe, die eine Kante bildet', Fritzner 1867/1973 III: 579, de Vries 1961: 553, Aasen 1918: 761). Die Erklärung ist jedoch sowohl semantisch als auch lautlich nicht befriedigend. Die germanische Wortgruppe **strand-*/**strind-* steht semantisch in keinerlei klar erkennbarer Beziehung zu 'Brust',[5] und in einem (vermeintlich) so alten germanischen Lehnwort würde man doch in der Stammsilbe eher ein ostseefinn. **e*, also **renta* aus frühgerm. **strendā* erwarten: vgl. finn. *rengas* 'Ring' aus frühgerm. **hrengaz* 'Ring'.[6] Auch die weite Verbreitung des ostseefinnisch-saamischen Wortes macht ein relativ hohes Alter wahrscheinlich. Die Etymologie ist denn auch für unsicher gehalten worden (*SSA* 1992-2000 III: 80).

Einen semantischen Zusammenhang mit 'Brust' finden wir dagegen in der slavischen ablautenden Wortsippe **grand-*/**grind-*. Zwar ist nur die Ablautstufe **grand-* in der Bedeutung 'Brust' belegt: russ. грудь usw. (gemeinslavisch), nicht urslav. **grindā* (vgl. lit. *grindà* 'Dielenbrett'), das hier in lautlicher Beziehung als Original passt. Am nächsten kommen immerhin solche Bedeutungen wie kslav.-russ. *gręda* 'Balken', bulg. гредá 'Balken', skr. грéда 'Balken, Sandbank, steiler Felsen', russ. грядá 'längliche Höhe', 'Sandbank, Streifen' u. dgl., auch etwa (dial.) '(zwei) Querbalken am oberen Teil einer Rauchstube befestigt, um Brennholz u. dgl. zu trocknen' (Trubačev 1974ff. VII: 120-122, Vasmer 1953-58 I: 315). Im Ostseefinnischen hat **rinta* ähnliche Bedeutungen, wie bereits oben angegeben. Die Ableitung davon, finn. *rinne*, Gen. *rinte(h)en*, schließt sich noch näher an

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hier ostseefinn. **külki* ~ ursamojedisch **kəj*, wo der Vokalismus ebenfalls unregelmäßig ist (siehe oben Etymologie 1).

[5] Karsten begründete seine Erklärung damit, dass das nordische Wort auch in Namen für Bodenformationen vorkommt, und vor allem damit, dass er in finn. *rinne*, Gen. *rinteen* 'Abhang' das eigentliche Grundwort sehen wollte. Jedoch ist dieses Wort eher als eine Ableitung von *rinta* anzusehen (*SSA* 1992-2000 III: 80).

[6] Zu bemerken ist, dass das germanische Lehnwort *pinta* ein ursprüngliches **i* reflektiert: aus germ. **spinda-* = idg. **spiH-ntó-*; Kürzung des Langvokals wie bei germ. **wenda-* 'Wind' = lat. *ventus* < idg. *$Hweh_1$-nto-* (siehe Koivulehto 1986, *IEW* 1959: 983-984).

die slavischen Bedeutungen an: finn. 'Abhang eines Hügels', (dial. auch) 'Teil eines Zugnetzes', karel. *rinne* 'Abhang', estn. *rinne* 'Streifen; Front'.

Russ. грудь usw. für 'Brust' stellt eine slavische Innovation dar; das ältere Wort war ein Vertreter von idg. **pr̥ḱ-*, in kirchenslav. *prъsi* 'Brüste', russ. (alt.) персь, пе́рси 'Brust, Busen' usw., das auch im Baltischen vorkommt: vgl. lit. *pìršys* 'Brust des Pferdes' usw. (*IEW* 1959: 820, Vasmer 1953-58 II: 344, Fraenkel 1962-65: 598, Trubačev 1974ff. VII: 149). Offenbar wurde das neue Wort ursprünglich durch 'Erhebung, vorspringender Teil (des Körpers)' semantisch motiviert (siehe Trubačev 1974ff. VII: 149). Man kann annehmen, dass die Motivationsbedeutung 'Erhebung' als "die eigentliche Bedeutung" in den verschiedenen Gliedern der Wortsippe vorlag, die dann in urslav. **grindā* ins Ostseefinnische übernommen wurde, jedoch so, dass die Bedeutung 'Brust' verallgemeinert wurde. Es blieben jedoch auch die ursprünglicheren, nicht übertragenen Bedeutungen erhalten. Es ist nämlich nicht normal, dass solche Bedeutungen wie 'Abhang, Rand, Seite, Reihe, (Sand)streifen' sich erst sekundär aus 'Brust' entwickeln können.

Zum Schluss

Es sind also proportionell recht viele Lehnwörter für Körperteile aus verschiedenen indogermanischen Sprachen in die uralischen Sprachen übernommen worden. Lässt sich dafür eine Erklärung finden? Ich glaube, dass die meisten Wörter ursprünglich nicht so sehr für Teile des menschlichen Körpers entlehnt wurden, sondern vielmehr als Benennungen für Teile und Stücke des erlegten Wildes (später auch für die der geschlachteten Haustiere), die wohl im zwischensprachlichen Verkehr, vor allem im primitiven Tauschhandel, eine Rolle gespielt haben müssen. Dies würde auch erklären, warum gerade Bezeichnungen für 'Seite, Flanke, Hüfte, Lende', 'Brust', 'Magen', 'Oberschenkel', 'Hals', 'Bug' (finn. *lapa* 'Bug'; bei Menschen 'Schulterblatt': siehe Koivulehto 2000: 113-114) übernommen worden sind. Dagegen sind Wörter wie finn. *pää* 'Kopf', *selkä* 'Rücken', *jalka* 'Bein, Fuß', *polvi* 'Knie', *käsi* 'Arm, Hand', *olka* 'Achsel', *kyynärä* 'Elle', *kyynärpää* 'Ellbogen', *sormi* 'Finger', *poski* 'Wange', *nenä* 'Nase', *suu* 'Mund' alle autochthon (so weit wir wissen). Die Denotate dieser Wörter spielen kaum eine Rolle als Rumpfstücke beim Zerlegen des Wildes und beziehen sich außerdem vorwiegend auf den menschlichen Körper.

Aus demselben Grund, dem Tauschhandel, sind mehrere Wörter für 'Fell, Haut, Pelz' übernommen worden: finn. *kesi* 'Haut, Leder', *iho* '(dünne) Haut', *vuota* 'ungegerbte Haut', *hihna* '(Leder)riemen', *nahka*, 'Haut, Leder', *talja* 'Haut, Fell' *välly* 'Pelzdecke' (für die Etymologien

siehe Koivulehto 2001: 369-371). Es hat sich im Finnischen kein altes uralisches/finnisch-ugrisches Erbwort für 'Fell, Haut, Pelz' erhalten.

Die behandelten Lehnwörter setzen bedeutend frühere Kontakte der Ostseefinnen/Finno-Ugrier mit dem slavischen Sprachgebiet voraus, als in älterer Forschung angenommen bzw. gezeigt werden konnte: Die Kontakte begannen in urslavischer, vielleicht sogar schon in vorslavisch-indogermanischer Zeit. Das steht im Einklang mit dem Argument aus der rein ostseefinnischen Lautgeschichte: Solche Lehnwörter wie finn. *hauki* 'Hecht' und finn. *hirsi* 'Balken (= estn. *hirs* 'Stange') wurden bereits in vorfinnischer Zeit übernommen, weil sie die Entwicklung vorfinn. **š* > ostseefinn. **h* mitgemacht haben: < vorfinn. **šauki*, vorfinn. **širti*; das letztere Wort zeigt auch die Entwicklung vorfinn. **ti* > ostseefinn. **si*.

Die erste slavische Palatalisierung muss sich also auch recht früh vollzogen haben. Es gibt meines Wissens keine stichhaltigen Gegenargumente. Wir müssen nämlich einen Unterschied machen zwischen dem Beweiswert der Entlehnungen *aus* dem Slavischen ins Ostseefinnische und dem der Lehnwörter *ins* Slavische. Wenn die letzteren die erste Palatalisierung aufweisen, beweist es nicht, dass die Lehnwörter die Palatalisierung mitgemacht hätten, also vor ihr übernommen worden wären. Ebenso gut kann es sich um eine Phonemsubstitution handeln: Als etwa die Entwicklung **ke* > **če* stattgefunden hatte, war die Sequenz **ke* sprachwidrig, musste also automatisch zu **če* werden. So kann z. B. der slavische Flussname *Lučesa* aus lit. *Laukesa* (vgl. Arumaa 1976: 29; Shevelov 1964: 252) nicht beweisen, dass die erste Palatalisierung erst nach der Entlehnung stattgefunden hätte. Vorfinn. **šauki* und **širti* müssen aber nach der Palatalisierung übernommen worden sein, weil der Anlaut sonst nicht erklärbar ist. Eine relativ frühe Datierung der ersten Palatalisierung setzt auch Kortlandt in seiner Synopsis "From Proto-Indo-European to Slavic" an: "Early Middle Slavic". Nach dieser Periode folgen bei ihm noch "Late Middle Slavic", "Young Proto-Slavic" und "Late Proto-Slavic" (Kortlandt 1994: 100-109). Die Datierung bei Shevelov ("the most plausible period is the fifth and the sixth century", 1964: 252) ist sicher zu spät.[7]

Wo die frühen Kontakte stattgefunden haben, ist eine Frage für sich, die in diesem Aufsatz nicht eingehender erörtert werden kann. Immerhin dürfte klar werden, dass die Slaven, oder ein Teil von ihnen, schon

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[7] Finn. *ies*, Gen. Sg. *ike(h)en* 'Joch' und finn. *kimalainen* 'Hummel' sind kaum vor der ersten Palatalisierung übernommen worden. Der Klusil erklärt sich einfach als eine erst *späturfinnische* Substitution der slavischen Affrikata vor hellen Vokalen. Auch in saamischen Lehnwörtern des Finnischen wird saam. *č* vor hellen Vokalen durch finn. *k* substituiert: finn. *kero* 'kahler, abgeflachter Fjällgipfel' aus saam. *čearru* id.

früh relativ weit im Norden gesessen haben und umgekehrt: Dass sich die Wohnsitze der Vorfinnen oder eines Teils von ihnen relativ weit in den Süden/Südosten erstreckt haben. Könnte man an einen Kontaktraum etwa im Bereich des Ilmen-Sees und/oder der Düna denken? Zu beachten ist, dass der alte ostseefinnische Name des Düna-Flusses nicht aus dem Baltischen, sondern aus dem Urslavischen stammt: finn. *Väinä-joki*: aus (früh)urslav. **dv́äinā* / **dv́ainā* (> russ. *Двина́*) = idg. **dweynā* (Koivulehto 1990: 153; wegen des urslavischen offenen Diphthongs siehe Aitzetmüller 1978: 78-79 und Shevelov 1964: 285-293).

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THE VEDIC TYPE *PATÁYATI* REVISITED: SEMANTIC OPPOSITIONS, PARADIGMATIC RELATIONSHIPS AND HISTORICAL CONNECTIONS

LEONID KULIKOV

–You know, Khaim, I have bought a bike for my little Moshe, and now he rides like lightning!
–What, that fast?
–No, I mean, in zigzags.

A Jewish joke

1. The Vedic *-áya-*presents: preliminary remarks

1.1 Two types of *-áya-*presents: causatives vs. non-causatives

The Vedic system of present stems includes two formations with the suffix *-áya-*. The formal difference between these two morphological types consists in the alternation grade of the root syllable. The first type shows long or full grade: long grade mostly appears in the roots of the structure *CaC*, while full grade (guṇa) is selected by the roots of other structure, cf. *pat* 'fly': *p***ā***táyati*, *cit* 'appear': *c***e***táyati*. By contrast, the second type has full (in *CaC* roots) or zero (in roots of other structures) grade, cf. *pat*: *p***a***táyati*, *cit*: *c***i***táyati*. This formal opposition can be reformulated in terms of length of the root syllable:[1] the first type must have a long root syllable (that is, long grade for *CaC*, *C***ā***C-áya-*, and full grade for other structures: *C***aR***C-áya-*, *C***e***C-áya-* < **Cai̯C-ái̯a-*, *C***o***C-áya-* < **Cau̯C-ái̯a-*), the second type must have a short root syllable (*C***a***C-áya-*, *C***R̥***C-áya-*, where *R̥* stands for the vocalic variant of a sonant).[2]

Historically, the former type can be uniformly explained as based on the Proto-Indo-European **o*-grade of the root, which yields *ā* in open syllables

[1] Let it be recalled that a syllable is long if it contains a long vowel (*ā*, *e*, *o*, *ī*, *ū*) and/or is closed.

[2] The formal opposition between these two morphological types can be neutralized in the case of (i) non-alternating (non-ablauting) verbal roots – for instance, those which have zero grade (typically, *ī* or *ū*) in all formations (cf. *vīḍ* 'be firm': *vīḍ-áyati* 'makes firm') and (ii) some *CaC* roots (mostly those terminating in a nasal sonant, *m* or *n*) which fail to lengthen the root syllable (cf. *jan* 'be born, beget': *jan-áyati*).

in accordance with Brugmann's law (see e.g. Volkart 1994 and Lubotsky 1997), i.e. *pātáya-* < PIE **pot-éi̯e-*; *cetáya-* < PIE **kʷoi̯t-éi̯e-* (see *LIV*: 382).

The semantic distinction between the full/long grade *-áya*-formations (= long root syllable *-áya*-formations, hereafter called 'type *pātáyati*' for short) as opposed to the zero/full grade *-áya*-formations (= short root syllable *-áya*-formations, hereafter called 'type *patáyati*') is well-known and noticed in all standard Indo-European and Vedic grammars (see, e.g., Beekes 1995: 229; for the most comprehensive treatment of the issue, see Jamison 1983 and Lubotsky 1989): the type *pātáyati* mostly includes causatives (e.g. *pātáyati* 'makes fall, makes fly', *cetáyati* 'makes appear, makes perceive'), while the class of the short root syllable *-áya*-formations (type *patáyati*) mainly consists of non-causative and, most often, intransitive presents.[3]

The Vedic present suffix *-áya-* of both formations, together with its equally well-attested Iranian parallel (Avestan *-aiia-*, Old Persian *-aya-*), is undoubtedly inherited from Proto-Indo-European. The reflexes of the PIE **-éi̯e/o*-presents are found in a number of Indo-European branches (cf. Slavic *-i*-presents, Gothic *-j*-causatives, Greek verbs in *-έω*, etc.); like the Indo-Iranian *-ai̯a*-causatives, many of them preserve the causative meaning.

1.2 The non-causative *-áya*-presents and their semantics

While the semantic opposition between the long vs. short root syllable *-áya*-presents (type *pātáyati* vs. type *patáyati*) poses no serious problems, the meaning of the type *patáyati* as opposed to other intransitive present formations made from the same root (as, e.g., in the pair *patáyati* ~ *pátati* 'fly' or *citáyati, -te* ~ *cétati* 'appear, perceive') puzzled many Indo-Europeanists. Generally, we find two claims in the literature: (i) (some) Proto-Indo-European **-éi̯e/o*-presents could be iteratives (intensives), denoting repeated processes/activities;[4] and (ii) this iterative meaning, which

[3] Exceptions to this regularity are not impossible. Thus, of the 21 occurrences of the short root syllable *-áya*-present *citáyati*, 13 occur in intransitive constructions, meaning 'appear' and 4 are causatives, meaning 'make appear' or 'make perceive' (thus being synonymous with the long root syllable *-áya*-present *cetáyati*); see Jamison 1989: 57.

[4] This statement essentially goes back to Brugmann's and Delbrück's studies, in particular to a short but important article by Delbrück (1894); for the history of the problem, see fn. 10 below. The two competing functions of **-éi̯e/o*-presents, i.e. causative and iterative, are now said to be lexically distributed in the proto-language, so that **-éi̯e/o*-presents were causatives if derived from the roots of one class and iteratives if derived from the roots of another class; see *LIV*: 22f. and section 5 below for some suggestions.

could be proper to the sources of the presents of the type *patáyati* in the proto-language, is only weakly attested or entirely lacking in Vedic (and perhaps already in Proto-Indo-Iranian).

Most scholars unanimously agree on (i), but disagree in their opinions as far as (ii) (the preservation of the alleged iterative semantics) is concerned. The iterative meaning is said to be actually attested (Macdonell), (very) poorly attested (Renou), or not attested at all (Jamison, Roessler):

"Those [-*áya*-]verbs in which the root, though capable of being strengthened, remains unchanged, have not a causative, but an iterative sense." (Macdonell 1910: 393)

"Une autre catégorie moins cohérente, moins nette, est celle de présents (vaguement itératifs) en -*áyati*, type *patáyati* («voler ») de *PAT*- …" (Renou 1952: 273)

"Well-attested *patáyati* […], primarily active, is in competition with synonymous act. them. *pátati*, also common in the RV." (Jamison 1983: 61)

Gotō (1987: 60) joins the first group of opinions in the introductory part of his monograph on class I presents:

"Zur Gruppe *citáya*-^{ti} ‚glänzen, leuchten‘ RV Kh. […] gehören: *ví…dyutayanta* ‚blitzen‘ RV; *rucayanta* RV, *rucayant*- JS ‚leuchten‘; *śucáyant*- ‚glühend‘ RV; *śubháyant*-, *śubhayante*, -*anta* ‚sich schmücken‘ RV […]. Diese Bildungen sind als Iterative zu beurteilen."

On the same page Gotō qualifies *patáyati* as an iterative:

"Bei *patáya*-^{ti} (*patáyanta*) ‚fliegen‘ RV+ (neben *pát*$^{(i)}$-*a*-^{ti}) und *dravayanta* ‚laufen‘ RV dient das kurze -*a*- in der Wz.-Silbe zur Abgrenzung des Iterativs vom Kaus. (*pātáya*-, *drāváya*-)."

However, later, in the lemma *páta*-^{ti}, he seems to have changed his mind, noticing that *patáya*-^{ti} lacks an iterative semantics:

"[D]as -*aya*-Präs. *patáya*-^{ti} […] dürfte eigentlich eine iterative Bildung gewesen sein, obwohl zwischen *páta*-^{ti} und *patáya*-^{ti} im Ved. kaum mehr ein Bedeutungsunterschied bemerkbar ist." (Gotō 1987: 205)

Likewise, Roesler, whose study (1997) on the verbs of light and shining deals, *inter alia*, with a number of short root syllable -*áya*-presents, finds no conclusive evidence for the iterative semantics of the type *patáyati*:

"Nach Gotō (1987, S. 60) sind die nullstufigen *-áya*-Präsentia, die besonders bei Verben des Leuchtens mehrfach analog gebildet werden, nicht kausativisch, sondern ursprünglich iterativ; in der hier untersuchten Belegen jedoch gibt es keinerlei Anhaltspunkte für eine iterative Bedeutung." (Roesler 1997: 161, fn. 290)

The statement on the lack of <u>any</u> specific semantics of the short root syllable *-áya*-presents expressed by Jamison and some other scholars appears to be confirmed by the fact that no substantial evidence for the iterative analysis of the type *patáyati* has been provided thus far. By now, this idea seems to have become the *communis opinio*.

Surprisingly, in the Indo-European scholarship, we can find a perfectly clear description of the semantics of the type *patáyati*. More than 100 years ago, in his seminal *Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen Sprachen*, Delbrück (1897: 109ff.) qualified its semantics as "iterativ-**ziellose** Bedeutung" (emphasis is mine – LK). The second part of this definition adequately captures the functional opposition between this type and competing intransitive presents belonging to the same individual verbal system (IVS). I will return to Delbrück's analysis at the end of section 2.

Below I will try to substantiate the following claims. At least for some verbs (in particular, for *pat* 'fall, fly'), there is a semantic opposition between formations of the type *patáyati* and other intransitive presents (such as *pátati*). However, the meaning of the type *patáyati* cannot be determined as primarily iterative (although in some contexts the iterative meaning may indeed appear). Rather, the opposition between the members of some pairs of the type *pátati* ~ *patáyati* can be captured in terms of the telic/atelic distinction; or, at least, this distinction appears to identify the actual semantic content of the *pátati* ~ *patáyati* opposition more adequately than other aspectual meanings (Aktionsarten, or actionalities), such as iterative or intensive.

1.3 The telic/atelic distinction

To begin with, it will be necessary to formulate the definition of telicity. An action or process can be qualified as telic if it is directed to a certain goal, suggested by the very nature of this action/process (cf. also the term 'Grenzbezogen(heit)' introduced by Andersson (1972)). After the achievement of this goal the activity can be considered as realized and thus, normally, stops. By contrast, an atelic action or process does not suggest any inner terminal point built into the situation.

The telic/atelic opposition (also referred to as 'bound/unbound' and as 'predel'nyj/nepredel'nyj' in the Russian aspectological tradition) is well-studied in the literature dealing with aspectual distinctions and Aktionsarten (actionalities), particularly in Slavicist aspectological studies (see, for instance, Xolodovič 1963; Maslov 1978 = 2004: 314ff.; Maslov 1984: 11ff. = 2004: 29ff.; Comrie 1976: 44-48; Declerck 1979; Dahl 1981). This semantic distinction is well-attested in Slavic languages, where many verbal roots form telic/atelic pairs. Quite naturally, the telicity opposition can be best observed in the cases where the goal of a process/action amounts to a spatial goal, that is, with verbs of motion.

Thus, in Russian, telic/atelic pairs are attested for a number of verbs of motion, such as *bežat'* 'run' (telic) - *begat'* 'run' (typically, in different directions, without any particular or specified goal, chaotically – atelic), *idti* 'walk' (telic) - *xodit'* 'walk' (atelic) [a suppletive pair], *letet'* 'fly' (telic) - *letat'* 'fly' (atelic), *plyt'* 'swim' (telic) - *plavat'* 'swim' (atelic), *nesti* 'bear, carry' (telic) - *nosit'* 'bear, carry' (atelic), *vesti* 'lead' (telic) - *vodit'* 'lead' (atelic), *vezti* 'carry, drive' (telic) - *vozit'* 'carry, drive' (atelic), etc.

There are several diagnostic contexts which allow for either only telic or only atelic verbs and thus help to distinguish between these two meanings, cf. (1-5) (see also Declerck 1979: 763ff.):[5]

(1) *Dlja togo čtoby podderživat' formu, Ivan ežednevno begal [xodil, plaval, …] / *bežal [*šël,*plyl, …] 2 časa.*
'In order to stay fit, John was running [walking, swimming, …] for two hours every day'. (atelic)

[5] In fact, it is quite difficult to find pure diagnostic contexts, i.e. those which only allow for one member of the telic/atelic pair and entirely rule out the other, so that asterisks in (1-4) should probably be bracketed: *Ivan ežednevno begal [xodil, plaval, …] / (*)bežal [(*)šël,(*)plyl, …] 2 časa*, etc. In all cases where either telic or atelic reading is clearly preferred, as in (1-4), we can figure out a rather rare but theoretically possible situation which may legalize the opposite reading. Thus, adding *domoj* 'home' to (1) (i.e., *Ivan ežednevno* [verb of motion] *domoj 2 časa* 'John [was running, swimming, walking, …] home two hours every day'), we can use telic verbs on condition that we understand the situation as follows: on his way home (oriented, telic motion!), John started to run [walk, etc.] and was running [walking,…] for two hours.

In all such cases, contextual clarifications may help to make one of the two readings very improbable, but we are practically unable to get rid of it entirely. This situation is typical of aspectual contrasts (and well-known to aspectologists). Thus, there are many contexts which favour the perfective (imperfective) aspect but there are very few which entirely rule out the opposite member.

(2) *Ne znaja, čem sebja zanjat', Ivan begal [xodil] po komnate [plaval v bassejne, …] / *bežal [*šël] po komnate [*plyl v bassejne, …].*
'Not knowing how to keep himself occupied, John was running [walking] in the room [swimming in the pool, …]'. (atelic)

(3) *Segodnja Ivan bežal [šël,plyl, …] / *begal [*xodil, *plaval, …] domoj odin.*
'Today John was running [walking, swimming, …] home alone'. (telic)

(4) *Na puti domoj Ivan bežal [šël, …] / *begal [*xodil, …] čerez les.*
'On his way home John was running [walking, …] through the forest'. (telic)

(5) *Ivan bežal [šël,plyl, …] / *begal [*xodil, *plaval, …] (celyx) 2 km.*
'John was running [walking, swimming, …] (as much as) 2 km'. (telic, said of a motion directed to some goal)

Note that the telic/atelic distinction cannot be identified with and is essentially independent from the aspectual opposition 'perfective/imperfective' ['soveršennyj/nesoveršennyj vid'] – although there are some correlations between telicity and perfectivity. Thus, imperfective verbs can be atelic (*begat'*, *letat'*, etc.) or telic (*bežat'*, *letet'*, etc.).

Likewise, atelicity cannot be identified with iterativity/frequentativity, although the atelic, non-oriented character of an activity (motion) obviously favours the development of an iterative semantics, in accordance with scenarios such as the following: 'move without a certain goal' → 'move in different directions' → 'move repeatedly, several times'.

2. Vedic oppositions of the type *patáyati* ∼ *pátati*

2.1 Evidence from the R̥gveda and Atharvaveda

The two most ancient Vedic texts, the R̥gveda (RV) and Atharvaveda (AV), attest fifteen pairs consisting of an intransitive short root syllable *-áya-* present of the type *patáyati* and another intransitive present formation belonging to the same individual verbal system (IVS). The full list of such pairs (given by Jamison (1983: 56ff.)) includes: *kr̥páyati* ∼ *kŕ̥pate* 'mourn (for), long (for)', *citáyati, -te* ∼ *cétati* 'appear, perceive', *tujáyati* ∼ *tujáti* 'press forward', *turáyati* (RV), *tvarayati* ($AV^{1\times}$) ∼ *turánt-* 'hasten', *dasayate* ($RV^{1\times}$) ∼ *dásyati* 'become exhausted', *ví dyutayate* ($RV^{1\times}$) ∼ *dyótate* 'shine', *dravayanta* ($RV^{1\times}$) ∼ *drávati* 'run', *nadáyati, -te* ∼ *nádati* (AV+) 'resound', *patáyati* ∼ *pátati* 'fly', *riṣayádhyai* ($RV^{1\times}$) ∼ *ríṣyati* 'harm, to be harmed', *rucayate* ($RV^{1\times}$) ∼ *rócate* 'shine', *śucáyati* ∼ *śócati* 'gleam', *śubháyati, -te* ∼

śóbhate, *śúmbhate*, *śumbháte* 'be beautiful, splendid', *saráyanta* (RV$^{1\times}$) $\sim$ *sísr̥te* 'run', *áheḍayant-* (RV$^{1\times}$) $\sim$ *áheḍant-* 'be angry'. Some of these *-áya*-intransitives are hapaxes and/or nonce formations.[6]

After the RV the type *patáyati* goes out of use: in the AV we only find 3 attestations of *patáyati* and one attestation of *tvarayati* (replacing the RVic *turáyati*). Apparently, the RV is the only text where we may perhaps find some traces of the original specific meaning of the type *patáyati* – if any. Accordingly, in what follows I will limit my search to the evidence available from the RV.

Some of the above-listed *-áya*-intransitives are hapaxes and/or nonce formations created analogically. Therefore, it makes sense to start with pairs consisting of a formation of the type *patáyati* and its counterpart, another intransitive present, both of which are well-attested in Vedic and, presumably, inherited from Proto-Indo-European. A textbook example of such pair is *patáyati* $\sim$ *pátati*. Let us have a closer look at the usages, contexts, syntactic patterns and semantic features typical of these two formations.

2.2 Types of subjects

First, in order to determine the character of motion expressed by *pátati* and *patáyati*, it will be in order to catalog the most typical subjects with which these two presents are attested.

pátati usually appears with the subjects referring to deities, creatures or things moving (flying) purposefully, usually towards a certain goal. This present is particularly common with the subject of Aśvins making their divine journey (RV 1.183.1, 5.78.1-3, 8.10.6, 8.35.7, 8.35.8, 8.35.9) or of their chariot (1.46.3);[7] it also occurs with the subject of Yama (10.14.16), as well as of horses driving Sūrya (5.29.5) or Maruts (8.7.35). Very frequent is *pátati* with the subject of arrow(s) (*didyú-*, *didyút-*, *bāṇá-*) or of other weapons shot at some target, cf. RV 4.16.17 (*tigmā́ yád … aśániḥ pátāti* 'when the sharp thunderbolt will fly …'), 6.75.11, 6.75.16, 6.75.17, 7.25.1, 7.85.2, 10.27.22 (where arrows are compared with birds), 10.38.1, 10.134.5, 10.158.2. Other

[6] Thus, a number of verbs of light and shining have built short root syllable *-áya*-presents analogically (see Gotō 1987: 60; Roesler 1997: 161, fn. 290); they may be of denominative origin (Lubotsky 1989).

[7] Although Aśvins can be compared with birds (as in RV 1.183.1 *vír ná* 'like a bird'; 5.78.1-3, 8.35.8 *haṃsā́v iva* 'like two geese'; 8.35.9 *śyenā́v iva* 'like two hawks'), it is evident that their motion is crucially different from the predominantly non-oriented flattering of birds.

subjects attested with *pátati* include, in particular, prayer (3.39.3), falling flows of rain (1.79.2) and race horses (6.4.5).

By contrast, *patáyati* occurs with the subject of flattering bird(s), cf. RV 1.24.6, 1.155.5, 1.163.6, 5.45.9, 7.104.18 – that is, beings whose motion is regarded as prevailingly non-oriented and chaotic. Also, it appears with the subject of:

- mountains flattering like birds (RV 4.54.5);
- evil creatures of various kinds (6.71.5 *ábhvam* 'monster(s)', 7.104.20 *śváyātavaḥ* 'dog-like sorcerers');
- Indra compared to an angry bull dashing around (RV 10.43.8 *vŕ̥ṣā ná kruddháḥ patayad rájassv ā́*);
- the semen chaotically moving within the vagina before conception takes place (10.162.3);
- senses and wishes going in different directions, cf. RV 6.9.6 *ví me kárṇā patayato ví cákṣuḥ* 'my hearing [lit. ears] flies in all directions, my seeing';[8] 3.55.3 *ví me purutrā́ patayanti kā́māḥ* 'my wishes fly in many directions', 10.64.2 *venā́ḥ patáyanty ā́ díśaḥ* 'mental powers fly in all directions';
- stream(s) of liquid in a whirlpool (RV 4.58.7, 9.86.43);
- lightnings (RV 5.83.4).

In all these usages, *patáyati* is likely to refer to essentially non-oriented or chaotic flying, dashing around, meandering and similar types of motion.

This is not to say of course that these types of subjects are impossible or exceptional with the class I present *pátati*. Thus, *pátati* does occur with the subject of birds; however, in such cases it normally denotes an oriented non-chaotic motion, crucially different from that expressed by *patáyati*, cf. RV 1.25.7 (*vīnā́m padám antárikṣeṇa pátatām* 'path of birds flying through the atmosphere'), 1.164.47, 10.27.22, 10.165.5.[9]

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[8] Cf. Rus. *glaza razbegajutsja* (lit.) 'eyes are running in all directions' (said of someone who tries to visualize, cover with seeing, too many different objects), with the verbal prefix *raz-*, which is the semantic equivalent of Ved. *ví-*.

[9] One of the few exceptions is RV 10.80.5 *váyo antárikṣe pátantaḥ* 'birds flying in the atmosphere/sky', where one might expect the *-áya*-present (*patáyantaḥ*). *pátati* is likely to refer here to a non-specified type of motion; see Section 2.4 below.

2.3. Other syntactic arguments and typical usages/contexts

The relevance of the telic/atelic distinction for the interpretation of the opposition between *pátati* and *patáyati* is further corroborated by other syntactic features of constructions attested with these presents, such as secondary arguments with which they occur. In this section I will discuss a few such features, illustrating some configurations of flying typically expressed by these verbs.

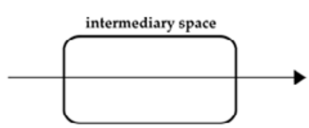
Most importantly, *pátati* may appear with the accusative, dative or adpositional (postpositional) phrase (PP) referring to the spatial goal of motion or general (abstract) goal to be achieved, as shown in the following figure:



Cf.:

- +Acc: RV 1.33.2 *júṣṭāṃ ná śyenó vasatím patāmi* 'I am flying like a falcon to his beloved nest'; 1.164.47 (*dívam* 'to the sky');
- +Dat: RV 1.25.4 (*vásyaïṣṭaye* 'in search of the better, of welfare'), 8.35.9 (*havyádātaye* 'for presenting oblations');
- +PP: RV 8.35.7 (*vánéd úpa* 'to the wooden vessel')

Furthermore, *pátati* occurs constructed with the instrumental denoting the place through which the subject is moving, particularly often with *antárikṣeṇa* 'through the atmosphere, sky, intermediary space between earth and heaven' (1.25.7, 8.7.35, 10.136.4), also with *pathíbhiḥ* '(following) the paths' (10.87.6). We also find accusatives in this usage, cf. RV 1.168.6 (*ví … patatha tveṣám arṇavám* 'you fly through a mighty stream'), 10.14.16 (*… patati ṣáḷ urvī́ḥ* '[Yama] flies through six wide [spaces]'). Such a feature can hardly characterize a non-oriented flying (cf. (4) above). The spatial configuration characterizing such type of motion can be schematically represented as follows:

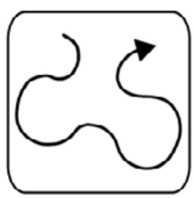


Furthermore, *pátati* appears with the accusative of covered distance, which, again, suggests the motion directed to a certain goal (cf. (5)), as in RV 2.16.3 *yád … pátasi yójanā purú* 'when you fly many yojanas':

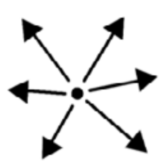


Finally, unlike *patáyati*, *pátati* is not infrequent with preverbs which specify the direction of flying or falling: *prá* 'away, forth' (10.27.22, 10.95.14, 10.97.13, 10.165.5), *nír* 'away' (10.24.5), *úd* 'up(wards)' (1.164.47, 2.43.3) and *áva* 'down' (10.97.17). Cf. also RV 1.29.6, where *pátāti* '[the wind] will fly' is constructed with the adverb *dūrám* 'far away'.

By contrast, *patáyati* typically refers to a chaotic motion (flying, flattering, etc.) and accordingly may occur constructed with the locative of the space within which this motion is performed, as in RV 10.43.8 *vṛ́ṣā ná kruddháḥ patayad rájassv ā́* 'like an angry bull, [Indra] is dashing in clouds of dust (aerial spaces?)':



We also find usages where *patáyati* is constructed with adverbials such as *purutrā́*, (RV 3.55.3: 'my wishes fly in many directions') or *ā́ díśaḥ* (RV 10.64.2: '[the watching mental powers] fly in all directions'), explicitly referring to the motion (flying) of a plural subject in many (all) directions:



Finally, *patáyati* does not occur with preverbs which denote the direction of motion, such as *prá* or *áva* (common with *pátati*), but is well-attested with the preverb expressing the chaotic (multidirectional) motion, *ví* (RV 3.55.3, 6.9.6).

2.4 Semantic and syntactic features of *pátati* and *patáyati*: a recapitulation

The most important of the above-discussed features are summarized in the table below. For each of them, I indicate the number of occurrences of *pátati* and *patáyati*.

	pátati	*patáyati*
Subjects		
birds	4× (1.25.7, 1.164.47, 10.27.22, 10.165.5 – all said of oriented flying); 1× (10.80.5 – non-specified?)	6× (1.24.6, 1.155.5, 1.163.6, 5.45.9, 6.46.11, 7.104.18)
senses, wishes	–	3× (3.55.3, 6.9.6, 10.64.2)
evil creatures	1× (10.87.6 – with Ins. of path)	2× (6.71.5, 7.104.20)
Aśvins	6× (1.183.1, 5.78.1-3, 8.10.6, 8.35.7, 8.35.8, 8.35.9)	–
chariot or horses of some god(s)	3× (1.46.3, 5.29.5, 8.7.35)	–
arrows and other weapons	10× (4.16.17, 6.75.11, 6.75.16, 6.75.17, 7.25.1, 7.85.2, 10.27.22, 10.38.1, 10.134.5, 10.158.2)	–
Other syntactic arguments and typical usages/contexts		
+ Acc./Dat./PP of goal	5× (1.33.2, 1.164.47; 1.25.4, 8.35.9; 8.35.7)	–
+ Ins. or Acc. of intermediary space	6× (1.25.7, 1.168.6, 8.7.35, 10.14.16, 10.87.6, 10.136.4)	–

‘in all directions’	2× (10.38.1, 10.134.5 – said of arrows)	3× (3.55.3, 6.9.6, 10.64.2)
Compounds with preverbs		
prá ‘away’	4× (10.27.22, 10.95.14, 10.97.13, 10.165.5)	–
úd ‘up(wards)’	2× (1.164.47, 2.43.3)	–
ví ‘in all directions’	–	2× (3.55.3, 6.9.6)

The above table clearly shows that the content of the semantic opposition *pátati* ∼ *patáyati* can most adequately be captured in terms of the telic/atelic distinction.

The difference between these two present formations does not, of course, amount to this single semantic contrast. First of all, in some cases, certain parameters may favour a telic reading, while others support another one, or *vice versa*. Thus, in RV 10.38.1 *víṣvak pátanti didyávaḥ* ‘arrows fly in all directions’ and 10.134.5 *víṣvak patantu didyávaḥ* ‘let arrows fly in all directions’, *pátati* occurs with the adverb *víṣvak* ‘in all directions’, typical of an atelic motion. In spite of that, the author may have chosen the class I present because of the subject of arrows (*didyávaḥ*), which strongly imposes a telic (goal-oriented) interpretation. By contrast, in RV 6.46.11 *yád antárikṣe patáyanti parṇíno didyávaḥ* ‘when feathered arrows fly in the sky …’, the author may have used the atelic present *patáyanti* with the subject of arrows, comparing numerous arrows flying in all directions with chaotically flattering birds (*parṇínaḥ*).

Furthermore, as mentioned in section 1.3, in some contexts atelic verbal forms could easily develop an iterative semantics, according to the scenario ‘move chaotically’ → ‘move in different directions’ → ‘move repeatedly’. Yet the atelic meaning seems to be more basic and underlie the iterative one, rather than *vice versa*.

Finally, in some usages *pátati*, as the unmarked member of the morphological opposition, could denote types of motion non-specified with regard to the telic/atelic distinction, cf. RV 10.80.5 *váyo antárikṣe pátantaḥ* ‘birds flying in the atmosphere/sky’, discussed above.

No doubt, Delbrück (1897: 109ff.) had this predominantly atelic semantics of *patáyati* in mind when characterizing its meaning as “iterativziellose Bedeutung”. He also rightly noticed the unmarked character and non-specific usages of one member of the opposition, *pátati*, as opposed to the marked *patáyati*:

"Dass bei *patáyati* der Ausgangs- oder Zielpunkt bezeichnet wäre, habe ich nicht gefunden […] *Pátati* kann so gebraucht werden, dass man eine Verschiedenheit von *patáyati* nicht bemerkt […] In anderen Stellen erscheint deutlich der begrenzte (einaktige) Gebrauch, z.B. […] fliege der Pfeil […]" (Delbrück 1897: 110)

Unfortunately, Delbrück's observation was disregarded in the later scholarship.[10] Like in many other cases, he considerably anticipated the contemporary Indo-European linguistics – a feature which he has in common with the addressee of this Festschrift.

3. Other pairs of the type *patáyati* ~ *pátati*

In this section I will discuss a few other examples of the type *patáyati* ~ *pátati*, i.e. of the opposition built by a short root syllable *-áya*-formation and another intransitive present of the same IVS.

3.1 <u>*dravayanta* ~ *drávati*</u> 'run'

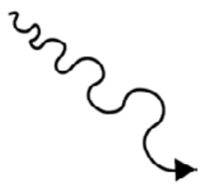
Noteworthy is the only occurrence of the short root syllable *-áya*-formation *dravayanta*:

(6) (RV 10.148.5)
ūrmír ná nimnáir dravayanta vákvāḥ
'The [praises] are running sinuously, like a stream through a valley'.

Jamison (1983: 60) qualifies it as a nonce formation created alongside the ordinary class I present *drávati*, but leaves unanswered the question which

[10] It is important to note that Brugmann (1892: 1147ff.), as well as Delbrück in an earlier paper of his (1894), offers as many as three terms for identifying the semantic distinction between *pátati* and *patáyati* ("eine Function, die man als intensive, iterative oder frequentative bezeichnen mag"). In this list we do not find yet any mention of the atelic ('ziellose') meaning. It appears a few years later in Delbrück's *Vergleichende Syntax*, replacing the term 'intensive'. In the 2nd edition of his *Grundriss* (1916: 247), Brugmann accurately mentioned this important correction by Delbrück: "Die Verba dieser Klasse [= with the suffix **-éi̯e/o-* – LK] fungieren seit uridg. Zeit als Kausativa […] oder als Iterativa (genauer ist die Bedeutung als iterativ-ziellos zu bezeichnen), bezw. Intensiva". Unfortunately, most scholars seem to have merely disregarded this important addendum, only referring to Brugmann's and Delbrück's earlier formulations, instead of Delbrück's more correct definition (1897). The terms 'iterative' and 'intensive' ("meist iterativ-intensive Bedeutung") appear, in particular, in Thumb and Hauschild's authoritative handbook (1959: 338ff.). From Brugmann's and Thumb and Hauschild's handbooks, they have found their way into some other studies on the Indo-European and Vedic verb, still further obscuring matters.

specific meaning the author of the hymn may have had in mind when using this particular form. According to Gotō (1987: 178), "*dravayanta* ist wohl als Iterativ-Stamm zu beurteilen"; however, the context barely supports the iterative interpretation of this passage ('praises are running repeatedly'?). It seems that the poet rather refers to a typical trajectory of a water stream on a flat surface, a river whimsically meandering through the valley, as shown in the below figure; the same idea is expressed by the adjective *vákva-* 'sinuous, crooked', derived from the root *vañc* 'move, go crookedly, waveringly':



3.2 <u>*ví … dyutayanta* ∼ *dyótamānā-*</u> **'shine, flash'**

Oppositions of the type *patáyati* ∼ *pátati* are also attested for a few verbs of light and shining: *ví dyutayate* ∼ *dyótate* 'shine', *rucayate* ∼ *rócate* 'shine', *śucáyati* ∼ *śócati* 'gleam', *śubháyati*, *-te* ∼ *śóbhate*, *śúmbhate*, *śumbháte* 'be beautiful, splendid'. Most often, we do not discover any subsumable semantic distinction between the members of such pairs; as rightly noticed by Roesler (1997: 161, fn. 290), a few such verbs built zero grade *-áya-* formations analogically. Furthermore, the telic/atelic distinction seems to be much less important for verbs of this semantic domain than for verbs of motion.

Yet, there is at least one pair for which the telic/atelic distinction appears to be as relevant as in the case of *patáyati* ∼ *pátati*. The RVic hapax *-áya-* present *-dyutayate* 'shine, flash' (cf. (7)) is opposed to the class I present *dyóta-*^{te} id., attested from the late RV onwards (one occurrence in book 10, quoted under (8)):

(7) (RV 2.34.2)
vy àbhríyā ná dyutayanta vṛṣṭáyaḥ
'[The lightnings] flash like rainy thunderclouds.'

(8) (RV 10.177.2)
tā́ṃ dyótamānāṃ svaryàm manīṣā́m
'This sun-like (?) knowledge, which lights up …'

An important difference between these two usages consists, in particular, in the type of subjects of *dyut*. While *vy … dyutayanta* refers to flashings produced by lightnings (note the *figura etymologica vidyút-* 'lightning' / *vy … dyutayanta*), *dyótamānā-* is likely to characterize the light similar to that produced by the sun. The creation of the nonce form *vy … dyutayanta* was certainly supported by the noun *vidyút-*. In addition, the *-áya-*present may emphasize both the repeated (iterative) flashing and the non-straightforward, zigzag trajectory of a chained or forked lightning (cf. the joke quoted in the epigraph). Note also that the subject of lightning occurs with yet another short root syllable *-áya*-present, *patáyati* (RV 5.83.4), where it is likely to refer to a zigzag motion, too. The constant illuminating light produced by the sun (*dyótamānā*) is of a clearly different nature.

4. Other (present) formations with atelic semantics

The relevance of the telic/atelic distinction is not limited to the *-áya-*presents of the type *patáyati*. There is another formation which may exhibit the atelic meaning, the reduplicated present (class III in the traditional notation).

A particularly instructive example is provided by the verb *bhr̥* 'carry, bring'. The class I present derived from the verb *bhr̥* exhibits a telic or non-specified meaning (*bhárati* 'brings'; cf. Germ. *bringen*, Rus. *nesti*), being clearly opposed to the reduplicated present *bíbharti* 'carries' (cf. Germ. *tragen*, Rus. *nosit'*), employed with an atelic (or iterative) meaning. Again, as in the case of the type *patáyati*, the atelic semantics of some reduplicated presents has been noticed as early as in Delbrück's *Vergleichende Syntax* (1897: 18): "*bíbharti* … wird von der nicht auf ein Ziel gerichteten Thätigkeit des Tragens gebraucht".[11] Cf. an especially clear instance of the telic/atelic opposition in (9):

[11] See also Joachim 1978: 116-117; Gotō 1987: 225-227; Kulikov 2005: 443-444.

(9) (RV 10.30.13)
yád ā́po ádr̥śram … ghr̥tám páyāṃsi bíbhratīr mádhūni … índrāya sómaṃ súṣutam bhárantīḥ
'When the waters, which carry [*bíbhratīr*] ghee, milk, and honey, which bring [*bhárantīḥ*] the well-pressed soma-sap to Indra, became visible...'

A similar semantic opposition between a non-reduplicated and reduplicated presents is instantiated by the verb *pad* 'fall, move'. The *-ya*-present *pádyate* 'falls, moves' (unspecified motion) is opposed to the reduplicated present *píbda-* 'trudge, plod' (atelic; in Strunk/Gotō's description, 'stapfen, auf der Stelle treten'), attested in the middle participle *píbdamāna-* (see Strunk 1977: 977-980; Gotō 1987: 280, fn. 650).

Note that, as in the case of the type *patáyati*, in some usages the atelic (non-oriented) verbal forms can easily develop the iterative semantics, so that reduplicated presents can also express repeated, iterated activities.

It is interesting to note that, in fact, there is a double functional parallelism between *-áya*-presents and reduplicated formations. On the one hand, both short root syllable *-áya*-presents (type *patáyati*) and reduplicated presents (class III) can render the atelic ('ziellose') meaning. On the other hand, the causative function is shared by the long root syllable *-áya*-presents (type *pātáyati*) and yet another reduplicated formation, the causative aorist of the type *ápīpatat*. As M. Leumann has demonstrated (1962), the causative reduplicated aorist is likely to originate in the imperfect of the reduplicated present. Note also that a few reduplicated (class III) presents function in Vedic as causatives within the corresponding IVSs, cf. *r̥ccháti* 'attains, reaches', *r̥ṇvati* 'moves, sets in motion' ~ *íyarti* 'sets in motion',[12] *yúcchati* 'keeps away' ~ *yuyóti* 'makes keep away' (see e.g. Joachim 1978: 53ff.; 139ff.).

This functional similarity is shown in the scheme below:

[12] For the relationships between several presents derived from *r̥* (*ar*) that probably reflect more than one originally different roots (PIE *h_1*er-*, *h_2*er-* and *h_3*er-* (?)), see, in particular, Kümmel 2000; *LIV*: 238, 269ff., 299ff.

(non-specified/telic)	atelic	causative
	short root syllable *-áya*-presents:	long root syllable *-áya*-presents:
(other presents:	type *patáyati*	type *pātáyati*
class I, *cha*-presents, etc.)	reduplicated presents (class III): *bíbharti* etc.	reduplicated (causative) aorists: type *ápīpatat* (reduplicated presents: *íyarti* etc.)

5. Concluding remarks: cognates and sources of the type *patáyati*

To conclude the discussion of the semantics of the type *patáyati*, it will be in order to briefly touch upon its possible cognates and parallels outside Indo-Iranian. There is probably no need to argue that evidence for the atelic meaning of some *-*éi̯e/o*-presents can be found in other branches of Indo-European. In fact, some reflexes of this Proto-Indo-European type which are traditionally called 'iteratives' can be more adequately characterized as atelic formations. This holds, in particular, for a few Greek -έω verbs, such as ποτέομαι 'flutter around',[13] and, especially, some Slavic *i*-verbs. Note that, as in the case of the Vedic *-áya*-presents, this morphological type is 'shared' by causatives and iterative/atelic verbs; cf. Old Church Slavonic causatives *-moriti* 'make die', *-ložiti* 'make lie, place', *topiti* 'make sink', *kvasiti* 'make sour', etc. vs. atelic verbs *nositi* 'bear, carry', *voditi* 'lead', *voziti* 'carry, drive', etc.[14] On the basis of the Slavic evidence, it would be tempting to assume that the distribution of these two *-*éi̯e/o*-types was dependent on the transitivity of the base verb: the same suffix functioned as a transitivizer (causative morpheme) when applying to intransitives and rendered the atelic meaning with transitives. The Vedic evidence partly supports this scheme: in early Vedic, *-áya*-causatives can only be derived from intransitives; however, in contrast to the situation in Slavic, *patáyati* iteratives mostly derive from intransitives, too. Since we find no reliable evidence for the Proto-Indo-European *-*éi̯e/o*-presents with the **e*- or zero grade in the root (which might yield the Vedic type *patáyati/dyutáyati*), this morphological subtype may represent an Indo-Aryan innovation. Perhaps Vedic has reinterpreted the original opposition between causative and atelic *-*éi̯e/o*-presents derived from intransitives and transitives, respectively,

[13] See Tucker's (1990: 144ff. et passim) objections against the iterative interpretation of this type in Greek.

[14] See e.g. Vaillant 1966: 410ff. and, particularly, the delicate analysis of the Balto-Slavic reflexes of the *-*éi̯e/o*- causatives and iteratives and their interplay with another verbal type, *-*āie*-denominatives, offered by Kortlandt (1989).

as the opposition between causatives and (prevailingly intransitive) non-causatives, entirely banning the *-áya*-derivation from transitives. Later, the secondary distinction between short and long root syllable *-áya*-presents could be introduced, in order to distinguish atelic verbs from causatives.

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LINGUISTIC LAWS AND UNIVERSALS: THE TWAIN…

WINFRED P. LEHMANN

Linguistic articles and other works are dotted with references to laws, and more recently to statements based on universals, as well as filled with observations that are comparable to some of the more prestigious formulations adorned with the names of practitioners in the field. The use of these terms and their application to specific features of language as well as to the history and relationships of languages is of some interest and importance in the treatment of language and its history.

Collinge in his handbook on the laws of Indo-European provides a useful survey of the standard laws, sometimes with a light or even tart touch, but leaves a definition of law to "philosophers of language history" (1985: 1). Trask in his dictionary of grammatical terms fails to include an entry for law, but he does provide one for universal (1993: 293). Similarly, Buβmann; but she has entries for Behaghel's law of increasing members and Zipf's of economy of effort (1983: 168) besides more than a page on universals (1983: 563-565). Yet Collinge relegates to an appendix Behaghel's laws I-V and Zipf's "principles" as major tendencies that "promote general principles of diachrony and its study in Indo-European as much as elsewhere" (1985: 250-258).

In that appendix he includes Zipf's law as applied to a text, which "states that, over a diagnostic length of text, the occurrences of an item of a given frequency rank (or the occurrences of all such items) will be found to vary strictly in proportion to the sequence of the frequency rules" (1985: 257). The law was published in the 1930s. Thereupon three linguists at the University of Wisconsin, Myles Hanley, W. Freeman Twaddell and Martin Joos, decided to test it on a text that might be called idiosyncratic in its vocabulary, James Joyce's *Ulysses.* After recording and classifying the words by the cumbersome methods of the time, they found that the law was valid even for such an unusual work. Behaghel's law on increasing members also has widespread validity as in phrases like "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness". If the term law had its basic meaning, these would be real laws in contrast to those like Grimm's and Verner's that are valid only for given languages at specific times. Yet presumably Crystal's definition (1997: 216) that "a regular series of changes is traditionally referred to in COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY as a sound law…" qualifies

as standard, if supplemented by extension to morphology, syntax and other areas like metrics.

General handbooks vary in their treatment of the term law and its application. Sapir has an entire chapter on "language as a historical product: phonetic law" (1921: 193-204) but he does not define law. He examines in detail "the English phonetic laws involved in the rise of the words *foot, feet* … from their early West-Germanic prototypes…" and includes general comments like that on p. 193: "In practice phonetic laws have their exceptions, but more intensive study almost invariably shows that these exceptions are more apparent than real". Bloomfield on the other hand dismisses the term in his chapter on phonetic change, with a comment on the neogrammarian hypothesis that "phonetic laws have no exceptions". He states bluntly "it is evident that the term 'law' has here no precise meaning, for a sound-change is not in any sense a law, but only a historical occurrence" (1933: 354). Similarly Jespersen: "It would perhaps be best if linguists entirely gave up the habit of speaking of phonetic 'laws', and instead used some such expression as phonetic formulas or rules" (1922: 297). Hock has six chapters on sound change (1986: 34-166), but does not discuss the term 'law', simply including Grimm's law and other examples, nor the term 'universal' and its applications.

In spite of such treatment, laws of various kinds, phonetic/phonemic, morphological, syntactic, metrical, are commonly cited by their designation or referred to in materials on language, usually with no explanation of their domain. Yet because of the widespread references to laws and universals, and to their applications, they might well be a matter of some concern in a field with aspirations for scientific validity.

Sketching the history of our field we may characterize linguistic activities to the beginning of the 19^{th} century as descriptive and synchronic. They culminate in Adelung's *Mithridates*, in which characteristics are given as well as a brief text for all languages with materials that had been published at the time (1806-1816). To provide a readily available example of its entries I included a translation of the treatment of Turkish in the initial article of *Syntactic Typology* (1978: 27-29). The categories presented for the various languages may be considered to be universal. Basically unhistorical, *Mithridates* provides no laws. Then with Jones's wakeup call with its statements concerning Sanskrit and the well-known European languages, virtually all attention turned to historical study, and so remained for almost a century and a half. One of the notable items in the early period was Jacob Grimm's treatment of the Germanic sound shifts in the second edition of his grammar. He refers to them as *Lautverschiebungen*,

and to the various rules as *die Gesetze der Theorie*, i.e. 'the laws of the theory' (I: 502). In the following years the Germanic and the High German sound shifts were associated, and the entire set referred to as a *Gesetz*, Grimm's law. The stage was then set for the later use of the term. But the stampede to identify and publish laws did not get started until the publication of Verner's law in 1876. Humboldt still referred to linguistic laws in a synchronic sense, but after Verner's publication the term belonged to historical linguistics. In 1895 Hirt produced a law on the leftward shift of accent in Balto-Slavic, and the chase intensified. Of the forty-one laws listed by Collinge twenty-one deal with accent or intonation, all but five of these with Balto-Slavic. Like Hirt's, some treat leftward shift; others, like Saussure's, rightward shift. Some relate accentual conditions with effects on vowels, Leskien's with shortening, Winter's with lengthening. Many support their law with a handful of examples.

Unfortunately for the well-described Indo-European dialects, the possibilities for eternal glory by linkage to a "law" had been passed. The laws that Sapir referenced regarding umlaut in the Germanic dialects had been stated before the rite had been established. Similarly for Sanskrit, Greek and Latin, Ferdinand Sommer could make numerous observations about shifts and relationships in his several books on Greek and Latin but there is no Sommer's law. And curiously, the practice never took hold in the treatment of the Anatolian and Tocharian languages. Remarkably, they, as well as Armenian and Albanian, are not credited with any. Yet the handbooks on these languages contain statements on phonology, morphology and syntax that are comparable to laws like that on the change of Latin *ow* to *aw* credited to Thurneysen and Havet (Collinge 1985: 193-195). And with the decline of interest in historical linguistics, even trivial formulations adorned with names of their discoverers have slackened, although Collinge has a supplement on minor laws, most of them recent (1985: 229-240).

Typological classification on the other hand is flourishing. A tenuous tradition of determining patterns in language was maintained from Adelung through Humboldt, Steinthal, and others to Franz Nikolaus Finck and *Pater* Wilhelm Schmidt (Finck 1923: iii). But only recently has the term 'universal' achieved prominence. Humboldt had used it as an adjective, stating: "Since the *natural disposition* of language is universal in man, and everyone must possess the key to the understanding of all languages, it follows automatically that the *form* of all languages must be essentially the *same*, and always achieve the universal purpose" (1836, cf. 1999: 215). Similarly, Steinthal considered "that all languages make up the complete organism of the linguistic idea and are members of it. The classification

of languages has the task of presenting this organism; it displays the universal form of the language of humanity" (1850, cf. Arens 1955: 219). The term law is no longer included.

Finck sketched eight principal types of the structure of language on the basis of morphological and syntactic patterns (1927). *Pater* Wilhelm Schmidt begins his book stating that language is a most intimate product of the human spirit and therefore can provide the best witness on the actual nature of the soul. Both are concerned with the relationship of the structure of a language to the culture of its speakers, stated by Schmidt in the title to the second section of his book: "The language groups (*Kreisen*) and their relation to the culture groups" (1926: 269-540). The chief part of this deals with the position of the genitive of possession, and its effects, as on the position of the pronominal subject, the accusative, and the adjective. But he does not use the term 'universal'.

The term is associated with the publications of Greenberg. Buβmann summarizes his definition with brief references to others, identifying five kinds: "Unlimited, such as the statement 'every language has vowels'. Implicative, such as the statement: 'if a language has the dual, it also has the plural'. Limited equivalence, such as the statement: 'if a language has a lateral click, it will also have a dental one.' Structural or grammatical, such as that 'nasals with exceptions occur in all languages of the world'. Statistical correlations, such as 'if a language has second plural forms, it will also have third plural forms'" (1983: 564, cf. Greenberg 1966). The most fruitful universals deal with the structure of the simple sentence with the components Subject Verb Object, permitting six arrangements. Other patterns are associated with these, such as that of adpositions, comparison of inequality, position of the possessive genitive and descriptive adjectives with regard to the noun they modify. One might point out that this set of basic patterns applies only to sentences with transitive verbs, while Schmidt's key trigger, the position of the genitive, applies to sentences with all syntactic relationships. But the S and V and O formulae are thoroughly established, and the patterns associated with them securely labeled as universals.

While Schmidt stated that his key structural formulae would be modified by cultural changes, they were essentially synchronic as are his statements dealing with universals. The two approaches to language were only closely aligned in the contentive typology developed in the Soviet Union in the 1930's. As clearly presented by Klimov in his numerous publications, this involves "the different language levels such as lexical, syntactic, morphological and … [possibly] phonological". Moreover, it posits four language types: Class, Active, Ergative, Nominative. Klimov

further points out that in his view "the consistent realization of the systematic approach in typology appears to be the most important prerequisite for the introduction of historism as one of its principles" (1983: 331). In a chart he notes how languages in one of the four types may shift from Class to Active to Ergative to Accusative, affecting semantic, syntactic and morphological structures (1983: 334). While he does not cite specific laws that may be formulated under 'historism' the statement indicates that the long separate approaches to language historically and synchronically or descriptively have now been resolved.

In support of the statement I cite two examples that now are well-received. The conjugational system of the Hittite verbal system has been clarified synchronically and diachronically by the proposal that an earlier form of the language was Active in structure, and that the *mi*-conjugation is a reflex of the earlier active/animate conjugation while the *hi*-conjugation is a reflex of the earlier inactive/stative conjugation. The perfect in other dialects was recognized as related to the *hi*-conjugation, but except for discussion of its stative meaning the situation had no explanation. As a result of the determination of the "systematic approach", we now have an explanation by assuming that both the *hi*-conjugation and the perfect developed from the stative conjugation in Pre-Indo-European, and that this was Active in structure (cf. Lehmann 1993: 218-20). Moreover, in the personal pronoun system forms with a –*w*- component are found both in the first person plural, as in Gothic nominative plural *weis*, English *we*, and in the second person, as in the Gothic genitive, dative and accusative plural forms *izwara*, *izwis, izwis,* as well as in other dialects. Prokosch recognized a similarity to the inclusive/exclusive system attested in some languages, but provided no explanation for such a situation in Germanic (1939: 282). It is now clear that such a system is characteristic of Active languages and that the presence of -*w*- in first and second person pronouns of early Indo-European languages is a reflex of that earlier structure (cf. Lehmann 1993: 223).

A topic that has not been identified before the structure of Active languages was determined is the presence of version. By version, verbs may have meanings that correspond to both transitive and intransitive force. An example through residues is the use of reflexes of PIE **nem*- to mean both 'give', as in Greek *némō* 'distribute', and 'take', as in Gothic *niman*, German *nehmen* and other attestations in the Germanic languages. The application of version differs from that of the use of 'grow' both transitively and intransitively in that the meaning is not brought about by a following

object or lack of it (cf. Lehmann 2000). Evidence for other such characteristics of Active structure should now be identified in all the Indo-European languages.

The recognition that language should be viewed as a structure that can be understood by generalizations referred to as universals has set the tone for linguistics. The basic syntactic structure of many languages has been sketched, providing a pattern for the six thousand or so others that should now be, with results available on the internet (cf. Hawkins 1983). Similarly, patterns of change have been identified, though for far fewer languages than those that have been described. Attention to trivial matters will continue. But as a result of the knowledge achieved under the systematic approach we can look forward to improved understanding of languages as they flourish synchronically and diachronically.

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VEDIC 'OX' AND 'SACRIFICIAL CAKE'

ALEXANDER LUBOTSKY

1. In Vedic, *s* was sometimes retracted when followed by a vowel and a retroflex stop:

s > ṣ / _(C)VṬ (Ṭ = retroflex stop)

The clearest examples of this sound change are furnished by derivatives of the root *sah-* 'to conquer' (Wackernagel 1896: 224f.), cf. *á-ṣā́ḷha-* 'unconquerable' (12x RV) < *°sazḍ^{h}a-*, nom.sg. *ṣā́ṭ* of the root noun 'conqueror' and of compounds in *-sah-* (*janāṣā́ṭ, turāṣā́ṭ, purāṣā́ṭ, pr̥tanāṣā́ṭ, virāṣā́ṭ, vr̥thāṣā́ṭ, satrāṣā́ṭ*) < *°sāṭṣ. From the nom.sg. *pr̥tanāṣā́ṭ* (5x RV), *ṣ* spread to the other cases of this word, viz. *°ṣáham* (RV 5.23.2, 8.98.10), *°ṣā́ham* (RV 6.72.5), *°ṣáhaḥ* (RV 6.45.8) and to a derivative *pr̥tanāṣā́hya-* (RV 3.37.1).

On the other hand, the assimilation has not taken place in *sā́ḷhar-* m. (RV 7.56.23) 'conqueror', *sāḍhá-* (AVŚ 5.30.9) 'overpowered', *sāḍhāmitra-* (AVP 10.4.13) 'overpowering the enemies', inf. *sā́ḍhyai*, ger. *sāḍhvā́* (MS). This leads to the conclusion that the rule only applied to a non-initial *s*. The nom.sg. *ṣā́ṭ* (a hapax RV 1.63.3b) may be analogical after *vr̥thāṣā́ṭ* in the following verse (RV 1.63.4d) and after other compounds in *°ṣā́ṭ*.

It follows from this distribution that the initial *ṣ-* of *ṣáṣ-* (nom.sg. *ṣáṭ*) 'six' can hardly be due to this Vedic rule. And indeed, the assimilated *š-* is attested in Avestan *xšuuaš* and in Balto-Slavic (OCS *šestь*, Lith. *šešì*), so that the assimilation in the word for 'six' must have taken place at a much older stage, possibly even in "proto-satəm" times.[1]

The conditions of our rule can be further specified. Both in *á-ṣā́ḷha-* and in *°ṣā́ṭ*, original *s* was followed by a consonant cluster containing a retroflex spirant (*ẓḍh* and *ṭṣ*, respectively), which was later lost. It seems therefore likely that there was phonetic assimilation of intervocalic *-s-* to *ṣ/ẓ* in the following syllable, which became phonological when the conditioning factor disappeared (thus already Wackernagel 1896: 224 with references).[2]

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[1] I wonder, incidentally, whether the problematic onset of Armenian *vecʿ* may have something to do with the assimilated *š-.

[2] The assimilation of *s* to the following sibilant is well attested in Sanskrit, cf. *śváśura-* 'father-in-law' < *svaśura-, *śúṣka-* 'dry' < *suṣka-, etc. Note, however, that in these instances the conditioning factor has not disappeared.

2. As far as I know, it has not been noticed before that this rule has some important implications. First, it helps to explain the compound *puroḍā́ś-* m. 'sacrificial cake' = *purás* 'before' + *dā́ś-* 'homage'. In the RV, this word is inflected as follows: nom.sg. *puroḷā́ḥ*, acc.sg. *puroḷā́śam*, but in the later texts, it only appears in the thematicized form *puroḍā́śa-*. The previous explanations of the retroflex are unconvincing[3], so that a fresh look at the problem is necessary. Let us consider the expected nominative of this compound, which must be reconstructed as Proto-Indo-Iranian **prHazdā́ćṣ* > **purazdā́ṭṣ*. Applying our assimilation rule, we get **purazḍā́ṭṣ*. Next, *-ẓ-* was lost with compensatory lengthening of the preceding short vowel. In case of *a*, the result of this lengthening is normally *ā*, but *o* after *v*, as follows from the following examples (cf. Lubotsky 2000: 257):

- *á-ṣāḷha-* adj. 'unconquerable' < **saẓḍ^{h}a-* < PIE **seǵ^h-to-*; *sā́ḷhar-* m. 'conqueror' (RV 7.56.23) < **saẓḍ^{h}ar-* < PIE **seǵ^h-ter-*;
- *ní-bāḷha-* (RV 1.106.6), *bāḷhé* adv. 'strongly' (RV 1.181.7), *bāḷha-*(*sṛ̥́tvan-*) (RV 1.122.10) < **baẓḍ^{h}a-* < PIE **b^{h}n̥ǵ^h-to-*;
- *vóḷhar-* m. 'driving (horse)' < **vaẓḍ^{h}ar-* < PIE **ueǵ^h-tor-*, infinitives *vóḷhave*, *ánu prá voḷhum* < **vaẓḍ^{h}u-* < PIE **ueǵ^h-tu-*; 2,3 du. impv. root aor. *voḷham*, *voḷhā́m* (cf. Narten 1964: 240, fn. 727);
- *ṣoḷhā́* adv. 'six times' (RV 3.55.18), *ṣoḍaśá-* (AV+) 'the sixteenth', *ṣoḍaśín-* (AVŚ 11.7.11 = AVP 16.83.1, AVP 17.29.16, etc.) adj. 'the one of sixteen', *ṣóḍaśa* (TS+) 'sixteen' < **ṣvaẓ-ḍ$^{(h)}$°*.

In order to account for the *-o-*vocalism of *puroḍā́ś-*, we can either conjecture that the preceding *-u-* had the same impact on *a* as *-v-* did, or assume that the phonetically regular reflex of **puraẓḍā́ṭṣ* was **purāḍā́ṭṣ*, but *puro°* was restored, since *purā°* in compounds means 'long time ago, of old, of yore' and not 'in front, in advance'. At any rate, the nominative had become **puroḍā́ṭṣ*, and the only step we need to arrive at the attested *puroḍā́ḥ* is the dissimilatory loss of *-ṭ-*.[4] From the nom.sg., the *ḍ* was generalized

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[3] Bloomfield 1890: 356 ascribes the retroflex to a following palatal, while Wackernagel (1896: 172: "Vielleicht") thinks that *-ḍ-* has been taken over from *dūḍā́ś-* (AV) adj. 'bringing bad homage'. Debrunner and Wackernagel (1930: 246) follow Bartholomae 1888: 579 in that the origin of the nom.sg. must be sought in the *bh*-cases, i.e. **puraz-dāẓ-bh-* > **puraẓ-dāẓ-bh-* > **puro-ḍāḍ-bh-* > **puroḍādbh-*, but these cases are unattested.

[4] A similar dissimilation is probably responsible for the nom.sg. *sadhamā́ḥ* (RV 7.18.7c) < **sadhamāts* of *sadhamā́d-* 'drinking companion' (Wackernagel 1896: 305). As pointed out

throughout the paradigm, just like -*ṣ*- in *pṛtanāṣā́ṭ*, °*ṣáham*, °*ṣáhaḥ*, discussed above, section 1.

3. Another puzzle of the same kind is the word for 'draught-animal, ox', which has the following inflection in Vedic (cf. Jamison 1991: 78f):

	sg.	du.	pl.
nom.	*anaḍvā́n* (AV+)	*anaḍvā́hau* (RV+)	*anaḍvā́has* (AV+)
acc.	*anaḍvā́ham* (RV+)		*anaḍuhas* (PB)
instr.	*anaḍúhā* (YV)		*anaḍúdbhis* (AVP, YV)
dat.	*anaḍúhe* (YV)		*anaḍúdbhyas* (AVŚ, AVP)
gen.	*anaḍúhas* (AV+)		*anaḍuhām* (AVP)
loc.	*anaḍúhi* (AV)		*anaḍútsu* (RV)
fem.	*anaḍvāhī́* (MS, KS), *anaḍuhī́* (ŚB)		

In spite of the fact that the derivation of this word is perfectly clear (it is a compound of *ánas*- 'cart' and *vah*- 'to draw'), the forms are very unusual and still unexplained[5].

Let us again start with the nominative. The compound **anas-vā́h*- must have first yielded **anazvāṭṣ* (forms like *ánas-vant*-, *anas-vín*- 'having a cart', etc. show the restored voiceless *s*, which is the usual procedure in Sanskrit). The assimilation rule of section 1 turned **anazvāṭṣ* into **anaẓvāṭṣ*, which contained a unique sequence -*aẓv*-. The only position within a word where *ẓ* occurred in Proto-Indo-Aryan was before a voiced stop. As we have seen above, this sound was then lost with compensatory lengthening of the preceding short vowel. My contention is that in the sequence -*aẓv*-, *ẓ* was not lost, but at some stage merged with *ḍ*. What happened next? In a way similar to **puroḍā́ṭṣ* > *puroḍā́ḥ*, **anaḍvāṭṣ* yielded **anaḍvāṣ* > **anaḍvāḥ*. The latter form was then replaced by the attested *anaḍvā́n* (= *anaḍvā́ṃs*). As is well known, all nominatives in *-*vāḥ* have got an analogical -*n*- in Vedic,

by Oldenberg 1904-1912 7.18.7, however, this form may be due to a poetic analogy to *puroḷā́ḥ* in 7.18.6a.

[5] Jamison explains the *ḍ* by a metathesis of *ḍ* and *d* in *anaḍúdbhis* < **anaduḍbhis*, but, even if we accept the explanation through metathesis, which is entirely *ad hoc*, it is hardly conceivable that the instr. and dat.pl. can lead to the complete restructuring of the paradigm, particularly in a word of this semantics, where the plural cases are not too frequent.

cf. nom.sg. *svátavān* of *svá-tavas-* 'possessing his own power', *svávān* of *svávas-* 'of good help', *tuvīrávān* of *tuvī-rávas-* 'bellowing (?) loudly' and the nom.sg. of the perfect active participles *-vān*, cf. Debrunner-Wackernagel 1930: 287. It follows that the nom.sg. of the word for 'ox' can be accounted for with only one assumption for which there is no parallel, viz. that *-aẓv-* became *-aḍv-*.[6]

As to *anaḍúdbhis* (AVP, YV) and *anaḍúdbhyas* (AVŚ, AVP), they must be due to some kind of dissimilation (Wackernagel 1896: 180, where TS *paṣṭhavā́t* vs. the usual *paṣṭhavā́ṭ* is given as a parallel), but the exact conditions are difficult to determine, since we do not know what the phonetically regular reflex of **ẓ́bʰ* was.

4. This analysis of *puroḍā́ḥ* and *anaḍvā́n* has further important consequences for the notorious problem of the nom.sg. of root nouns in a palatal stop. The problem is usually formulated as that of the distribution between the ending *-ṭ* (nom.sg. *víṭ* from *víś-* f. 'settlement, community') vs. the ending *-k* (nom.sg. *dík* from *díś-* f. 'direction'). Now, as we have seen, there is one more ending, viz. *-ḥ* in *puroḷā́ḥ* and **anaḍvā́ḥ* (→ *anaḍvā́n*).

Let us now look at the complete evidence. Considering the fact that nom.sg. in *-k* is mainly found after *r*, while nom.sg. in *-ḥ* is only found after a retroflex stop, it is clear that the distribution among the three endings must be basically phonetic, as has already been surmised by Meillet (1905-1906) and others (see Kuiper 1967: 116, fn. 56 for the references). The precise conditions have never been formulated, however. Below I have arranged the relevant material in accordance with the phonetic context (if not otherwise indicated, the forms are attested in the RV). The collection is based on the evidence presented in Wackernagel 1896: 173f. and Debrunner 1957.

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[6] There are several cases in Sanskrit, where *ḍ* stands for **ẓ* (cf. Wackernagel 1896: 176), e.g. 2sg.impv. s-aor. *aviḍḍhi* (which has replaced **avīḍʰi* < **aviẓ-dʰi*), instr.pl. *viprúḍbhiḥ* of *viprúṣ-* 'drop'.

Nom.sg. *-ṭ*:

víṭ (*-ś-*) f. 'village, people', *spáṭ* (*-ś-*) m. 'spy', *vipā́ṭ* (*-ś-*) f. 'name of a river', *°vā́ṭ* (*-h-*) 'driving'; *°náṭ* (*-ś-*) adj. 'perishing' (*jīvanáṭ* adj. 'destroying life', MS 1.4.13:63,4);[7]

ṣV_: *ṣáṭ* 'six' < **sueḱs*;

rV̄_: *bhrā́ṭ* (*-j-*) f. 'shine', *°bhrā́ṭ* (*-j-*) adj. 'shining upon', *rā́ṭ* (*-j-*) m. 'king', *°rā́ṭ* (*-j-*) adj. 'reigning';

ṣV̄_: (°)*ṣā́ṭ* (*-h-*) adj. 'victorious';

Nom.sg. *-k*:

r̥_: *-dŕ̥k* (*-ś-*) adj. 'looking', *-spŕ̥k* (*-ś-*) adj. 'touching'; *puruspŕ̥k* (*-h-*)[8] adj. 'much desired, coveted by many', *ū́rk* (*-j-*) f. 'strength' (YV);[9]

rV̆_: ? *gartā-rúk* (*-h-*) adj. 'die Schaubühne besteigend (Geldner)' (RV 1.124.7)[10];

ṣV̆_: *bhiṣák* (*-j-*) m. 'physician'[11], *uṣṇík* (*-h-*) f. 'name of a metre' (AVŚ 19.21.1);

?_: *dík* (*-ś-*) f. 'direction' (AV+), *r̥tvík* (*-j-*) m. 'priest';

Nom.sg. *-ḥ*:

ḍ_: *puroḷā́ḥ, *anaḍvā́ḥ* (→ *anaḍvā́n*).

5. The distribution is quite clear. The "normal" reflex is *-ṭ*; *-k* is found either directly after *r̥* or after *r* and *ṣ(ṇ)* followed by a short vowel, while *-ḥ* is found after preceding *ḍ*. There are only three forms which fall out of this picture, and we shall discuss them first.

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[7] Other forms are unclear. The interpretation of *réṭ*, attested in the mantra *réḍ asi* VS 6.18; VSK 6.4.1; MS 1.2.17: 27.2; KS 3.7:26.7; ŚB 3.8.3.20, etc. is uncertain. The origin of *saráṭ* f. 'bee' (TS, ŚB), dat.pl. *saráḍbhyaḥ* (RV) is enigmatic, since the stem of this word is *sarágh-*, cf. nom.pl. *sarághaḥ* (ŚB), *sāraghá-* adj. 'pertaining to the bees', m. 'bee' (RV+), *saraghā-* f. 'bee' (AVP).

[8] *puruspŕ̥k* (RV 10.55.2) is neuter, for which see below, section 9.

[9] Possibly, also *svā́vr̥k* (RV 10.12.3) belongs here, if this word is related to *svávr̥ṣti-*, an epithet of Indra, cf. Mayrhofer, EWAia II: 795. Unclear is *viśva-sŕ̥k* (*-j-*) adj. 'creating everything' (MS 4.14.1:215.16) (Debrunner 1957: 93), only occurring in a mantra *prájāpate viśvasŕ̥g jīvádhanyaḥ*. The mss. of the MS actually write *viśvasŕ̥k jīvádhanyaḥ* and *viśvasŕ̥j jīvádhanyaḥ*. The latter reading, which presupposes *viśvasŕ̥t*, is further found at TB 2.8.1.4, TĀ 10.63.1, ĀśvŚS 2.14.2, ĀpŚS 20.20.9.

[10] The etymological value of the final consonant of this root is unclear, however (cf. Lubotsky 1995: 139f. for a discussion), which makes this example doubtful. Also the meaning of the compound is by no means certain.

[11] Cf. also *bhiṣáktama-* and *bhiṣákti* 'heals' (RV 8.79.2), where the *-k-* may have analogically been introduced from the noun. For 3sg. impf. *abhiṣṇak* (RV 10.131.5) see section 7 below.

Traditionally, *r̥tvík* has been interpreted as a compound *r̥tu-* 'season' + *-ij-* 'sacrificing', i.e. 'sacrificing at the proper time', 'zur rechten Zeit opfernd', but this interpretation is most probably wrong. First, as has been repeatedly pointed out, this compound would be unique in that there is no hiatus between *r̥tu-* and *-ij-*, the word being disyllabic, and that all other compounds with the root *yaj-* have full grade of the root both in Sanskrit and Iranian (cf. *devayáj-* adj. 'sacrificing to the gods', Av. *daēuuaiiaz-*). These problems are usually dismissed by assuming that the compound is extremely archaic, but there are no further indications in this direction. It looks fairly transparent and has no parallels in Iranian. Secondly, the meaning 'sacrificing at the proper time' (= priest) has a strong flavour of folk etymology[12]. Thirdly, and most importantly, *r̥tvíj-* cannot, in my view, be separated from Vedic *uśíj-* (nom.sg. *uśík,* acc.sg. *uśíjam,* abl.dat.pl. *uśígbhyas*), which is an epithet of priests and Agni and which has a perfect parallel in OAv. *usij-* 'sacrificer (hostile towards the Zoroastrian religion)'. The two Vedic words, *r̥tvíj-* and *uśíj-*, have comparable meanings, the same "suffix" and accentuation. Since OAv. nom.sg. *usixš* (Y 44.20) unequivocally shows that the final consonant of *uśíj-* is a velar (< PIIr. **ućíg-*), the same must be true of the final consonant of *r̥tvíj-*. The same suffix is probably also found in *vaṇíj-* 'merchant' and *bhuríj-* '?' and has nothing to do with the root for 'to worship, sacrifice'. I believe that all these words are of non-Indo-European origin (cf. Lubotsky 2001a: 304-305) and that *r̥tvíj-* was adapted to *r̥tú-* folk-etymologically.

Nom.sg. *dík* 'direction' is first attested in the prose passages AVŚ 3.27.1a = AVP 3.24.1a *prā́cī díg agnír ádhipatir* 'The Eastern direction, Agni is the overlord' etc., AVP 2.49.1a *prācī dig gāyatraṃ devatā* 'The Eastern direction, Gāyatra is the deity', etc., which are clearly late, probably of the Yajurvedic provenance. It seems likely to me that *-k-* in this nom.sg. has been taken over from loc.pl. *dikṣú*, where it is regular. The loc.pl. occurs nine times in the AVŚ (seven times in the AVP), of which eight times in the cadence. It should be stressed that the *-k-* also spread from *dikṣú* to dat.pl. *digbhyáḥ* (3x AVŚ, 5x AVP) and instr.pl. *digbhiḥ* (AVP 15.22.5a), so that the allomorph *dik-* was solidly rooted in the language of this text. Note further that *díś-* very often occurs in the plural (e.g. 11x pl. vs. 6x sg. in the RV), so that the plural cases are more important for this word than usual.

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[12] Oldenberg (1909-1912, ad 1.1.1) defends the analysis of *r̥tvíj-* as a compound with *yaj-* by pointing to various collocations of *r̥tú-* + *yaj-* and to the fact that *r̥tvíjaḥ* are often connected with the seasons in the texts. In my opinion, these parallels do not prove that *r̥tvíj-* is an original compound, only that the connection with *r̥tú-* was clearly felt by the speakers.

ṣáṭ 'six' reflects PIE **sueḱs* (cf. Av. *xšuuaš*) and, as I have argued elsewhere (Lubotsky 2000), the *-u̯-* must still have been present in Sanskrit at a relatively late stage. Otherwise, we cannot account for *-o-* in *ṣoḷhā́* adv. 'six times', *ṣoḍaśá-* adj. 'the sixteenth' (AV+), *ṣóḍaśa* 'sixteen' (TS+), etc. (see above, section 2). Since the proposed distribution (*-k* directly after *r̥* or after *r* and *ṣ(ṇ)* followed by a short vowel, *-ḥ* after *ḍ* in the root) clearly implies dissimilation, the presence of *-u̯-* may have played a crucial role, blocking the dissimilatory influence of the initial *ṣ-* (see further the next sections).

6. As we have seen above, *-k* in the nom.sg. is found either directly after *r̥* or after *r* and *ṣ(ṇ)* followed by a short vowel. If the vowel is long *ā*, we find *-ṭ* (*bhrā́ṭ*, *rā́ṭ*, (°)*ṣā́ṭ*). Although this condition may appear strange, it is phonetically understandable. Since we are dealing with dissimilation of retroflex consonants, a long open *ā* may block their dissimilatory power. There is a perfect parallel for this effect of *ā* elsewhere in Sanskrit. As is well-known, if *s* is followed by *r* or *r̥*, it does not undergo the "ruki"-rule (e.g. *támisrā-*, *vi-sr̥jánt-*, etc.). The same limitation applies to *s* followed by *ar* (*sísarti*, *vi-sárjana-*, etc.), but not to *sār*, as follows from *su-ṣārathí-* m. 'good charioteer' (RV 6.75.6).[13]

7. A similar distribution to that discussed in the previous sections is found in the 2nd and 3rd sg. imperfect and aorist to the verbal roots in an original palatal stop. These forms normally end in *-ṭ*: *ávāṭ* 2sg. s-aor. (*vah-* 'to convey'); *áprāṭ* (RV 10.32.7) 3sg. s-aor. (*praś-* 'to ask'); *naṭ* 2sg. root-aor.inj., *ā́naṭ* 2,3 sg. root-aor. (*naś-* 'to attain'); *ábhrāṭ* 3sg. root-aor. (*bhrāj-* 'to shine'); *yāṭ* 2sg. s-aor.inj. (*yaj-* 'to sacrifice'); *rāṭ* (RV 6.12.5) 3sg. pres.inj. (*rāj-* 'to shine'); *aleṭ* (MS 4.8.1:106,10) 3sg.impf. (*lih-* 'to lick').

The *-k* forms are rare: we find *prá ṇak* 2,3sg. root-aor.inj. (*naś-* 'to attain'), *abhiṣṇak* (RV 10.131.5) 3sg. impf. (*bhiṣaj-*) and *asrāk* (RV 4.53.3c, 4c) 3sg. s-aor. (*sr̥j-*). The first two forms show that *(ṣ)ṇ*, followed by a short vowel, triggers *-k*, but *asrāk* (vs. *áprāṭ*, *ábhrāṭ*) is surprising. In later texts, we observe some vacillation in these forms, cf., on the one hand, AVŚ *aprāk*, and MS *asrāṭ*, on the other. Since Wackernagel (1896: 174)[14], this state of affairs is explained by paradigmatic levelling: it is postulated that 3sg. **-ḱ(s)t* yields **-ṣṭ* > *-ṭ*, whereas 2sg. **-ḱ(s)s* yields *-k*, which could understandably lead

[13] The only other example of this sequence is *vi-sārá-* m. 'expansion' (RV 1.79.1) with an *-s-* which is likely to be secondary, based on other forms of *ví-sr̥-* (note that the specific meaning of *vi-sārá-* is also found in *ví ... sasre* in 7.36.1, cf. Geldner ad 1.79.1).

[14] Strangely enough, Wiedenmann 1992: 242 attributes this theory to Karl Hoffmann.

to regularization in different directions. This explanation is untenable for several reasons, however. First, in the 3sg., **-ṣṭ* can hardly yield *-ṭ*, as the final sequence of consonants is always reduced to the first one. Secondly, in the 2sg., **-ḱ(s)s* does not normally yield *-k*, but *-ṭ* (see above on the nom.sg.). Thirdly, this scenario does not account for the distribution of the actually attested forms. Why have *ávāṭ*, *áprāṭ*, *ā́naṭ*, etc. generalized the 3sg. form, and only *asrāk* the 2sg.?

I think that the explanation of *asrāk* is much simpler: except for 2,3sg., all other persons of the active paradigm had the stem *srākṣ-*, and it is only to be expected that this stem was introduced into these persons, too. I thus assume that MS *asrāṭ* is regular, whereas RV *asrāk*, AVŚ *aprāk* and, later, Br. *adrāk* from *dr̥ś-* are analogical formations.[15] It is further well-known that we find secondary *-g-* in the root *sr̥j-* very early, cf. 3pl. pass.aor. *ásr̥gran/m* and the noun *sárga-*, which are already attested throughout the RV. This early spread of *-g-* may explain the analogical creation of *asrāk*.

8. Let us recapitulate our results thus far. The distribution of the nom.sg. forms clearly demonstrates that *-ṭ* is the normal reflex, whereas *-k* and *-ḥ* are due to dissimilation. Also the verbal forms of the 2nd and 3rd sg. usually have *-ṭ*, whereas *-k* is either due to dissimilation or (in the case of *asrāk*) to analogy. The distribution of the verbal forms further shows that there was no difference between the 2nd and the 3rd person. Finally, the nom.sg. reflexes can only be accounted for if we start with **-ṭṣ*: normally, this final cluster is reduced to *-ṭ*, but if there is a *-ḍ-* in the stem, the *-ṭ-* of **-ṭṣ* is lost by dissimilation, which yielded the final *-ṣ* = *-ḥ*. If **-ṭṣ* is preceded by *r̥* or by *ṣ(ṇ)* + a short vowel, **-ṭṣ* becomes dissimilated to **-kṣ* > *-k*.

This analysis leads to the conclusion that, in word-final position, the Indo-Iranian clusters **ćs* and **ćt* (< PIE **ḱs* and **ḱt*, respectively) show aberrant reflexes in Sanskrit. Whereas their reflex in intervocalic position is Skt. *kṣ* and *ṣṭ*, at the end of a word they must have become **-ṭṣ* (a comparable point of view was expressed by Meillet 1905-1906: 417). I believe that this scenario provides a much easier explanation of the attested distribution than the position of Wackernagel 1896: 173 and Kuiper 1967, who took for granted that word-internal and word-final reflexes need to be the same[16] and, starting with **ćs#* > **-kṣ* and **ćt#* > **-ṣṭ*, had to have

[15] A different type of regularization is shown by 2sg. s-aor. RV 3.29.16 *ayāḥ* (*yaj-*) and AVŚ 11.2.19,26 *srās* (*sr̥j-*), for which see Narten 1964: 200, 273 and fn. 869. Note, incidentally, that AVŚ *srās* presupposes 3sg. *(a)srāṭ*.

[16] Cf. Kuiper 1967: 117: "In contrast with the latter form [= Av. *spaš*] Ved. *spáṭ* cannot directly represent PIE. **spéḱs*."

recourse to complicated analogical mechanisms in order to arrive at the -*ṭ*.[17]

9. What was the phonetic reality behind our reconstructions? As I have argued in Lubotsky 2001b: 45f., PIIr. **ć j́ j́^{h}* were palatal stops, something like [t' d' d'^{h}] = [t^{ś} d^{ź} d^{źh}]. For the Indo-Iranian clusters **ćs* and **ćt* in intervocalic position, I assume the following developments:

PIIr. *-*ćs*- [*-t^{ś}s-] > *-*t^{ś}ś*- > *-*t^{ś}š*- > *-*tš*- > Iranian **š*, Skt. *-*tṣ*- > *-*ṭṣ*- > -*kṣ*-
PIIr. *-*ćt*- [*-t^{ś}t-] > *-*śt*- > Iranian -*(x)št*-, Skt. *-*ṣt*- > -*ṣṭ*-

In final position, however, Skt. *-*ṭṣ* < PIIr. *-*ćs* presumably did not become -*kṣ*, but remained unchanged (before losing the -*ṣ* at a later stage). As to the other cluster, we can surmise that PIIr. *-*ćt* [*-t^{ś}t] lost its final -*t* in Sanskrit, which is quite plausible from a phonetic point of view, and thus merged with *-*ṭṣ*.

Here we may address the problem of the outcome of final -*ś* (< **ć*) in Sanskrit. Unfortunately, there is no unambiguous evidence. The only examples are nom.sg. neuter and vocatives of bahuvrīhi compounds, e.g. the neuters *etādṛ́k* (8.102.19, 10.27.24), *susaṃdṛ́k* (7.3.6), *puruspṛ́k* (10.55.2), the vocatives *tveṣasaṃdṛk* (6.22.9), *hávyavāṭ* (5.6.5). These forms are always identical to the nom.sg. m./f., which may of course be due to analogy (thus e.g. Kuiper 1967: 116, fn. 55: "The neuter form *puruspṛ́k* indirectly proves the existence of a nom. sing. masc. **puruspṛ́k* 'coveted by many' "), but it might also be due to regular development (thus Wackernagel 1896: 174). In the latter case, we must assume that the final PIIr. *-*ć* [-t^{ś}] has merged with *-*ṭṣ*, too, which seems a reasonable option to me.

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[17] Wackernagel assumed that -*ṭ* comes from the neuter forms and from *bh*-cases, whereas Kuiper tried to make plausible that "in proto-Indo-Aryan the inherited nominative form **spákṣ* (from PIE. **spek̑s*) has been replaced by a new formation **spaś-s* (with the normal antevocalic representation of *k̑* by *ś*)", which would then get an additional -*t*-, due to emphatic pronunciation in order to preserve the cluster (like in **vas-syati* → *vatsyati*, 3sg. fut. of the root *vas*-) with the further development **spaśts* > **spaṣṭs* > **spaṭs* > *spáṭ*.

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THE ORIGIN OF THE OLD IRISH *F*-FUTURE

RANKO MATASOVIĆ

The *f*-future is characteristic of all of the so-called weak verbs, and some strong verbs in Old Irish.[1] The *f*-future is limited to Old Irish; no trace of this formation has as yet been discovered in any other Celtic language. This, by itself, does not mean that it is not an archaism; for example, Old Irish is also the only Celtic language with a dual and with traces of the heteroclitic inflexion (cf. OIr. *arbor*, gen. *arbae* < PIE *h_2erh_3wr / *h_2rh_3wens). That the *f*-future is inherited from Proto-Celtic, or even from PIE, is utterly possible, and *a priori* equally probable as the thesis that it is an Old Irish innovation.

The OIr. suffix for the *f*-future cannot be related to the Latin *b*-future (McCone 1991: 176ff); all of the allomorphs in OIr. point to the original consonant *f*, rather than *b*, which we would have expected if the form was actually derivable from PIE **bhewh*$_2$- 'to be'. The final *-b* found in the 1sg. conjunct (*-léiciub* 'I shall leave') was actually pronounced [v] and is the result of secondary voicing of *f*. On the other hand, OIr. *f* cannot be derived from PIE **bhw*, by an *ad hoc* rule, as Quin proposed (1978). Jürgen Uhlich has shown convincingly that the reflex of PIE **bhw* in Old Irish was **v > b* (Uhlich 1989).

The remaining theories about the origin of the *f*-future accept that the formant *-f-* must somehow be derived from PIE **-sw-*. However, they are also unconvincing. Watkins' proposal (1966) that this formation is related to Vedic desiderative adjectives like *iyakṣú-* 'wishing to give', *ditsú-* 'ready to give' was successfully dismissed by McCone (1991: 178). It is improbable not only because such adjectives are not attested except in Old Indic, but also because the spread of the stem in *-ā* to such formations cannot be explained. McCone's own view (1991: 180ff) is that the whole formation spread from the single verb, OIr. *-soí* 'turns', in which it is inherited. He derives the future of *-soí, soífid,* from the regular *s*-desiderative **si-suh*$_3$*-se-ti*, which was remodelled as **si-swā-se-ti* under the analogical pressure of other verbs originally ending in laryngeal. The regular reflex of **siswāseti*

[1] That is, the *f*-future is regular with weak verbs such as *marbaid* 'kills' (future *marbfid*) and *léicid* 'leaves' (future *léicfid*), but it also occurs with some strong verbs, e.g. the compounds of *-icc* 'go', cf. Thurneysen 1946: 396ff.

in Old Irish would have been **-sifā-*, which was then changed to **sow-ifā-*, under the influence of the other forms of this verb, where the stem **sow-* was regular (e.g. **soweti* > 3sg. pres. *soaid*). McCone then derives the actually attested future *soífid* from this form (**sow-ifā-ti*), and assumes that *-f-* was generalized as a future tense marker, and spread to all the weak verbs, and some strong ones, from this single verb. Now, this whole process, although not impossible, could hardly be more complicated than McCone has to assume.[2] The analogical spread of the whole new formation from a single verb does not appear very plausible, especially since even the actually attested form of the *f*-future of that verb has to be analogical. Moreover, McCone's theory fails to account for the fact that the *f*-future is limited to weak verbs, with just a few exceptions in the strong and "hiatus" classes. An alternative, simpler explanation of the origin of the *f*-future would then surely be welcome.

If we accept that OIr. *-f-* must be from **-sw-*, this is most easily related to a PIE morpheme **-swe* / **-swo*. Such an ending exists in OInd. as the 2sg. imperative ending *-sva*. Szemerényi (1989: 263) says that this ending was analogical, based on the indicative middle 2pl. ending **-dhwe(m)* (cf. the OInd. secondary 2pl. ending *-dhvam*). In his opinion, the old ending **-so* (reflected as Latin 2sg. passive imperative in *-re* and Greek middle imperative in **-e-so* > *-ou*) was analogically remodelled as **-swo*, but it is difficult to establish the exact analogical proportion to make this explanation work. Moreover, since **-so* was the regular ending in the indicative of the middle voice, it is more probable that it was extended analogically to the imperative in Latin and Greek. Indeed, Beekes (1995: 249) claims that "Skt. *-sva* is unknown elsewhere, and is thus old", and this seems to me to be a more promising approach to the problem of its origin. Watkins (1969: 193) relates this ending to the Toch. A imperative *päklyossu*, but this Tocharian form is unclear (it is not even certain that it is the 2nd person sg.).

Although the Tocharian parallel remains uncertain, there is some evidence that there are traces of PIE **-swe* in Celtic. The Middle Welsh 2sg. subjunctive ending *-ych* (e.g. in *ker-(h)-ych* from *caru* 'love', cf. Simon Evans 1964: 115) could, in principle, be derived from **-swe* (Szemerényi 1989:

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[2] It appears that Schumacher (2004: 57) accepts that McCone explained all Old Irish future formations – including the *f*-future – as developments of PIE desideratives built with the suffix **-se/o-*. See, however, the critical remarks in Lindeman 1993. Although Lindeman rightly points to weaknesses in McCone's explanation, his own derivation of *soïd* from **saw-e-ti* < **sw-e-ti* < **suH-e-ti* seems unconvincing to me, since it involves a "secondary" **-a-*.

265, Hollifield 1983); the phonological development of _kerych_ from *_kar-eswe_ would be like _gwych_ 'excellent' from *_weswo-_ 'good' (OInd. _vásu-_, etc.). Several lines of inquiry thus converge, and allow us to reconstruct at least one PIE ending *_-swe_ (or *_-swo_) with some kind of modal function, presumably middle imperative.

The original form of the OIr. future suffix was identified correctly by McCone (1990, 1997) as *_-if-_ < *_-iswā-_. This follows from the fact that the root-final consonant is palatalized even in the weak verbs belonging to Thurneysen's Class A I, such as _marbaid_ 'kills' (fut. 2sg. _mairbfe_), or _anaid_ 'waits' (fut. 3sg. conjunct _ainfa_).[3] Occasionally, the non-palatalized quality of the root-final consonant was reintroduced, mostly on the analogy with the _a_-subjunctive, but this is clearly secondary. Thus, OIr. _do-luichfea_ 'will forgive' (future of _do-lugi_ < *_to-log-ī-_) must be older than _do-lugfa_, with non-palatalized _-f-_, because only the palatalizing *_-i-_, which was lost by syncope, could have caused the raising of *_o_ > _u_.[4] How do we account for the shape of the suffix *_-iswā-_? The history of future formations in various IE languages teaches us that future tense forms often arise by agglutination of auxiliary verbs to verb stems. Examples of such grammaticalizations include the Latin future of the 1st and 2nd conjugations, which was formed from the present stem to which subjunctive present of the verb 'to be' was agglutinated[5] (e.g. _amābo_ 'will love', from < *_amā-bwō_), and the Romance future tense, formed from the Latin infinitive to which forms of the verb _habeo_ 'have' were added (French _chanterai_ 'will sing' from Latin _cantāre habeo_). Cross-linguistically, one of the commonest sources of such future-markers are verbs meaning 'to go' (Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca 1994, Heine & Kuteva 2002), cf. French _aller_ 'go' used in the formation of the periphrastic future called _futur prochain_ (e.g. _il va chanter_ 'he is going to sing').

I suggest that the future suffix *_-iswā-_ is actually the agglutinated subjunctive stem of the Celtic verb 'to go', derived from PIE *h_1_ey-_ (L _eo_, OInd. _i-/ay-_, G ἰέναι, etc.). Now, reflexes of PIE *h_1_ey-_ are notoriously scarce in Celtic, being confined to the passive preterite _ethae, -eth_ 'one went, _es wurde gegangen_'[6], derived from the passive participle, PCelt. *_i-to-_. This clearly shows that this verb had had medial forms before it was replaced by reflexes of PCelt. *_tēg-o-_ (OIr. _téit_) as the common verb meaning 'to go'. Originally, the middle imperative 2sg. of that verb would have been *_iswe_,

[3] Thurneysen 1946: 397.

[4] McCone 1997: 42.

[5] See, e.g., Matasović 1997: 202.

[6] This is a suppletive passive preterite to _téit_ 'goes', Schumacher 2004: 375.

and this could have been reinterpreted as the bare stem, to which personal endings were added, e.g. **isweti* 'goes'. A parallel process is attested in Slavic, where the whole present paradigm of the verb **iti* 'to go' was built to the stem which had originally been the imperative form[7]: from PIE ***h_1*ey-dhi* 'go!' the stem **id-* was abstracted, and the present paradigm was built from it, cf. Russ. 1sg. *idú*, 2sg. *idëš'*, etc.

If the verb **iswe-/o-* existed in Celtic, it would presumably have formed the present subjunctive according to the regular pattern. As H. Rix has shown, all of the Celtic subjunctives are derivable from PIE desideratives, originally built with the sigmatic suffix (**-se-*) added to the roots in laryngeals.[8] The form of the suffix **-ase-*, regular in verbs with root-final laryngeals, was generalized in Celtic so that, for example, OIr. *berid* 'carries' has the present subjunctive *beraid* < **ber-ase-ti*. If this subjunctive suffix were added to the postulated stem **iswe-* 'to go', we would get the following paradigm:

sg.
1. **iswasemi* > **iswāmi* 2. **iswasesi* > **iswāsi* 3. **iswaseti* > **iswāti*

pl.
1. **iswaseme* > **iswāme* 2. **iswasete* > **iswāte* 3. **iswasenti* > **iswānti*

If these forms were then agglutinated to the bare stems of Celtic denominal verbs, which were the major source of the OIr. weak verbs, we would get the forms from which the OIr. *f*-futures can be derived, e.g. **marw-iswāti* > **marwifāti* > *marbfid* 'will kill', which is exactly the attested form. Similarly, from **link*^{w}*-iswāti* we would have had **lēggifāti* > *léicfid* 'will leave', again the correct result. There are no formal obstacles, in my opinion, to deriving the whole paradigms of the OIr. *f*-future from just such agglutinated forms.

Let us recapitulate our results. The theory of the origin of the Old Irish *f*-future proposed here requires of us to assume three steps in its development, each of which is plausible in itself:

(1) that the root of the PIE verb 'to go' was remodelled in Celtic (or Primitive Irish) by incorporating the imperative ending **-swe*; a close parallel to this process is attested in Slavic;

(2) that the subjunctive of this verb was agglutinated to the bare stem of (mostly) denominative verbs to form a new future tense in Old

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[7] See *LIV*, s.v. ***h_1*ey-*.

[8] See Rix 1977 and McCone 1990.

Irish; similar patterns of grammaticalization of future tense are well attested cross-linguistically;

(3) that the agglutinated form of the verb 'to go' (**isw-e/o-*) was lost as a simple verb in Old Irish, being replaced by forms of *téit*. This assumption is necessary anyhow, since the present tense derived from the PIE root $*h_1ey$- 'to go' is unattested in Celtic.

Although our explanation of the origin of the *f*-future does involve the analogical spread of the formative suffix (**-swe-*) in the prehistory of Old Irish, this assumption cannot be avoided in any case, since the Old Irish *f*-future is certainly not inherited from PIE as such. On the other hand, our theory gives the Old Irish *f*-future a PIE pedigree, without sticking to the quite untenable theory that it is related to PIE $*bhewh_2$- 'be' and the Latin future in *-bo* and/or the imperfect in *-bam*. Once we accept the initial hypothesis, that the PIE verb 'to go' was reshaped in Celtic (or Primitive Irish) by adding the middle imperative ending of the 2nd person sg. **-swe*, the other developments assumed here follow quite naturally. We can conclude, then, that this view is a viable alternative to the other theories about the origin of the Old Irish *f*-future.

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PROBLEMS IN HITTITE PRONOMINAL INFLECTION

H. CRAIG MELCHERT

1. Introduction

Both the inflection and stem formation of Hittite pronouns continue to present serious problems for historical analysis. One factor contributing to our difficulties is the relatively poor attestation of pronouns in the other Indo-European languages of Anatolia, especially outside the nominative-accusative. We often cannot tell whether certain features already belong to Proto-Anatolian or are Hittite innovations. This limitation and others preclude any systematic account, but recent studies of pronouns from the viewpoint of both Hittite and Proto-Indo-European do open up new possibilities for explaining some of the peculiar details of Hittite pronominal inflection.

2. Hittite *ini*

Goedegebuure (2002/03) has confirmed earlier claims that the Hittite pronominal forms *aši, uni, i/eni, ed(an)i, etez* and *edaš* belong to a single paradigm, some form of which was already established in Old Hittite. Contrary to the previous standard view, however, she has shown that *aši* etc. is a third-person demonstrative pronoun with distal deixis 'yon', contrasting with first-person demonstrative *kā-* 'this, near me' and second-person demonstrative *apā-* 'that, near you'. An account of how *aši* acquired its attested value in Hittite must include the history of the two contrasting stems in Anatolian and cannot be undertaken here. I limit myself merely to the formal problem of the source of neuter nominative-accusative singular (and plural) *ini/eni*.

As per Goedegebuure (2002/03: 4[14] and 26), it is clear that *ini* is the older form (against Melchert 1984: 92).[1] As the only member of the paradigm with initial *i-*, it was trivially reshaped to *eni* in Neo-Hittite after *edani*,

[1] My claim there that *eni* is the Old Hittite form was erroneously based on instances in Neo-Hittite copies. The word does not occur in Old Hittite manuscripts, and the form in Middle Hittite manuscripts is consistently *ini*. In text citations I follow here the conventions of the Chicago Hittite Dictionary, using OH, MH, and NH to indicate respectively Old, Middle and Neo-Hittite compositions and OS, MS, and NS to indicate the respective dates of text copies.

edaš and *etez*. The initial *i-* of *ini* eliminates all previous etymologies (for references see Tischler 1983: 106-107): (1) a reshaped form of the demonstrative stem **eno-*; (2) an enlarged form of the pronominal stem **e-* (with *-ni* modeled on *uni*); (3) a particle **ēni* seen in the Greek and Latin interjections ἤν/ἠνίδε and *ēn* 'behold!' secondarily incorporated into the paradigm of *aši/uni*.

The parallel of animate nominative singular *aši* < **ós+ĭ̄* and animate accusative singular *uni* < **óm+ĭ̄* suggests that *ini* likewise reflects **ím+ĭ̄*.[2] I propose that the preform **im* is the same as that seen in Old Latin *im* 'him' and Sanskrit accusative singular masculine *imám* 'this one'.[3] The attested use of Hittite *ini* as *neuter* nominative-accusative singular is not an obstacle. Compare Sanskrit *kím* 'what?' as the neuter nominative-accusative of interrogative *ka-* and the gender indifference of Greek accusative singular μιν (Doric νιν) 'him, her, it'. With Schmidt (1978: 150) and Beekes (1982/83: 214) I find it unlikely that forms ending in **-im* functioned as neuters already in PIE and assume that the attested use of *ini* is an independent innovation.[4] The lack of evidence from the other Anatolian languages leaves the details of this innovation beyond our reach.[5]

3. Allatives in *-atta*

The demonstrative stem *apā-* shows a form *apadda* (*a-pád-da*), attested in Neo-Hittite in the sense 'on that account', most often in the phrase *apadda šer*, but also occasionally alone: *nu=mu eni AWATE*[MEŠ] *apadda ḫatre*[*šker*] 'They wrote these words to me on that account' KUB 19.29 iv 15 (NH/NS).[6] In Middle Hittite we find *apadda* used in a concrete allative sense: *mān ḫuwāi*

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2 For the derivation of *aši* and *uni* see Pedersen (1938: 60). The vocalism of the latter may be regular (contra Tischler 1983: 81). See Melchert (1994: 187) with references.

3 For the presence of **im* in Proto-Anatolian in some form note Hittite *imma* and HLuvian *i-ma* (/imma/) 'indeed, truly', matching Latin *immō*.

4 Tedesco (1945: 132ff.) argues that Sanskrit *kím* is a Middle Indic form seen in Palī *kiṁ* alongside neuter nom.-acc. singular *taṁ* and *yaṁ*, although the much earlier appearance of *kím* complicates this account. Tedesco also cites Meillet's formal comparison of Armenian *inč̣* 'something' with Sanskrit *kíṁ cit*, while viewing these as independent creations. I am indebted to S. Insler for the reference to Tedesco's article.

5 More specifically, we do not yet know how full a paradigm Proto-Anatolian had for the pronominal stem **(e)i-* reflected in Latin *is, im, id* etc. Nor the extent of the Proto-Anatolian paradigm for the pronominal stem **o/e-* and the distribution of the stem vocalism within it (e.g. was the neuter nom.-acc. singular **ed* or **od*?).

6 See also KBo 4.12 obv. 11-12 (NH/NS). One also finds the variant *apaddan (šer)*, with a secondary *-n*, for which compare *arḫaya(n)* 'separately'. These are both probably modeled after *anda/andan* (with Kronasser 1966: 351).

kuiški [*n=aš*] EGIR-*pa apadda uezzi* 'If someone flees, [and he] comes back there' (KUB 23.77:57-58, MH/MS).[7]

The stem *damāi-* 'other', which follows pronominal inflection in the non-direct cases, likewise shows a form *t/damatta* (*t/da-ma-at-ta*), attested in Middle Hittite in an allative sense: *nu=mu pittuliyai peran ištanzaš=miš tamatta pēdi zappiškezzi* 'Out of anxiety my soul drips from me to another place' (KUB 30.10 rev. 14-15, MH/MS).[8] In our one Old Hittite example *t/damatta* has a locatival meaning: *mān=aš tamatta=ma* KUR-*e n=an tamētaz* KUR-*az uwatetten* 'But if he is in another country, bring him from another country!' (KUB 43.23 obv. 5, OH/OS).

The interrogative/relative stem *kui-/kuwa-* likewise has a matching form *kuwatta(n)*. It is attested only in Neo-Hittite manuscripts, but these include assured Old Hittite compositions: e.g. [(*ku*)]*watta=aš laḫḫa=ma paizzi* 'wherever he goes on campaign' (KBo 3.1+ i 5, OH/NS).[9] Neo-Hittite has *kuwatta šer* 'for what reason' (KUB 23.102 i 13) parallel to *apadda šer*.

For *damāi-* Neo-Hittite compositions show *t/damēda* instead of *t/damatta*: *tamē*[(*da*)]*=ma* [(*l*)]*ē kuiški aušzi* 'Let no one look elsewhere!' (KUB 21.42 i 12-13, restored after KUB 26.1a:9, NH/NS).[10] Likewise, we find once *apēda* for *apadda*: *nu karāwar=šet apēda lipšan* 'And his horn is __ed for that reason' (KUB 31.4 obv. 19 + KBo 3.41 obv.! 18, OH/NS).

The forms *t/damēda* and *apēda* are regular from the synchronic point of view, consisting of an oblique stem *-ēd-* (cf. *damēdaz, damēdaš, apēdaš* etc.) plus the allative ending *-a*.[11] The functional alternates in *-atta* are aberrant in having *a*-vocalism and *-tt-/-dd-* instead of *-t-/-d-*. These two features are likely to be related. We know that voiced stops followed by $*h_2$ appear as geminates in Hittite: *mēkk(i)-* 'much' < $*méǵh_2$- and *padda-* 'dig' < $*bhó/édhh_2$- (see Melchert 1994: 76-77 after Pedersen and Jasanoff respectively). I suggest that the pronouns in *-atta* reflect $*\text{-}\check{e}d\text{-}h_2o$—the regular

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[7] See also KUB 26.17 i 11 and KBo 17.65 rev. 26, both MH/MS.

[8] See also *dam*[*a*]*tta naiš* 'turned elsewhere' KUB 30.10 obv. 3 (MH/MS). The parallel text FHG 1 ii 9-10 (NS!) has *tamēda nāieš*.

[9] For *kuwattan* in a similar usage see KUB 1.1+ i 67 (NH/NS).

[10] See also KBo 3.6 iii 66-67 (NH/NS).

[11] Contra Neu (1974: 72) their prehistory may be quite different from their synchronic analysis. Once pre-Hittite had established a nominal inflectional system with allative in *-a* and dative-locative in *-i*, pronominal preforms with suffixes **-dhe* and **-dhi* (> *-da* and *-di*) could easily have been reanalyzed as having the endings *-a* and *-i*, leading to a new stem formant *-(e)d-* (for such a derivation of *-di* see Szemerényi 1956: 63 and Georgiev 1971: 65). On the other hand, the current pattern of attestation leaves open the possibility that the allatives in *-ēda* are merely analogical replacements of those in *-atta* after the general pattern of non-direct cases with stem *-ēd-*.

oblique pronominal stem in *-ed-* plus **-h_2o* 'to; up against'.[12] An allative sense for **h_2o* is seen in Greek ὀκέλλω 'drive to land' and in its variant **h_2u* seen in Hittite *eḫu* 'come!' < **eíh$_2$u* (Melchert 1994: 133, pace Dunkel 2002: 91).[13]

The derivation *-atta* < **-ĕ́d-h_2o* implies that the **h_2* geminated the preceding voiced stop and that **ĕ́* became *a* before a cluster of dental stop+h_2. As per above, the gemination has good parallels. The putative conditioned change of **ĕ* to *a* requires justification.

The first issue is whether or not the *-ē-* of forms like *apēd-*, *kēd-* and *damēd-* even continues an accented short **ĕ́*. In Melchert (1984: 67 & 142-143) I claimed that *-ēd-* continues **-oid-*, on the basis that prehistoric **Vi* led to a close long **ẹ̄* (distinct from inherited long **ē*) subject to raising to *ī* in late Neo-Hittite: e.g. late NH neuter nom.-acc. plural *kī* for *kē* and dat.-loc. singular *kīdani* for *kēdani*. None of the evidence I presented for the distinct vowel **ẹ̄* or a phonological raising rule is compelling (hence the caution in Melchert 1994: 145), and no new supporting data has appeared. The absence of any such change in the corresponding forms of the stems *apā-* and *kui-* (no NH **apīd-* or **kuid-*) argues strongly that the forms with *i*-vocalism in the case of *kā-* reflect generalization from the neuter nom.-acc. singular *kī*.[14] We may therefore derive pronominal *-ēd-* < **- ĕ́d-* with regular lengthening in accented open syllable.[15]

The next question is whether **ĕ́* could have become *a* before dental stop+h_2 in pre-Hittite. Such a change is comparable to that of **ĕ́* to *a* before other sequences of coronal consonants plus **h_2* in Hittite: **wélh$_2$-ti* > *walḫzi* 'strikes', **sénh$_2$-ti* > *šanḫzi* 'seeks', **térh$_2$-o-* > *tarra-* 'be strong' (cf. Melchert 1994: 83).[16]

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[12] The adverb **h_2o* is most directly attested in Hittite *ḫašduēr* 'branch, twig, splinter' < **h_2o-sd-wḗr* (see Rieken 1999: 346-347). It is also the source of the Anatolian conjunction **-h_2o* 'also, and' (Dunkel 1982/83: 198-199 and Melchert 1992: 46[13]). In deriving the pronominal allatives in *-atta* by means of **-h_2o* I leave open the much vexed question of the source of the *nominal* allative ending. For varying opinions see among others Dunkel (1994: 19-22), Melchert (1994: 51 & 325 after Jasanoff), and Hajnal (1995: 98).

[13] The locatival meaning in the Old Hittite example cited above is probably a trivial innovation (cf. the locatival use of Latin *ad* or German *zu*), but I do not exclude the possibility that it is an archaism.

[14] As I conceded already (1984: 143), the change of *nē(y)a-* to *nīya-* 'turn' < **néih$_x$o-* may easily be due to analogy with the numerous verbal stems in *-iya-*.

[15] Some non-direct forms of the demonstrative stem with *-ē-*, however, do continue **-oi-*. The genitive plural ending *-enzan* reflects **-oi-n-sōm* (see Melchert 1994: 121 with references to Petersen, Milewski and others and for the source of the inserted nasal Oettinger 1994: 326).

The Hittite _ḫi_-verb _piddāi_- 'flee' may reflect a PIE root _*peth_$_1$- or _*peth_$_2$- (Oettinger 1979: 473 with note 33 and Jasanoff 2003: 95 with note 9). Jasanoff derives the Hittite verb from a preform _*pteh_$_{1/2}$-, which would make the form irrelevant for our purposes, but gives no account of the vowel of the first syllable. Anaptyxis in an initial cluster _*pt_- is possible, but without parallels. If it could be motivated morphologically, an unaccented _*peth_$_{1/2}$-́ would likely lead to _pidd_- (cf. _irḫā(i)_- 'make the rounds of' < _*erh_$_2$_éh_$_2$_ye/o_- vs. _araḫza_ 'outside' < _*érh_$_2$_ti_). In any case, _piddāi_- 'flee' does not contradict a change _*ḗ̆_ > _a_ before stop+_h_$_2$.

Direct positive evidence for the change is also lacking. The Hittite _ḫi_-verb _padda_- 'dig' reflects _*bhódhh_$_2$-/_*bhédhh_$_2$- (cf. Jasanoff 2003: 77), but the consistent spelling of the verbal stem with the sign _pá/íd_- makes it impossible to prove that the vocalism of the weak stem is /a/. Even if it is, it could result from generalization of the _o_-grade of the strong stem.

It thus seems fair to say that current evidence allows for but does not prove a change _*ḗ̆_ > _a_ before dental stop+_h_$_2$. The hypothesis of such a change would permit a new account of the Hittite factual negative _natta_ 'not', which has thus far defied etymological analysis (for a summary of proposals see Tischler 1991: 287-288). The crux of the problem is the _a_-vocalism of the first syllable: a preform _*nḗ̆tV_ could yield only Hittite _*nēttV_, with preservation of _e_-vocalism and lengthening under the accent before a voiceless stop. Compare _*wḗ̆t_- > _wētt_- 'year' and _*twḗ̆k_- > _tuekka_- 'body; limb' (Melchert 1994: 133 and Kimball 1999: 132). As cogently argued by Dunkel (1982/83: 194), the attested syntactic behavior of _natta_ makes highly implausible all attempts to circumvent the difficulty by attributing the change of _*ĕ_ to _a_ to a special development in unaccented position. There is not an iota of evidence that _natta_ ever occurred unaccented.

Dunkel suggests rather a preform _*nó-te_ or _*nṓ̆-te_, with _o_-grade of the PIE negative particle. However, accented short _*ṓ̆_ appears as long _ā_ in Hittite before voiceless stop: e.g. _dākki_ 'resembles' < _*dókei_ and _ḫāppar_ 'transaction' < _*h_$_3$_ópr̥_ (Melchert 1994: 146 and Kimball 1999: 129-130). The negative is spelled phonetically more than fifty times in OS and more than a hundred times in total, always as _na-at-ta_. The complete absence of a "plene" spelling _*na-a-at-ta_ under these circumstances is not credible if the word were [na:tta]. We can only conclude that the negative was [natta]

[16] The example _mēkk(i)_- < _*mḗ̆ǵh_$_2$- cited above suggests that there was no such change before _dorsal_ stop+_h_$_2$, but the complicated prehistory of this word (NB neuter nom.-acc. singular _mēk_ < _*mḗ̆ǵh_$_2$ with regular loss of word-final laryngeal) makes its testimony about regular sound changes uncertain.

with short [a]. If we assume the change *ḗ > *a* before stop+h_2 proposed above for the allatives in *-atta*, we may derive Hittite *natta* from *$n\acute{\bar{e}}$-th_2oh_1*, with the same adverbial formant as in Sanskrit *táthā* 'thus', *káthā* 'how', etc.[17]

There remains one more pronominal allative in *-tta* to be accounted for. Goedegebuure (2005) has shown that the reading of Hittite 1-*ētta* is *šiētta*, to the stem *šia-*, whose meaning she has established as 'one' on other evidence (against the standard interpretation as a demonstrative). 1-*ētta* means '(in)to one, together', as per Güterbock and Hoffner (1989: 361): *n=ašta* UKÙ.MEŠ-*tar* 1-*ētta neḫḫun* 'I turned the populace into one' = 'united' (KUB 21.37 obv. 17 (NH/NS), *nu=za* ᵈUTU-*ŠI kuin* NAM.RA *INA* É.LUGAL *uwatenun n=aš anda* 1-*ētta* 6 SIG_7 6 *LIM* NAM.RA *ēšta* 'The civilian captives whom I brought into the palace were altogether 66,000' (KBo 3.4 iii 32-33, NH/NS). Goedegebuure follows Melchert (1977: 376-377) in analyzing 1-*ētta* as an instrumental 1-*ēt* in the sense of 'on/to one side' (cf. OH *kēt* 'on/to this side') plus the conjunction *-a* 'also, even' (which geminates a preceding consonant). However, nothing in any of the contexts supports a meaning 'even, also'. The sense of 1-*ētta* is that of an allative '(in)to one, together', as per Güterbock and Hoffner.[18]

Eichner (1992: 39-40) has a similar formal analysis, but assigns 1-*ētta* to a unitary 1-*ašša* '(only) one single one, one and the same' (cf. *kuišša* 'each, every'). However, all of the examples he presents of the alleged unitary stem can be analyzed as merely 'even/also one'. Furthermore, he does not account for how the sense 'one and the same' is derived from 'also/even one'.[19] His analysis also does not explain why in Neo-Hittite the expression is not *1-*edazziya* or *1-*ēzza*.

Several forms of 'one' in Hittite follow pronominal inflection: e.g. genitive singular 1-*ēl*, dat.-loc. singular 1-*edani*, and also a regular allative 1-*eda*.

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[17] I follow Dunkel (1988: 59 with note 27) in the analysis of the adverbial formant. Crucial is the evidence of Sanskrit aspirated *th* for a sequence *th_2.

[18] As acknowledged by Goedegebuure, there is also a serious formal problem in analyzing 1-*ētta* as containing *-a* with a sense 'also, even'. The instrumental is moribund in Neo-Hittite. The only synchronic form for 'on/to one side' is 1-*ēz* (e.g. KUB 46.48 Vo 18) or 1-*edaz*, to which the form with *-a* 'even' would be 1-*ēzzi=ya*/1-*edazzi=ya*. One could assume that 1-*ētta* is a frozen form preserved from Old Hittite, but then there is no possibility that Neo-Hittite speakers could analyze it as containing *-a* 'also, even'. If one attempts to derive the attested meaning of NH 1-*ētta* from OH 1-*ētt=a*, then one must explain how/why a form with the original sense '*also* on/to one side' was preserved (but not 1-*ēt*!), but lost the meaning 'also, even'.

[19] The real expression for 'one and the same' in Hittite is 1-*aš=pat*. See Güterbock and Hoffner (1995: 215-216 sub *-pat* 1.d).

We would therefore not be surprised to find an allative *1-*atta* matching *apatta, kuwatta* and *t/damatta*.[20] The only discrepancy between the predicted form and attested 1-*ētta* is the vocalism. Goedegebuure's demonstration that the full reading is *šiētta* ([syé:tta]) now furnishes an explanation: the presence of the preceding yod preserved the original short *ĕ in *$sy\acute{\breve{e}}dh_2o$ which then underwent regular lengthening under the accent.[21] The attested meaning of 1-*ētta* /*šiētta* and the geminate *-tt-* do argue that it has the same derivational history as *apatta*, *kuwatta* and *t/damatta*. I hope to have made a persuasive case that these reflect a combination of the Hittite non-direct pronominal stem *-ed-* < *-*ĕd-* plus the adverb *h_2o 'to, up against'.

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[20] Contra Eichner (1992: 40) the form 1-*at-ta* at KBo 17.104 ii 7 does not mean 'one and the same' and match KI.MIN in the same text. It is clear that the latter stands for the verb *dā* 'take!', while 1-*at-ta* is clause-initial, following *dā*. We probably have merely 1-*att=a*, neuter nom.-acc. singular plus -*a*: 'even/also one'. An allative is contextually unlikely.

[21] This factor overcomes the objection of Eichner (1992: 40) to construing 1-*ētta* as an allative.

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COMMUNICATIVE FUNCTIONS AND PROSODIC LABELLING OF THREE RUSSIAN PITCH ACCENTS[1]

CECILIA ODÉ

1. Introduction[2]

This article discusses a perception and a production experiment that were carried out to evaluate the communicative functions in terms of sentence type of three Russian rising pitch accents. According to Odé (1989: 119), Russian has six types of rising pitch accent, four types with large excursion, and two with normal excursion (see section 2). The results of the present experiments will be used for further developing a new manual transcription system of Russian intonation ToRI (Transcription of Russian Intonation) described in Odé (2003b). The ToRI system uses unambiguous transcription symbols for the prosodic labelling of types of pitch accent, including perceptually relevant non-prominence lending pitch movements connecting the pitch accents, and pitch phenomena at boundaries. Types of pitch accent can have various communicative functions in different contexts, and different types of pitch accent can be used in one communicative function; both forms and communicative functions of the types of pitch accent and of the other pitch phenomena will be defined in ToRI. Reasons to develop the system against the background of the rich literature on Russian intonation have earlier been discussed in Odé (2003a, 2003b, 2003c).[3]

A short description of ToRI and its symbols is given in this section. In section 2 the three accents under discussion are defined and translated

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[2] The author expresses her gratitude to Johanneke Caspers and especially to Nataliia Svetozarova for comments on earlier drafts of this article.
[3] The intonation transcription of Bryzgunova (1977) is not used or discussed here for reasons extensively described in Odé (1992) and Keijsper (1992), repeated in Odé (2003) and also discussed in publications by e.g. Kodzasov (1999), and Yokoyama (2001).

into preliminary ToRI symbols with their phonetic specifications. Section 3 describes the two experiments evaluating the communicative functions in terms of sentence type of the three pitch accents. Section 4 presents the results, followed by a discussion in section 5.

1.1 Description of ToRI

The ToRI system was originally inspired by the Transcription of Dutch Intonation, ToDI (Gussenhoven et al., 2003, Gussenhoven, 2005; http://-todi.let.kun.nl/ToDI/home.htm). In its turn, ToDI was partly based on ToBI (Tones and Break Indices (Beckman et al., 2005; http://www.-ling.ohio-state.edu/~tobi/)), but differs from ToBI in that, among others, no Break Indices are included (Gussenhoven, 2005: 122). If associating ToRI with other transcription systems, ToDI rather than ToBI-like systems comes into consideration. ToRI will use most of the symbols as they appear in ToDI, but in its final design, ToRI will differ considerably from ToDI for language-specific reasons and because of the approach of analysing intonation. Another important difference is that ToRI will present both forms and communicative functions of pitch accents and other pitch phenomena. It is beyond the scope of this article to discuss the differences between the two systems in detail, but in this section some relevant issues will briefly be dealt with. For a description of the various ToBI-like transcription systems and of the ToDI system, the reader is referred to Sun-Ah Jun (2005).

For ToRI, types of pitch accent as earlier described by Odé (1989) were translated into new symbols for pitch phenomena in the ToRI system. This is not without problems. Intonation in Odé's classification (ibid.) is described in terms of perceptually relevant pitch *movements* reaching perceptually relevant pitch *levels*. It is in terms of these pitch *levels*, used in the Autosegmental-Metric Approach (AM) to the analysis of intonation, that ToBI-like systems and also ToDI are described. In ToBI-like systems, pitch accents are defined as sequences of *tones*, the asterisk indicating which of the *tone targets*, H* (high tone) or L* (low tone), is situated in the accented syllable. As ToRI is still under development, differences between ToRI and other transcription systems will not be further described.

A transcription of Russian intonation by means of symbols that are developed by and used in the Autosegmental-Metric Approach, does not necessarily imply that the author fully agrees with the approach. Using new symbols for ToRI must rather be seen as a compromise. One of the reasons to translate Odé's 1989 labels for pitch accents into new ToRI symbols is that the author wishes to apply symbols that are nowadays

common use in the literature on intonation, making symbols expressing Russian intonation accessible and transparent for intonologists, linguists and advanced students with some phonetic training.

In the ToRI system, transcription symbols for the prosodic labelling of pitch phenomena and a set of pronunciation rules will be defined by time and fundamental frequency parameters that describe the actual realizations of Russian pitch phenomena, thus presenting the phonetic correlates of the symbols with phonetic specifications in average values. These pronunciation rules are highly language specific. For example, a pitch accent in ToDI can have the same symbol as in ToRI, yet its phonetic realization is quite different (for automatic spell-out rules for Dutch, see Gussenhoven and Rietveld, 1992). Pronunciation rules for ToRI symbols representing realizations of pitch accents will be based on the perceptual description of types of pitch accent in Odé (1989). In this description, following Bolinger (e.g. 1986) and Keijsper (e.g. 1987), a pitch accent is defined as a pitch movement or a configuration of pitch movements lending perceptual prominence to a syllable (Odé, 1989: 10, 2005a). Each type of pitch accent summarizes, as it were, all its perceptual equivalent realizations, that is, all realizations of one type are judged as successful imitations of one another ('t Hart et al., 1990: 47). The pronunciation rules for ToRI symbols should guarantee that a correct, realistic Russian pitch contour can be reproduced by synthesizing the contour on the basis of these rules. Pronunciation rules for Russian are currently being defined.

The labelling of communicative functions in ToRI will be limited in the sense that ToRI aims at presenting only main functions, such as prominence lending and distinguishing between sentence types (e.g. statement, question, completeness or incompleteness). The interpretations of a speaker's subtle intentions expressed by means of intonation can only be labelled in individual examples in context; such examples will be presented in ToRI. Ideally, a transcription system can label all forms and communicative functions for a given type of pitch phenomenon.

In its final design, ToRI will be published on the Internet as a free research module and learning tool richly illustrated with audiovisual examples and interactive exercises. How this aim was achieved for Dutch can be seen on the interactive website of ToDI (Gussenhoven et al., 2003). The ToRI system can be used for the transcription and teaching of Russian intonation, and also for comparative work by intonologists. ToRI may also be useful for dialectologists who can define specific sets of pronunciation rules for the realization of pitch phenomena in variants

and dialects of Russian. These rules, and if necessary also new symbols with pronunciation rules, can then be added to ToRI.

1.2 ToRI symbols: notational conventions

In ToRI, one symbol or combination of symbols expresses one type of pitch accent (for a list of symbols used so far see below, this section). Examples are pitch accent LH* (low-high) with a large excursion size[4] where the highest pitch (H) is reached in the accented syllable (*) and pitch continues on the high level, and LH*L (low-high&low) where the highest pitch is reached in the accented syllable immediately followed by low pitch. Symbol M* is used for the two pitch accents with normal excursion reaching their highest point in the low register of a speaker (see also note 4); the latter accents will not be dealt with in this article. The melodic context of pitch accents is further specified by indicating relevant non-prominence lending pitch movements preceding and following the pitch accent in capitals without asterisk (no accent), viz. H for rising pitch and L for falling pitch. A pitch level is sustained on the last indicated pitch level till a new symbol appears.

[4] In my definition, the excursion size of a pitch movement is measured from the lowest level of a speaker, because "the lowest level of a speaker is always virtually present at any moment of speech as a reference level" (Odé 1989: 91). More specifically, I define the lowest level of a speaker on the basis of the mean end frequency of two final falling pitch accents with early and late timing, respectively (ibid.: 92). The "lowest" level is thus the level reached on average in final falls of a given speaker, and is not an ultimate value, as, absolutely speaking, a still lower pitch level can be reached after falling pitch accents in, for instance, final lowering. As Rietveld and Vermillion (2003) correctly remark: "F_{ref} will only seldomly be reached", where F_{ref} is defined as "the lowest value of F_0 for a particular speaker". With the lowest level of a speaker as reference point, I described pitch movements with large excursion as reaching a pitch level in the high register of a speaker and with normal excursion reaching a pitch level in the low register of a speaker. For Russian it was established that the range of the low register, when measured from the lowest level of a speaker set to zero semitones, is from that level up to 10 semitones, and the high register from 10 semitones up to 23 semitones. A speaker's register is the modal register, that is, vocal fry and falsetto are not included in its range. In order to avoid confusion, the lowest level of a speaker is called 'low reference', defined as the mean end frequency of final falling pitch accents for a given speaker. Keijsper (2003: 141ff.) discusses this problem of oppositions of pitch register versus excursion size. It is not the excursion size per se that determines the type of pitch accent, but in which register, high or low, the pitch movement reaches its end frequency. It is beyond the scope of the experiments discussed here, but defining register and excursion size is an issue to be dealt with in transcribing Russian intonation and developing ToRI symbols.

In systems like ToDI, prosodic boundaries marked by pitch are called *boundary tones*. Initial and final pitch at such boundaries are indicated with %H, %M, %L and H%, M%, L%, respectively; a complex boundary tone, e.g. an initial non-prominence-lending high fall, is expressed with symbol %HL, etc. This is not to say that all these boundary tones also occur in Russian, like, for example, H%. On the other hand, no mid pitch level is defined for ToDI, but is required for Russian (see note 4, this section). A prosodic boundary is defined as a clearly perceptible break in speech, separating streams of thoughts and organizing utterances in such a way that a speaker hears which words belong together. Note that pitch is not the only (prosodic) cue to mark a boundary, but this will not be further discussed here (see also Odé, 2003b: 282).

In the ToDI courseware, single symbol %, i.e. without pitch target indicated, expresses a half-completed fall or rise, and indicates that there is no boundary tone (Gussenhoven et al., 2003). For example, in Dutch pitch accent L*H followed by symbol % indicates a half-completed rise after low pitch in the accented syllable ending in mid pitch at the boundary (Gussenhoven, 2005: 130).

Depending on the types of pitch accent and other types of pitch phenomena, symbols occur as singletons or as combinations of symbols. All elements belonging to one type of pitch phenomenon are notated without interspacing, whereas elements belonging to different types are notated with interspacing between them.

Symbols used so far for ToRI are the following:

H, L	non-prominence lending rising, falling pitch
H*, M*, L*	high, mid or low pitch accent
%H, %L	initial high, low pitch
H%, L%	final high, low pitch at a boundary
%	half completed fall/rise ending in mid pitch level at a boundary; no boundary tone

2. The three Russian rising pitch accents defined

In this article, communicative functions in terms of sentence types of three of the six experimentally verified types of rising pitch accent (Odé 1989, 2003a) were evaluated in two experiments, discussed in sections 3-5: pitch accents LH*, LH*M, and LH*L.[5] The two rising accents with normal excursion are not discussed (see section 1.2); for the fourth accent with large excursion defined in Odé (1989), see below (this section,

[5] In Odé (1989) these accents are described with symbols Rh-, Rm-/+, Rl-, respectively.

note 7). The phonetic specifications of these accents, based on the analysis of a corpus of 15 minutes consisting of mainly spontaneous speech (Odé, 1989) and recently evaluated in another corpus (Odé, 2003a, 2003b), have been defined as follows (note that the specifications are average values; limits of perceptual tolerance are not indicated).

Types LH* and LH*L have on average a large excursion size of 17 semitones measured from the lowest level of a speaker (see section 1.2, note 4); a high or low posttonic part, respectively; early timing (the end frequency of the rise is reached at the onset of the accented vowel); a great rate of change (75 semitones per second).[6] In contrast to types LH*L and LH*M, type LH* needs no further specification as to its posttonic part: H* implies that pitch is sustained on the same pitch level till a next symbol occurs; LH*H would indicate that a high rise follows the highest point reached in the accented syllable. Type LH*M has on average a slightly smaller but still large excursion size of 15 semitones, a middle posttonic part, both early and late timing (in contrast to early timing, late timing means that the end frequency is reached much later than the vowel onset), and a much smaller rate of change of 54 semitones per second, and thus a less steep rising pitch movement. The difference between types LH* and LH*L on the one hand, and type LH*M on the other, is the rising part: type LH*M may rise more gradually and reach a less higher pitch level with varying timing; the difference discriminating between all three accents is their posttonic part: high, mid or low pitch immediately following the high pitch level reached in the accented syllable. Stylized contours of the accents are presented in Figure 1.

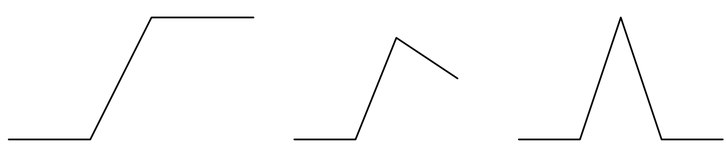


Figure 1. Stylized pitch contours of pitch accents LH*, LH*M and LH*L, respectively.

Realizations of accents LH* and LH*L on utterance-final syllables are truncated, that is, the posttonic part of the pitch configuration is "cut off" and the contrast between LH* and LH*L is lost; depending on the

[6] Though a great rate of pitch change contributes to the perception of a given type of pitch movement, lending more salience to the movement, it is not a discrete feature of that type (Odé 1989: 95ff.).

context, its interpretation can be ambiguous in this position.[7] Type LH*M is not truncated on utterance-final syllables (see above, this section), even when realized with early timing: in this position compression occurs, that is, the whole pitch configuration is realized within the final syllable, keeping its perceptually relevant features intact, thus making the type audibly different from LH* and LH*L on utterance-final syllables. For a discussion on compression and truncation see Ladd (1996: 132ff.).

In sections 3 through 5, the experiments will be discussed that were set up to evaluate the communicative functions in terms of sentence type of the three types of pitch accent just described.

3. The experiments

Two experiments were carried out to evaluate the communicative functions in terms of sentence type of the three rising pitch accents LH*, LH*M and LH*L, and to define these functions for the ToRI system. For the form of the three accents see section 2. The individual experiments were set up with two tasks: a combined perception (listening) and production (writing) task, and another production task (recording of read-aloud utterances).

In Odé (1989: 61ff.), communicative functions of two of the three accents, viz. LH* and LH*M, have been verified in a pilot writing test. The result of this test was that in the given contexts, type LH* is interpreted as announcing a last pitch accent, whereas type LH*M is not interpreted as anticipating the occurrence of a last pitch accent and can be followed by an accent of the same type, or is a last accent itself. Communicative functions of type LH*L have not been tested in Odé (1989).

Generally speaking, accents LH* and LH*L occur as final accent before a boundary, whereas LH*M occurs as final and as non-final accent before a boundary, e.g. as a sequence of LH*M accents in sawtooth patterns. Type LH*M is also used if followed by a stretch of unaccented words (Keijsper 1992: 203ff.). Describing differences between the three accents in more subtle interpretations than in terms of sentence type is still an issue that must be further studied for ToRI. For a discussion on such interpretations the reader is referred to, for example, Fougeron (1986), Schallert (1990), Svetozarova (1982); on the teaching of Russian intonation, see Keijsper (1992: 193ff., 2003: 141ff.). The description of the

[7] It was earlier suggested that types LH* (Rh-) and LH*L (Rl-) are neutralized in utterance-final syllables: type Rø- in Odé (1989: 105). This hypothesis was experimentally tested and rejected (Odé, 2005b).

three pitch accents in Table 1 is based on the analysed corpus in Odé (1989) and on the literature just mentioned.

type	*communicative function in terms of sentence type*	*last accent before a boundary*	*right context required*
LH*	incompleteness	yes	yes
	exclamation	yes	no
	repeated question	yes	no
LH*M	incompleteness	not necessarily	yes
	enumeration	no	yes
LH*L	question: yes/no, repeated, alternative	yes	no
	incompleteness	yes	yes

Table 1. Types of accent with their communicative function in terms of sentence type, possible occurrence as a last accent before a boundary, and requirement of a right context.

For the experimental evaluation of the communicative functions of the three accents, three native subjects were asked to listen to short stimulus-utterances and to add a preceding and/or following text that they considered appropriate in the given melodic context, that is, given the pitch accent realized in the stimulus utterance. The question was whether subjects would compose a text preceding and/or following the original stimulus on the basis of which it can be concluded that the pitch accent in the original stimulus is interpreted by them as expected according to Table 1. There were three sets of eight utterances, one set for each of the three pitch accents. Per set of utterances, the only constant parameter was the type of accent. By changing everything else except the pitch accent it was expected that differences between the three types can be found, especially where communicative functions overlap, as in the case of incompleteness. Full details of the two experiments will follow in sections 3.1-3.4.

3.1 Stimuli

Stimuli for the experiment were selected from a larger set of utterances recorded in 2004 for various experiments. The procedure for recording was as follows.

Six female and four male speakers from Moscow and St Petersburg, linguist-phoneticians representing age groups between 20-80 years old, were asked to read aloud short utterances with the realization of pitch accents LH*, LH*M and LH*L in the utterance-final word. The utterances were in cyrillic and without punctuation marks printed on cards on which the utterance-final word was underlined. The semantic content of the stimulus utterances was context-independent in the sense

that realizations of all three accents were considered possible in the final word. This was tested by two native linguist-phoneticians who read the stimuli aloud with realizations of the three accents and accepted them as correct, natural utterances.

There were three different recording sessions, one for each of the three target accents LH*, LH*M and LH*L. In the first session, speakers were asked to read the stimuli with a realization of accent LH* in the underlined utterance-final word, in the next session with a realization of accent LH*M, and in the last session with a realization of accent LH*L. Before each session, speakers received detailed instructions with audio-examples and a stylized pitch contour of the given accent; they rehearsed the accent repeatedly by reading presented test stimuli. Between the three sessions there was a good break. Before the actual recording, the cards with the text of the utterances were shuffled. Recordings were made using a Marantz CDR300 digital CD-recorder and a Sony electret stereo directional microphone. The same two native linguist-phoneticians who tested the acceptability of the stimuli, evaluated the recordings and judged them as natural realizations of the three accents. More details on the recordings of types LH* and LH*L that have also been used for an experiment on neutralization and truncation (see section 2) are described in Odé (2005b).

For the present experiment, 24 utterances were selected: eight utterances for each of the three target accents LH*, LH*M and LH*L realized in utterance-final words, four with antepenultimate and four with penultimate stress position. These stress positions guarantee that the discrete feature discriminating between all three accents, viz. pitch in the posttonic syllables, is present (see also section 2).

All 24 stimulus-utterances are presented in Table 2. For the convenience of the reader, stimuli are given per accent and per stress position, while in the actual experiment they occurred in random order. Abbreviations preceding the text indicate the names of the speakers: female Bo, Ev, Li, Na, Ni, Ro and male Ge, Le, Pa and Va.

accent LH*					
antepenultimate stress			*penultimate stress*		
1)	Le	таким образом выбрался '(he) got out that way'	2)	Pa	получилось чудно '(it) was wonderful'
3)	Ev	там памятник 'there (is) a monument'	4)	Na	пили три бокала '(they) drank three glasses'
5)	Le	он опытный парусник 'he (is) an experienced sailor'	6)	Ge	они купили виллу 'they bought a villa'
7)	Ev	было весело '(it) was fun'	8)	Li	она приедет на Пасху 'she will come for Easter'

accent LH*M					
antepenultimate stress			*penultimate stress*		
9)	Ni	она приедет на каникулы 'she will come on holiday'	10)	Ev	таким образом уехал 'so (he) left'
11)	Pa	было весело '(it) was nice'	12)	Va	там повар 'there (is) a cook'
13)	Li	все правильно 'everything (is) correct'	14)	Ni	он красивый мальчик 'he (is) a handsome boy'
15)	Pa	он тут же вылетел 'he flew away at once'	16)	Va	было модно '(it) was fashionable'
accent LH*L					
antepenultimate stress			*penultimate stress*		
17)	Na	получилось замечательно '(it) was a great success'	18)	Va	она приедет на Пасху 'she will come for Easter'
19)	Le	ели три яблока '(they) ate three apples'	20)	Li	было модно '(it) was fashionable'
21)	Bo	они купили занавес 'they bought a curtain'	22)	Pa	все чудесно 'everything (is) wonderful'
23)	Le	она приедет на каникулы 'she will come on holiday'	24)	Ro	он тут же увидел 'he saw at once'

Table 2. Text of the stimuli for the three test accents LH*, LH*M and LH*L.

3.2 Subjects and instructions

Three native subjects living in Moscow carried out the perception and production tasks: two female (between 25-30 and 50-55 years old) and one male (between 60-65 years old), all linguist-phoneticians who did not participate in the recordings and who are experienced in making transcriptions on various prosodic issues. The author gave personal instructions and these were immediately clear to them. They fulfilled the tasks individually, at their own tempo, and except that the tasks were considered difficult and tiring, problems were not reported.

3.3 The combined experiment

The combined experiment consisted of a listening and a writing task. The three native subjects listened to the 24 short stimulus utterances presented to them on a laptop with numbered texts and buttons under which the sound files of the utterances were stored. Subjects were asked to listen to a stimulus by clicking on the corresponding button, to compose a text of any length preceding and/or following the stimulus that they considered appropriate in the given melodic context. Subjects were thus "guided" by the type of pitch accent realized. They wrote down their composed text on a form on which the original stimulus without punctuation marks was printed with enough space around them. The

stimuli were presented in random order, that is, not arranged per accent or stress position. There were no time limitations for the task, and on the laptop subjects had the possibility to scroll up and down through the stimuli, thus allowing them to repeatedly listen to stimuli or to return to previous stimuli. Though a possible option, subjects did not compare stimuli with one another. After having composed a context, subjects read their written utterances aloud, thus checking whether the pitch accent realized in the original stimulus fits well melodically. If felt necessary, corrections were made.

3.4 The production experiment: recording

The production experiment consisted in the recording of the composed texts. With the strict instruction to imitate the pitch accent realized in the original stimulus as well as possible, subjects read aloud their composed texts in which they included the original stimulus. They were free how to realize pitch contours in their own composed text, but with the limitation that the original pitch accent fits well in the melodic context.

Before the actual recording, subjects wished to rehearse the realization of the original pitch accent, a difficult, yet feasible task for their experienced ears. By clicking on the corresponding sound button on the laptop, subjects listened again, if necessary repeatedly, to the original utterance. Then they read aloud their own text in which the original was incorporated. Eventually, texts were recorded one by one using the same equipment as for the recordings described in section 3.1.

4. Results

The results of the writing task and the recordings are presented separately. In section 4.1, Table 3, complete texts as composed by the three subjects are given. These texts show which sentence type was interpreted by the subjects and, provided that the imitation of the originally realized pitch accent in the recording was successful, whether the same pitch accent was intended by the original speakers and the subjects. In Table 4, the communicative functions in terms of sentence type as interpreted by the subjects on the basis of the original pitch accents are shown by means of punctuation marks. How successful subjects were in imitating the original pitch accents was analysed by means of pitch measurements. In section 4.2, some examples of recorded imitations of pitch accents compared to originally realized pitch accents are discussed, illustrated with pictures.

4.1 Results of the combined experiment

In Table 3, the results of the writing task of the combined experiment are presented per accent. The 24 stimuli appear in the same order as they were presented in Table 2 (section 3.1), but I repeat that in the experiment they were presented in random order. The text of the original stimuli is in italics, the text composed by the subjects in normal face. Texts are an exact copy of what was written down by the subjects, including the punctuation marks. The initials indicate the three subjects: females L and V, and male S. Sometimes subjects composed a second context. In nos. S6, S23 and S24, subject S left out a word present in the original utterance, in Table 3 these words are indicated between brackets; in no. S24, he added the word *их* to the original utterance; this word appears in normal face.

accent LH*		
1)	L	Он *таким образом выбрался* из этого затруднительного положения и успокоился. 'He *got out that way* of this difficult situation and calmed down.'
	V	Он *таким образом выбрался* и больше не возвращался. 'He *got out that way* and did not come back anymore.'
	S	Ну вот. Стало быть, *таким образом выбрался*. И все обошлось. 'Well. So *he got out that way.* And things were settled.
2)	L	Жаркое *получилось чудно*, и гости были довольны. 'The fried meat *was wonderful*, and the guests were satisfied.
	V	Все *получилось чудно*, все были довольны. 'Everything *was wonderful*, everybody was satisfied.'
	S	Зря волновались. *Получилось чудно*. Все остались довольны. 'There was no need to worry. *It was wonderful.* Everybody was satisfied.'
3)	L	*Там памятник* такой необычный! '*There is a monument* so unusual!'
	V	Вон *там памятник*, а там музей. 'Over *there is a monument*, and there a museum.'
	S	*Там памятник*, и играть в футбол было бы страшно. '*There is a monument*, and playing football would be terrible.'
4)	L	Вы*пили три бокала* и конечно захмелели. '*They drank three glasses* and of course got tipsy.'
	V	Потом *пили три бокала* и расходились. 'After that *they drank three glasses* and went their way.'
	S	Вы*пили три бокала* и обалдели. '*They drank three glasses* and went crazy.'
5)	L	К тому же *он опытный парусник*, хороший пловец, и разбирается в моторах. 'Moreover *he is an experienced sailor*, a good swimmer, and knows about motors.'
	V	*Он опытный парусник* и хороший аквалангист. '*He is an experienced sailor* and a good diver.'

	S	Все обойдется. *Он опытный парусник.* Ему эта ситуация не страшна. 'Everything will be all right. *He is an experienced sailor*. This situation does not frighten him.'
6)	L	*Они купили виллу*, ты слышал? '*They bought a villa*, did you hear that?' *Они купили виллу*, и денег не осталось. '*They bought a villa*, and ran out of money.'
	V	*Они купили виллу*, но пока еще не жили в ней. '*They bought a villa*, but they don't live in it yet.'
	S	Они теперь богачи. *(они) Купили виллу*, сад у них огромный, яхта. 'They are rich now. *They bought a villa*, they have a huge garden, a yacht.'
7)	L	*Было весело* у Наташи! '*It was so nice* at Natasha's!'
	V	Как вчера *было весело*! '*It was* so *nice* yesterday!' Вчера *было весело* и совсем не хотелось расходиться. 'Yesterday *it was nice* and we did not feel like going away.'
	S	*Было весело*, но только не для него. '*It was nice*, but only not for him.'
8)	L	*Она приедет на Пасху*, и ты сам с ней поговоришь. '*She will come for Easter*, and then you can talk to her yourself.'
	V	*Она приедет на Пасху*, а потом только к Новому году. '*She will come for Easter*, and then only for New Year.'
	S	*Она приедет на Пасху* и останется надолго. '*She will come for Easter* and will stay for a long time.'
accent LH*M		
9)	L	*Она приедет на каникулы*, и мы долго от нее не избавимся. '*She will come on holiday*, and we will not get rid of her for long.' *Она приедет на каникулы*, потом на Новый год и на день рождения. '*She will come on holiday*, then for New Year and for her birthday.'
	V	*Она приедет на каникулы*, будет гулять с нами по городу и кататься на коньках. '*She will come on holiday*, she will go for a walk with us about the city and go skating.'
	S	*Она приедет на каникулы*, и мы тогда ее обсудим. '*She will come on holiday*, and then we will discuss her.'
10)	L	*Таким образом уехал* он из города и больше его никто не видел. '*So he left* town and since then nobody saw him anymore.'
	V	Он *таким образом уехал*, потом выслал нам телеграмму. '*So he left*, after that he sent us a telegram.'
	S	Ну вот. *Таким образом уехал* и отношения кончились. 'Well. *So he left* and that was the end of the relationship.'
11)	L	В гостях *было весело*, но очень шумно. 'The visit *was nice*, but very noisy.'
	V	В гостях *было весело* и уютно. 'The visit *was nice* and cozy.'
	S	*Было весело.* Так что не зря приходили. '*It was nice.* So it was worthwhile going there.'

12)	L	*Там повар* свой, да еще и шофер есть, и садовник. '*There is a cook* of their own, and also a driver, and a gardener.'
	V	Есть *там повар*, врач, тренер - все необходимые люди. '*There is a cook*, a doctor, a trainer - all the necessary people.'
	S	*Там повар* отличный, стоит поехать. '*There is an* excellent *cook*, it is worth going there.'
13)	L	Ты говоришь *все правильно*, но в этом нет ничего нового. 'You say *everything is correct*, but there is nothing new to that.'
	V	В вашем ответе *все правильно*, только можно добавить вот что. 'In your answer *everything is correct*, only this is what could be added to it.'
	S	*Все правильно.* Можно отлично ставить. '*Everything is correct*. You can give the highest mark.'
14)	L	*Он красивый мальчик*, хорошо одет, общителен, поэтому имеет успех у девушек. '*He is a handsome boy*, well dressed, sociable, so he is very successful with the girls.'
	V	*Он красивый мальчик*, поэтому его все баловали. '*He is a handsome boy*, so everybody spoiled him.'
	S	У него с девочками наладится. *Он красивый мальчик*. Найдется подруга. 'He'll be fine with girls. *He is a handsome boy*. He will find a girlfriend.
15)	L	*Он тут же вылетел*, но было уже поздно. '*He flew away at once*, but it was already too late.'
	V	*Он тут же вылетел* и вечером был уже на месте. '*He flew away at once* and in the evening he was already there.'
	S	Ему об этом сообщили. *Он тут же вылетел*, но было уже поздно. 'They told him about it. *He flew away at once*, but it was already too late.'
16)	L	В этом сезоне *было модно* носить широкие брюки. 'That season *it was fashionable* to wear wide trousers.'
	V	Тогда это *было модно*, поэтому на многих старинных картинах можно увидеть людей в широкополых шляпах. 'Those days *it was fashionable*, so on many old pictures you can see people wearing wide-brimmed hats.'
	S	Носить такие платья *было модно*, так что никто не удивился. 'Wearing such dresses *was fashionable*, so nobody was surprised.'
accent LH*L		
17)	L	*Получилось замечательно*? Она именно так сказала? '*It was a great success*? Is that what she said?'
	V	*Получилось замечательно*? Я рада. '*Was it a great success*? I am happy.
	S	А ты считаешь, что *получилось замечательно*? 'And you think that *it was a great success*?'
18)	L	*Она приедет на Пасху* или позже? '*Will she will come for Easter* or later?'
	V	*Она приедет на Пасху* и подарит нам что-то необычное. '*She will come for Easter* and give us something unusual.'
	S	– Я надеюсь ее скоро увидеть. – Она что, *приедет на Пасху*? '– I hope to see her soon. – She what, *will come for Easter*?'

19)	L	*Ели три яблока*? Ты уверен?
		‘*They ate three apples*? Are you sure?’
	V	*Ели три яблока*? Мне кажется, это были не яблоки.
		‘*They ate three apples*? They did not look like apples to me.’
	S	*Ели три яблока*? И насытились? Ну-ну.
		‘*They ate three apples*? And were full? Well-well.’
20)	L	А *было модно* посещать этот курорт?
		‘And *was it fashionable* to visit that resort?’
	V	Раньше так *было модно*?
		‘In those days that *was fashionable*?’
	S	А ты так считаешь? *Было модно*?
		‘And you think so? *Was it fashionable*?’
21)	L	*Они купили занавес* или ширму?
		‘*They bought a curtain* or a screen?’
	V	*Они купили занавес* и думают, что для театра этого достаточно!
		‘*They bought a curtain* and think that will do for a theatre!’
		Они купили занавес? Я им покажу!
		‘*They bought a curtain*? I will show them!’
	S	Как они от шума спасаются? *Они купили занавес*?
		‘How can they get away from the noise? *They bought a curtain*?’
22)	L	У вас *все чудесно*?
		‘*Everything wonderful* with you?’
		На вечере было *все чудесн*, жаль только моя подруга не смогла прийти.
		‘That evening *everything was wonderful*, only it was a pity that my girlfriend could not come.’
	V	*Все чудесно*? Я рад.
		‘*Everything wonderful*? I am happy.’
	S	Ты говоришь *все чудесно*? Дай бог и дальше так.
		‘You say *everything is wonderful*? God grant it stays that way.’
23)	L	*Она приедет на каникулы*, как всегда?
		‘*Will she come on holiday*, like always?’
	V	*Она приедет на каникулы*? Мне говорили, она приедет осенью.
		‘*Will she come on holiday*? They told me that she will come in autumn.’
	S	Она что, (*она*) *приедет на каникулы*?
		‘She what, (*she*) *will come on holiday*?’
24)	L	*Он тут же увидел* ее или только слышал?
		‘*Did he see* her *at once* or did he only hear her?’
		Он тут же увидел насколько она бледна и понял, что она больна.
		‘*He saw at once* how pale she was and understood that she was ill.’
	V	*Он тут же увидел*? Жаль.
		‘*He saw (it) at once*? What a pity.’
	S	Он что, (*он*) *тут же* их *увидел*?
		‘He what, *saw* them *at once*?’

Table 3. Results of the listening and writing task with free English translation for female subjects L, V and male subject S with the text of the original stimuli in italics.

In Table 4, the results per subject have been rearranged and are presented in three columns. In the first column, communicative functions in terms of sentence types of the type of accent are indicated. In the second column, conjunctions immediately following the original stimulus, if used, are given. The third column shows types of punctuation marks, if used. For the convenience of the reader, stimuli appear in the same order as they were presented in Tables 2 and 3. As said earlier, in the original experiment stimuli were presented in random order (see section 3.1). Communicative functions in terms of sentence types according to Table 1 (section 3) are expressed by using the following marks:

... incompleteness
! exclamation
? question: yes/no, repeated, alternative

accent LH*									
subject	L	V	S	L	V	S	L	V	S
stimulus no:	*comm. function:*			*conjunction:*			*punctuation mark:*		
1	…	…	…		и	и			.
2	…	…	…	и			,	,	.
3	!	…	…		а	и	!	,	,
4	…	…	…	и	и	и			
5	…	…	…		и		,		.
6	…	…	…		но		,	,	,
	…			и			,		
7	!	!	…			но	!	!	,
		…			и				
8	…	…	…	и	а	и	,	,	
accent LH*M									
subject	L	V	S	L	V	S	L	V	S
stimulus no:	*comm. function:*			*conjunction:*			*punctuation mark:*		
9	…	…	…	и		и	,	,	,
	…			потом			,		
10	…	…	…	и	потом	и		,	
11	…	…	…	но	и	так что	,		.
12	…	…	…	да ещ е			,	,	,
13	…	…	…	но	только		,	,	.
14	…	…	…		поэтому		,	,	.
15	…	…	…	но	и	но	,		,
16	…	…	…		поэтому	так что		,	,

accent LH*L									
subject	L	V	S	L	V	S	L	V	S
stimulus no:	*comm. function:*			*conjunction:*			*punctuation mark:*		
17	?	?	?				?	?	?
18	?	…	?	*или*	*и*		?		?
19	?	?	?				?	?	?
20	?	?	?				?	?	?
21	?	?	?	*или*	*и*		?		?
		?						?	
22	?	?	?				?	?	?
	…						,		
23	?	?	?				?	?	?
24	?	?	?	*или*			?	?	?
	…								

Table 4. Number of stimulus, communicative function of the original accent, and, if used, conjunctions[8] and types of punctuation mark following the original.

4.2 Results of the production experiment

The aim of the production experiment was to check whether the originally realized accent is imitated successfully and indeed appropriate in the melodic context of the text composed by the subjects. How well subjects imitated the original accent was verified by analysing the recordings of the composed versions read-aloud by the three subjects.[9] For this purpose, using Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2005), imitations of originals were segmented from the composed texts, and phonetic specifications of original and imitations were compared and analysed by means of pitch measurements. An imitation is considered successful if the realized pitch accent answers the phonetic specifications as described in section 2: excursion size, timing and posttonic part. In general, subjects imitated the original realizations of pitch accents quite well, that is, the phonetic specifications of imitations answer those described in section 2. An example of good imitations of type LH*L is presented in Figure 2. In the figures below, the transliteration is according to the Library of Congress system.

[8] English translations: *а* ‘and, but’, *да еще* ‘and also’, *и* ‘and’, *или* ‘or’, *но* ‘but’, *потом* ‘then, afterwards’, *поэтому* ‘therefore, so’, *так что* ‘so that’, *только* ‘only, but’.

[9] For soundfiles of the original stimuli and of the utterances as composed and pronounced by the subjects please contact the author: c.ode@uva.nl.

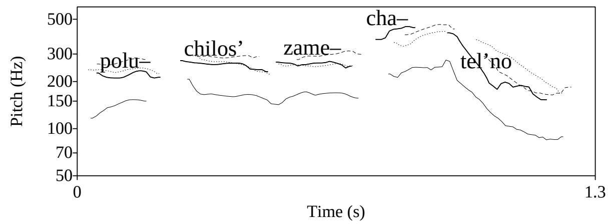


Figure 2. Pitch contours of type LH*L on a logarithmic scale of original stimulus no. 17 pronounced by female speaker Na (bold line) with almost exact imitations by female subjects L (dotted line) and V (dashed line) and male, and thus lower, S (thin line).

Figure 3 shows a canonical realization of type LH* but imitated with a type LH*M accent realized by subject L. The excursion size in the rise is somewhat lower than the original, but still large. However, after the highest point, pitch drops with 4 ST to the mid level, whereas in the original contour, pitch remains on the same high level. Subject L realizes a typical LH*M with a long stretch of unaccented syllables all belonging to the last accent, and the utterance is completed with a final fall, as shown in Figure 4.

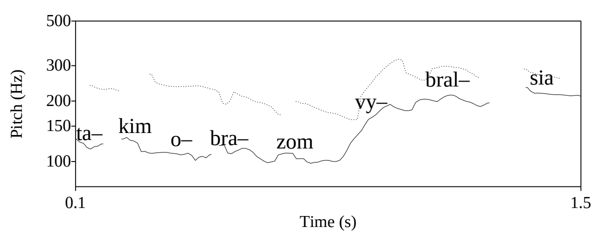


Figure 3. Pitch contours of original type LH* on a logarithmic scale of stimulus no. 1 pronounced by male speaker Le (plain line) and imitated as LH*M by subject L (dotted line).

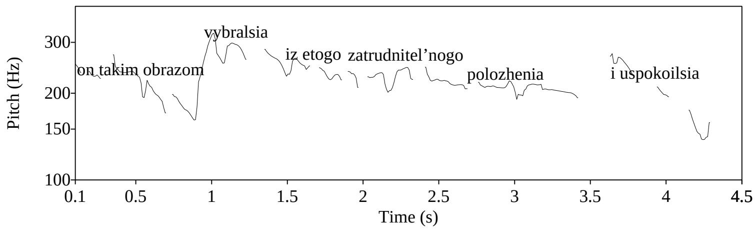


Figure 4. Pitch contour on a logarithmic scale of text L1 with initial pitch accent LH*M followed by a long unaccented stretch and a final fall as pronounced by female subject L.

In the next example shown in Figure 5, subject L did not correctly imitate type LH* and composed a text typical for type LH*M realizations, viz. an enumeration. In the imitation, after the accented syllable, pitch drops with 4 semitones, while in the original stimulus, pitch continues on the same level.

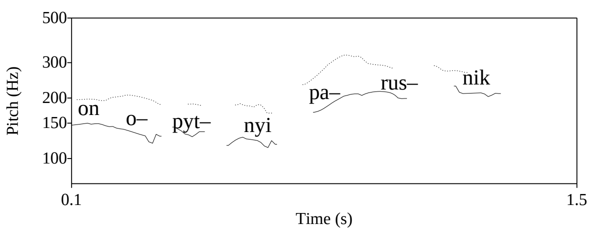


Figure 5. Pitch contour on a logarithmic scale of original stimulus no. 5 (plain line) and imitation (dotted line) with pitch accent LH*M pronounced in text 5 by female subject L.

Figure 6 gives an example of an original LH* with high posttonic part, but since the timing is late (the highest point is reached late in the accented vowel), as can be seen in the spectogram, subject S perceived the accent as LH*M, his text is an enumeration typical for type LH*M and he imitated the accent accordingly.

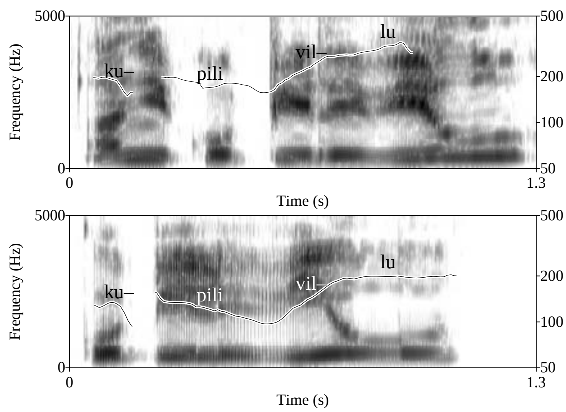


Figure 6. Pitch contour (in white) on a logarithmic scale printed on top of a spectogram of the original LH* realization of stimulus no. 6 by male speaker Ge (top) and imitation (bottom) with pitch accent LH*M pronounced in text 6 by male subject S. For the convenience of the reader, text is white where the spectogram is too black.

The original type LH*L realizations and the imitations were in general quite good, as has been shown in Figure 2. But in Figure 7, middle picture, it can be seen that subject V imitates the original not correctly, viz. with late timing, reaching a highest point only 100 ms after the accented vowel *a* in *za-*. Yet her composed text shows that the stimulus was interpreted as a question, as would be expected with the canonical original. The spectogram neatly shows that in the original (top) and imitation (bottom), the highest pitch level is reached early in the accented vowel as is required for type LH*L realizations. Both imitations also do not reach the lowest pitch level of the speaker as is a feature for type LH*L.

All examples have been analysed. The examples shown illustrate that for types LH* and LH*M, subjects did not always imitate the originals successfully and accordingly composed a text as would not be expected for the given type.

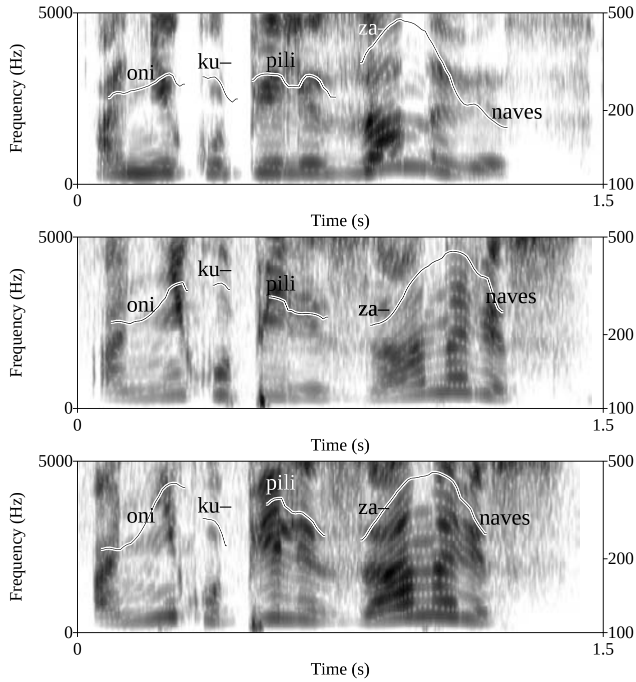


Figure 7. Pitch contours (in white) on a logarithmic scale printed on top of a spectogram of the original LH*L realization of stimulus no. 21 by female speaker Bo (top) and imitations (middle and bottom) by subject V. In the middle imitation timing is "too" late for a canonical type LH*L; low pitch after both imitations is not as low as the original. For the convenience of the reader, text is in white where the spectogram is too black to show the text.

5. Discussion

The aim of the experiments was to define the communicative functions in terms of sentence type of three rising pitch accents, viz. LH*, LH*M and LH*L. It was expected that by composing a context in which the original realization of the accents is maintained, the communicative function in terms of sentence type of the three accents could be revealed. In the following, numbers refer to stimuli numbers and capitals to the three subjects.

By looking at Table 4, section 4.1, it can be seen that for type LH*, six of the eight original stimuli were interpreted by all three subjects as expressing incompleteness. Sixteen original stimuli and right contexts composed by the subjects occur in paratactic constructions with con-

junctions *и*, *а* or *но* 'and', 'and, but', 'but', respectively. Nine texts with these three conjunctions have in common that the pitch accent in the stimuli was interpreted as announcing an immediately following result, an evaluation, expressing: "and so...": nos. 1V, 1S, 2L, 3S, 4L, 4S, 6L, 7V, 8L. Two stimuli with type LH*, viz. nos. 5L and 6S, were interpreted as announcing an enumeration and as such overlap with type LH*M (see also section 4.2, Figures 5 and 6). Subject L did not correctly imitate stimulus no. 1 (shown in section 4.2, Figure 4) and produced a typical type LH*M with a long stretch of unaccented syllables all under the umbrella of the preceding accent till a final fall follows. Three stimuli were perceived as an exclamation: nos. 3L, 7L and 7V. It can be concluded that all texts composed for stimuli with accent LH*, except for the exclamations, required a right context.

All type LH*M stimuli were interpreted as expressing incompleteness with the following differences. An enumeration can be found in nos. 9L, 9V, 12L, 12V and 14L. The text of no. 16L is pronounced with a sawtooth pattern: after a type LH*M realization in stimulus *модно* 'fashionable', two small rising pitch accents follow. In the texts added after type LH*M stimuli, other conjunctions than *и* 'and' *но* 'but' were used: *да еще* 'and also', *только* 'only, but', *потом* 'then, afterwards', *поэтому* 'therefore, so', *так что* 'so that'. These conjunctions may all occur in an enumeration and as announcing a following result.

Texts composed for types LH* and LH*M show overlap as to interpretation of the pitch accent: an enumeration occurs in two texts with type LH* (nos. 5L and 6S) and in five texts with type LH*M (nos. 9L, 9V, 12L, 12V and 14L). Overlap also occurs in texts that announce a following result: thirteen texts with type LH* and twelve texts with type LH*M. Types LH*M and LH*L were not interpreted as exclamation; types LH* and LH*M did not occur in the composed texts as any type of question. All type LH*M stimuli required a right context.

Type LH*L for which 27 texts were composed by the three subjects together, was in only three texts not interpreted as a question, but as incompleteness, and required a right context: nos. 18V, 22L and 24L. Subject V interpreted the accent in no. 18V as the announcement of a soon following result; in no. 22L subject L composed two texts, one expressing a yes/no question and one incompleteness; in no. 24L she gave two possible interpretations: an alternative question and incompleteness, but her first text written down was a question. Note that for stimulus no. 21, subject V composed a text (the first text in no. 21V) that she pronounced with a non-canonical realization of type LH*L (see Figure 7) followed by another non-canonical realization of type LH*L (not shown in Figure 7); in the text, after the latter accent, she put an exclamation mark.

The results of the experiment show that type LH*L is interpreted as a question, provided that the excursion size is large enough (≥17 ST, see section 2) and the posttonic part is low enough (reaching the lowest level of the given speaker), otherwise it can be interpreted as incompleteness and, depending on the context, overlaps with types LH* or LH*M.

Summarizing, on the basis of the texts composed by the subjects, the results of the experiment, sorted by communicative function, viz. incompleteness, announcing a result, an enumeration, a question and an exclamation, can be presented as shown in Table 5. Note that there were 24 texts, but sometimes a second text was composed by a subject.

incompleteness	LH*	3V, 4V, 5V, 6VL, 7S, 8VS (total: 8)
	LH*M	10V,11LV, 13LV, 15LS, 16L (total: 8)
	LH*L	18V, 22L, 24L (total: 3)
announcing a result	LH*	1LVS, 2LVS, 3S, 4LS, 5S, 6L, 7V, 8L (total: 13)
	LH*M	9LS, 10LS, 11S, 12S, 13S, 14VS, 15V, 16VS (total: 12)
enumeration	LH*	5L, 6S (total: 2)
enumeration	LH*M	9LV, 12LV, 14L (total: 5)
question	LH*L	17LVS, 18LS, 19LVS, 20LVS, 21LVVS, 22LVS, 23LVS, 24LVS (total: 24)
exclamation	LH*	3L, 7LV (total: 3)

Table 5. The 24 texts composed by the three subjects L, V and S, sorted by incompleteness, announcing a result, an enumeration, a question and an exclamation: 26 texts for LH*, 25 texts for LH*M and 27 texts for LH*L.

Further research is necessary to explain the differences between the three types that were interpreted as incompleteness. There are formal differences between types expressing incompleteness, hence there are different meanings. It depends on a speaker's intention which type s/he will choose if different types of pitch accent are "available" to express incompleteness. The present article aims at explaining such differences.

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AN INDO-EUROPEAN CUSTOM OF SACRIFICE IN GREECE AND ELSEWHERE

NORBERT OETTINGER

In the discussion of Indogermanische Dichtersprache there is normally no mention of symbolism of numbers. In what follows I intend to show that several Indo-European languages preserved traces of that kind of symbolism[1].

Let us start with Homer. In the sixth book of the Iliad there is a famous scene, in which Diomedes the Greek and Glaukos the Lycean meet in battle and decide not to fight against one another but to exchange armour. (Homeric warfare is sometimes quite different from today's.) The poet describes the result of this exchange as follows:

Iliad 6, 234-6
ἔνθ᾽ αὖτε Γλαύκῳ Κρονίδης φρένας ἐξέλετο Ζεύς,
ὃς πρὸς Τυδεΐδην Διομήδεα τεύχε᾽ ἄμειβεν
χρύσεα χαλκείων, ἑκατόμβοι᾽ ἐννεαβοίων.

Traditionally these verses are translated as follows:
'But Glaucus must have been out of his mind -
traded his armour for Diomedes',
gold for bronze, a hundred oxen's worth for nine!'

The general meaning of the scene is clear, but not the wording. Why does the poet just speak of a difference between a hundred and nine oxen, and not, for instance, between a hundred and ten, as we are inclined to expect given our decimal system, or between a hundred and one? Why just nine?

The solution to our problem lies far to the north. It is the runic stone of Stentoften in Sweden that dates from the middle of sixth century. It goes as follows:

[1] A version of this paper was presented at the Center for Hellenic Studies (Washington D.C.) in March 2003. I am grateful to Peter Jackson, Craig Melchert and Gregory Nagy for helpful advice. It is a pleasure to offer this modest study to my friend Frederik Kortlandt.

niuhAborumR
niuhagestumR
hAθuwolAfRgAfj

The traditional analysis is:
niuhA-borumR 'To the "new-farmers",
niuha-gestumR to the "new-guests"
hAθuwolAfR gAf j Hađuwolf gave (good) y(ears)'

But there are several linguistic arguments against this interpretation. I cite only one: The form *niuha* is supposed to mean 'new'. But the word for 'new' in Old Norse is *ný*. Given the age of our inscription one would expect **niuya-*. A stem *niuha* could only be explained by postulating a completely unexpected word formation.

Another possibility of reading the inscription has also been proposed:

niu^{n} hA-borumR 'To the nine "high-farmers",
niu^{n} ha-gestumR... to the nine "high-guests..."'

But here too difficulties arise. One of them is the fifth letter in both lines. It is supposed to represent the same phoneme, the vowel *a*. But we can see that it is written using two different runic signs, in the first line being transcribed by a big A and in the second by small a. In other inscriptions we find the big A written for the pure phoneme *a* and the small one for *an*, that means: *a* plus *n* (before consonant). We would expect to find the same rule working here, too.

Some years ago, for this and other reasons, the Swedish scholar Lillemor Santesson proposed a new interpretation (Santesson 1989 and 1993):

niu^{n} haborumR 'with nine he-goats,
niu^{n} ha^{n}gestumR 'with nine stallions…'
...

Hence Santesson found in the second line the word *hangest* 'stallion' that is also preserved in Old English and other Germanic languages, and for the first line she proposed a word **habra-* 'he-goat', related to such forms in German dialects as *Habergeiss* 'he-goat' and Latin *caper* of the same meaning. So the text refers to a heathen sacrifice.

In my opinion, this interpretation solves all the linguistic problems. It is amazing that Birkmann in his new handbook[2] is not convinced by

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[2] Birkmann 1995: 135; but cf. Düwel 2001: 21f.

Santesson's proposal and speaks of an open question. But, as we shall see, this new interpretation is supported by external evidence[3].

Santesson herself has drawn attention to the report of Adam of Bremen. Of Sweden he wrote in the 11th century:
Sacrificium itaque tale est: ex omni animante, quod masculinum est, novem capita offeruntur, quorum sanguine deos placari mos est. (Adamus Bremensis, cf. Santesson 1993: 241.)
'Therefore their sacrifice is as follows: from every kind of animal that is male, they offer nine individuals. With the blood of them it is the custom to placate the gods.'

Here, too, we have the same number of animals, nine.

Let us now leave the Germanic languages and move to the South-East, back to Greece.

In book six of Homer's Iliad we find the following passage (6, 172-6):
"And when he (Bellerophon) reached Lycia by the Xanthus
that land's ruler was most hospitable,
sacrificed nine oxen (ἐννέα βοῦς), feasted him nine days.
But after the dawn of the tenth day came
the Lycian ruler asked for those tablets..."

Again there are our nine animals. And in the third book of the Odyssey Nestor, king of Pylos, is about to sacrifice not only nine bulls, but even nine times nine! (3, 6-9):
"They just were sacrificing at the seashore
black bulls for dark-haired Poseidon,
nine rows of seats, for five hundred each,
were already taken, nine bulls provided for every row..."

Now we are prepared to return to our first problem, Iliad book 6, line 234 to 6. The adjectives pertaining to our problem are *hekatómboios* 'hundred cows worth' and *enneáboios* 'nine cows worth'[4]. But why are these numbers used in our passage? When in a different passage, for instance, we are told that a certain female slave is *tessaráboios* 'four cows worth', then this is a fact of real life, a price made by merchants.

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[3] Cf. Oettinger 2004: 654f.

[4] There is no difference between "cow", "ox" and "bull" in these Greek adjectives. And I am going to use "cow"as the term for the species, like French *boeuf*.

By contrast, hekatómbe is a ceremonial term pertaining to the ceremonious sacrifice made by kings and their communities. When any Greek heard the adjective *hekatómboios*, he always associated it with hekatómbe. And hekatómbe literally meant, as every hearer of Homer knew well, a sacrifice of a hundred cows. We shall come back to this term later. The second adjective, *enneáboios* 'nine cows worth' is, as we have learnt already, also a religious term. For this reason precisely these two words, and no others, are opposed to one another in our passage.

Besides, I have found no other numbers used in contexts of Homeric sacrifice in a meaningful way, only nine and hekatómbe.

We can sum up what has been said so far: In two early I.-E. Languages, Germanic and Greek, we have found a strange parallel: In the ceremonious sacrifice of kings the number of victims is nine.

Let us move farther to the South-East. In Iran, a country also settled by speakers of an Indo-European language, we cannot expect any information about traditional animal sacrifice, for in this country the famous Zaraθuštra (Zoroaster) created the first salvation-religion of the world, reforming strictly the old tradition of sacrifice. In the ritual he propagated there was no place for blood sacrifices[5].

Nevertheless, among the texts collected in the Avesta, the holy book of Zoroastrism, there are two texts that speak of sacrifices that had once been made in old heroic times: Yašt 5, 21-83 and Yašt 9, 3-29. Linguistically, they may well belong to the seventh century B.C.

The first text just generally mentions that there had once been animal sacrifice:

Yt. 5, 45 tąm yazata auruuō aš.varəcō kauua usa
ərəzifiiat̰ paiti garōit̰
satə̄e aspanąm aršnąm...

'To her (Anahita) the quick and very splendid Kavi Usan offered on mount *ərəzifya* a hundred stallions,(thousand oxen, ten thousand sheep. There he asked her: "Give me the great success to gain supreme power....)"'

[5] There is mentioning of sacrificial animals in the Avesta; see Bartholomae 1905: 879f. sub verbo *pasav-*. These passages show that sacrifice of animals survived here and there for some time in spite of the reformatory efforts of Zarathustra.

But there is another Avestan text which deals with animal sacrifice in a more concrete manner. Its original meaning is hidden by symbolism that was necessary for the survival of the passage within the orthodox Zoroastrian corpus. The text is part of the Videvdad, the code of the church founded by Zaraθustra. I have restored the original metre of verses containing eight syllables.

The text describes the following situation: Zaraθustra is in discussion with his god, the supreme god Ahura Mazda. A god of lower rank, Aryaman[6], is joining them. He is bringing the following utensils (V. 22,20):

nauuanąm aspanąm aršnąm
gaonəm barat̰ airiiama [yō išiiō]
nauuanąm uštranąm aršnąm
gaonəm barat̰ airiiama [yō išiiō]
nauuanąm gauuąm aršnąm
gaonəm barat̰ airiiama [yō išiiō]
nauuanąm anumaiianąm [aršnąm]
gaonəm barat̰ airiiama [yō išiiō]
nauua vaētaiiō barat̰
nauua karšå frakāraiiat̰.

'of nine male horses / Aryaman brought hair,
of nine male camels / Aryaman brought hair,
of nine bulls / Aryaman brought hair,
of nine sheep / Aryaman brought hair,
nine twigs of willow he brought,
nine furrows he drew.'

We can see that this text does not describe sacrifice explicitly. The sacrifice of animals mentioned in the first text describes a former custom that has simply been abolished in the period of the author. Instead of the life of animals one takes some of their hair[7]. But ethnologists know that taking the hair of an animal in this way is simply a symbol of sacrifice, the hair standing for the individual itself. So both our Avestan texts deal with sacrifice of male animals, namely stallions, oxen and rams.

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[6] It is not sure that av. *airiiaman-* (**aryaman-*) is a god at all, see Kellens 1977, especially 89-90, 95.

[7] Cf. the discussion obout the sacrifice of hair (*gaona-*) in Nirangistan 65. The text has been edited by Waag 1941: 70f.

Let us move farther to the South-East once more and consider India, where there was an I.-E. speaking population in the North, too. As with Iran, not much information can be expected from the texts here for our purpose, for in the Rigveda, the earliest collection of Old Indian religious hymns composed for royal sacrifices, there is hardly any mention of animal sacrifice any more. The blood of animals is replaced by Soma, a plant that has a long cultural prehistory of its own. In later Vedic texts, written in prose, their is some mention of animal sacrifice, but, as they do not refer to royal sacrifice, these texts do not deal with the sacrifice of large numbers of cattle.

Nevertheless we can find, I believe, an indirect reference to an earlier state of affairs. It is the name *Návagva-*, which literally means 'having nine cows'. These Navagva are a mystic family of sacrificial priests, who belonged to the first sacrificers in the world. They helped god Indra when he was about to gain the first cows, for by their powerful singing the Navagva forced open the rock that had enclosed those cows. They are the most important sacrificial priests of mythical times, hence we can assume that the sacrifice of nine animals, being contained in their name, had also been a number of importance during earlier times in India.

What follows from these independent testimonies of four old I-E. languages? Neither a number of nine sacrificial animals can be regarded as a self-evident universal of human culture, nor can secondary contacts between early Scandinavia and India easily be assumed. Therefore common I-E. cultural heritage seems to be the most likely explanation.

If so, a formal equivalent can also be taken into account. Vedic *Návagva-* is to be reconstructed as I.E. **newm̥-g^{w}w-o-* 'having a complex of nine cows'. Greek *enneá-boios* goes back to **néwm̥-g^{w}ow-yo-*, a substantivated adjective meaning 'having nine cows'. Its preform is closely related to Návagva. So not only ideas, but also real words relating to our sacrifice of nine animals can be reconstructed as inherited.

The testimonies of these four languages, Greek, Germanic, Iranian, Vedic, can be taken as proof of our theory. But I should not conceal that there are also testimonies from other Indo-European languages that, while not adequate proof themselves, nevertheless dovetail into our purpose. I cite Hittite as an example. The Hittite text the following passage is taken from recalls a myth of the anger and disappearance of the Sun God. At the end of the story the Sun God is reconciled. He comes back and is ready to shine again over human beings. He says: "Let the gods' words go! But my allocation, what will that be?"[8] The mother-goddess answers:

VBoT 58 IV 11-12
UM-MA ^{d}MAH *nu ma-a-an* ^{d}UTU-*uš a-aš-šu ku-e-d[a-ni] [pa-i]t-ti tu-ga* 9-*an pa-a-ú ku-iš* LÚ MÁŠDA *nu-ut-ta* 1 UDU *pa-a-ú*
'If you, O Sun God, give good to someone, may he give you nine (sacrificial animals). And he who is a poor man may give you one sheep.'

The number nine is not motivated by this text itself. It contains a general statement about the reward the Sun God can expect from his sacrificer. Its origin therefore is likely to rest upon some old tradition. I said that the text is not an additional proof for our purpose, because I have not yet been able to check all the instances of animal sacrifice in connection with numbers in Hittite.[9] But nevertheless we are likely to have gained a further piece of evidence.

As we have already seen, the number of nine sacrificial animals cannot be explained by chance. This number is not even one of the common holy numbers, as three, seven and twelve are, that do appear quite often in myths and fairy tales of Europe and the Near East. The number ten would be more expected, too, because it is important for our I-E. decimal system. But nine is not expected[10]. Therefore it is likely to have been inherited in sacrifice since common Indo-European times.

Given this fact, we now understand the use of the number of nine cows in the text, where Diomedes and Glaucus exchange armour, but the opposite number of hundred cows still remains to be explained. In order to do that, we need to bear in mind that "hundred cows" also occurs in Homer as a composite. It is the famous word *hekatómbe* 'huge sacrifice'. This feminine noun originally meant 'having a complex of hundred cows' and goes back to a preform **ḱm̥tóm-g*^{w}*wā*, which was originally the collective variant of I-E **ḱm̥tó-g*^{w}*w-o-* of the same meaning.

So this was the original sense of hekatombe, and the Old Greeks must have still understood its literal meaning. Nevertheless they used the word only in the sense of 'great sacrifice of several victims', but the number of these victims in the texts is always significantly smaller than one hundred.

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8 VBoT 58 IV 11 [*tar-*]*na-az-mi-iš ma-wa-a* 'my allocation, how will that be?' Here *ma-wa-a* is in my opinion to be analysed as *man* 'how' + Particle *–wa*. The plene writing *–wa-a* indicates the intonation of question; cf. the "pluti" of Vedic manuscripts.

9 For a detailed analysis of the Anatolian material cf. my forthcoming article "Zur Zahlensymbolik bei den Hethitern".

10 In the Old Testament, for instance, that was not composed by speakers of an Indo-European language, the holy number is seven.

This strange fact led the famous Indologist Paul Thieme to develop a theory about *hekatómbe*. In his opinion the word had never, even not in I-E times, been used for a sacrifice of hundred animals, but for a sacrifice made for the purpose of gaining a hundred cattle from the thankful deity. This was, according to Professor Thieme[11], the original meaning of the word *hekatómbe*.

This is an interesting theory, but two arguments speak against it. First, in Greece itself *hekatombe* is always a sacrifice of cattle, not for gaining cattle. What a Homeric sacrificer wished was fame or a good home-coming or something similar, but never cattle. Second, in the Avestan text Yt. 5 cited above, there are passages that do prove the existence of the idea of sacrificing hundred animals.

(Yt. 5, 45-46)
"To her (Anahita) sacrificed the quick and very splendid Kavi Usan on mount *ərəzifya* a hundred stallions, a thousand oxen, ten thousend sheep. Then he asked her: "Give me the great success to gain supreme power...""

The fact that these animals were really used as a sacrifice is shown by a parallel in the same text:

(Yt. 5, 17-18)
"To her (Anahita) sacrificed creator Ahura Mazda...with Haoma, that was mixed with milk...Then he asked here: "Give me the great success..., that I can win the son of Pourušaspa as my follower, the orthodox Zarathustra...""

We can see that both passages are quite parallel. In both of them we learn what the sacrifices consist of and what the sacrificers themself wish - their desire is definitely not cattle. In the second passage Ahura Mazda, the more orthodox of them, is sacrificing, using not animal blood but only haoma, the holy plant, the soma of Vedic, whereas in the first passage Kavi Usan, a hero of old times, sacrifices by means of a hundred stallions etc. These stallions are completely parallel to the haoma plant, so that they are doubtlessly used here as a sacrifice[12].

From this it follows that the idea of a sacrifice of a hundred animals existed in several old Indo-European cultures, and it therefore must be the real origin of Greek *hekatombe*, too. But that being so, we have to ask why in no single Greek text a hekatombe really consists of a hundred animals,

[11] Thieme 1952, especially 72-76.
[12] Pace Narten 1985: 175.

and why also the runic inscription that describes a kings sacrifice and the Hittite text do not speak of a hundred animals but of nine. Why do we never find a number of hundred cattle mentioned in a sacrifice, except in one Iranian text that deals with heroes living in legendary times of old?

The answer to this question is, I think, on the one hand, that neither in I-E times nor in the lifetime of Homer would any king or leader have been able to afford such an expensive sacrifice. This statement seems to contradict what I said before about the existence of the idea of such a sacrifice in I-E times. But there is no real contradiction for in times as early as Indo-European the word for hundred may only rarely have been used for the exact number of hundred, but often in the sense of 'many, very much'. When, for instance, the Vedic poets desired a lifetime of "a hundred autumns" for themselves, they did not mean literally "100 years" - it would not have been realistic under the circumstances of those times - but simply a long life.

So we can guess that the I-E term **km̥tó-g*^{w}*w-o-* 'having hundred cows' meant nothing but a gigantic, a fantastic sacrifice. It was the ideal. The reality was different. What a king or leader could afford from time to time, if the circumstances were favorable, was to sacrifice something like nine animals - as we have seen already.

Our first passage from Homer is clear now: The scene derives its effect from the contrast between the traditional ideal and the traditional reality of the sacrifice. Glaucus pays the price of an ideal sacrifice and receives as recompense only the price of a normal sacrifice. The passage shows that Homer still was aware of the old I-E tradition.

Let us sum up what we have found out until now: The I-E royal sacrifice consisted of nine male animals, normally oxen; the original word was **newm̥-g*^{w}*w-o-*. The Germanic branch replaced oxen by stallions. These became the most valuable sacrificial animals - and were, in consequence, forbidden later on by Christian priests. That is why to this day in those countries where people speak a Germanic language, they normally refuse eating the meat of horses.

But there is still one last question to be asked: Why did the I-E royal sacrifice consist of just nine animals? Why not seven or ten or twelve?

A possible answer to this question resulted for me from reading an article by Hisashi Miyakawa (Miyakawa 1999). He has found a certain stylistic figure in several old Indo-European literatures. In this figure a repetition of nine times is used to express a kind of progress that finally results in a change or success.

For examples first let us have a look at the Homeric tale of the sparrows and the snake. It ends:

(Iliad 2, 326-9:)
"Just as the serpent devoured nine sparrows -
eight little ones, with their mother the ninth -
we'll battle at Ilios that many years
but in the tenth their capital will fall."

Besides, this oracle is symbolic for the meaning of the whole Iliad and therefore most important.

A further example is Iliad 1,53-4:

"Nine days long the god's arrows swept their camp, then Achilles summoned an assembly ..."

Now an example from Vedic India (RV 1, 117, 12):

"You have got out (your follower Vandana), who was hidden in the ground like a golden cup, in the tenth day[13], o Aśvin-gods!"

It is evident that a certain stage is seen as lasting nine days or years, and with the tenth there comes the fulfillment. Often the number ten is not mentioned at all, the number nine alone being sufficient to imply the concluding ten.

In the 24th book of the Iliad (verse 104 to 119), for instance, the god Zeus tells the goddess Thetis that the gods have been quarreling for nine days, and he asks her to urge her son Achilles to release the corpse of Hektor for burial. Only that could stop the divine quarrels. From India we have examples such as RV 5, 27, 3, where a sacrificer tells god Agni that, after having sacrificed nine times, he now hopes to be rewarded with a couple of race-horses. In short: After nine sacrifices something is now expected as the concluding tenth. This something is the reward by the god. Precisely that seems to be the solution to our problem. The Indo-European chiefs used to sacrifice nine animals in order to provoke as a tenth the recompense from the gods. That is why in the runic inscription Hađuwolf says of himself that by sacrificing nine he-goats and stallions he had given "a good year" to his people.

Of course, hearing of a period of nine units, one could think of the nine months of pregnancy as the origin of this idea[14]. On the other hand in Vedic

[13] Cf. RV 1,116,24 (Jackson and Oettinger 2002: 223f.).

and Avestan texts the number ninety-nine is often used for indeterminate but large numbers; for example in the Avesta we read of ninety-nine difficult questions someone would put, and in the Rigveda we read that god Indra had destroyed 99 castles. But this number 99 can be explained by the analogy of 9, of course. Just as nine points to the following ten, so ninety-nine points to the following hundred. So the background to the whole business could well have been pregnancy.

Let us sum up: The royal sacrifice of the Indo-Europeans consisted of nine male animals, either nine oxen or nine of various species. The number nine was chosen by the analogy of pregnancy and because it pointed to the following ten that symbolized success, the latter being a consequence of the decimal system. In opposition to this real sacrifice the Indo-Europeans knew a sacrifice of a hundred animals. A hundred meant: very many, uncountably many. This kind of sacrifice was never realized, it belonged to the world of ideal and myth.

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[14] Miyakawa 1999: 30 note 8.

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RECONSTRUCTING THE OBSTRUENTS OF PROTO-GERMANIC

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It is generally assumed that PIE had at least three series of stops, which traditionally (e.g. Meillet 1908) are identified as plain (voiceless) stops (*p*, *t*, *k*, k^w), voiced stops (*b*, *d*, *g*, g^w) and voiced breathed stops (*bh*, *dh*, *gh*, g^wh). There is little evidence for a fourth series of stops, the aspirated voiceless stops p^h, t^h, k^h, k^{wh}, but this evidence seems sufficient for e.g. Szemerényi (1989) to reconstruct a system of stops that is identical to the ones found in a number of North-Indian languages, such as Hindi, Marathi and Nepali. In this way one avoids reconstructing a consonant system for PIE that is not found in any existing language.

Both types of reconstruction face a number of other problems, as pointed out by Gamkrelidze & Ivanov, Hopper and other 'glottalicists'. Especially the (near) absence of a labial stop in the second series in the reconstructed proto-language is worrying. Languages that have voiced (or lax) stops may lack *g* (e.g. Dutch) or even both *g* and *d* (e.g. Tzotzil), but absence of *b* is rare.[1] In the voiceless series, on the other hand, the labial is missing in a large number of languages, e.g. in Arabic, Thai, Kuria (Bantu), Yoruba, Old High German etc. Voiced stops (both plain voiced stops and implosives) are apparently easier to pronounce in the front than in the back of the mouth, with voiceless stops (plain and aspirated stops, as well as ejectives) it seems to be the other way round.

The absence of a labial stop in the second series thus suggests that these stops were voiceless in PIE. Since roots with two stops of the second series do not occur in PIE (t^2ek^2-) it is not very likely that they were plain voiceless stops: *tek-* is a sequence "which only a very strange tongue would ostracize" (Collinge 1985: 261). One could reconstruct aspirated stops, but I think it is more likely that they were ejectives.

The stops of the third series are traditionally reconstructed as voiced breathed stops ('mediæ aspiratæ'), but languages that have such stops but lack their voiceless counterparts (the 'tenues aspiratæ') are hard to come by. It has therefore been suggested that the voiced breathed obstruents are an innovation within the Indian subbranch of IE, and hence were no

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[1] In Standard Finnish *d* is the only voiced stop, *b* and *g* occur only in loans. In most dialects, however, this *d* is replaced by *r*, *l* or *j*.

part of the PIE consonant inventory. The PIE stops of this series have been reconstructed as voiceless aspirated stops, voiced stops with optional breathing, plain voiced stops etc. I will take no stand in this debate, but will simply assume that in the branch of IE that was to evolve into Proto-Germanic they had either remained or become plain voiced stops. I reconstruct thus the following system of stops for this stage (which I will call 'Pre-Germanic'):

(1)	1. plain	2. ejective	3. voiced
	p	(p′)	b
	t	t′	d
	k	k′	g

At some point in time the plain stops became aspirated in initial position, and medially if the accent fell on the preceding vowel. By remaining unaspirated the voiceless stops in other positions merged with the voiced stops. In this way the opposition between voiceless and voiced stops was replaced by an opposition between aspirated (tense) and unaspirated (lax) stops. It is quite possible, however, that the opposition between the two series was articulated in a double way, i.e. by both voice and aspiration. Later the aspirated stops (p^h, t^h, k^h) became fricatives (*f*, *þ*, *x*), and the ejectives (*t′*, *k′*, and possibly *p′* in loanwords) turned into plain stops (*p*, *t*, *k*). The spirantisation of the lax stops in medial and final position belongs to the history of the subbranches of Germanic: in North Germanic lax stops (*b*, *d*, *g*) and fricatives (β, δ, γ) are distributed in much the same way as they are in modern Spanish, in Old High German the lax stops remained stops, and in the other West Germanic languages *b*, *d* and *g* spirantised to various degrees.

These changes can be illustrated by means of a reconstruction of a part of the history of the Old Norse verb forms *binda* 'to bind', *bundin-* 'bound', *finna* 'we find' and *fundin-* 'found.'

Pre-Germanic	*bénda-nan	*bundána-	*pénta-nan	*puntána-
aspiration	*bénda-nan	*bundána-	*p^hént^ha-nan	*p^huntána-
+ reanalysis				*p^hundána-
spirantisation	*bénda-nan	*bundána-	*fénþa-nan	*fundána-
later changes	binda	bundin-	*finþa	fundin-
n + þ > nn			finna	

In a number of papers Kortlandt (1988a, b; 2000; 2003) has suggested that the ejectives that both he and I reconstruct for Proto-Indo-European changed into preglottalised stops in Proto-Germanic before they became plain voiceless stops in the individual daughter languages. Preglottalisation is still to be found in British English as the so-called 'glottal reinforcement' of *p*, *t*, *c* and *k*, and in the dialects of West Jutland (Denmark) as the 'vestjysk stød,' i.e. the preglottalisation of an originally medial voiceless stop. Kortlandt sees, moreover, a connection between these cases of retention of what he believes was the original situation in Common Germanic, and the following phenomena within the Germanic language family: (a) preaspiration of voiceless stops after short vowels/diphthongs in Icelandic and Faeroese; (b) preaspiration of fortis stops in a large number of Swedish and Norwegian dialects; (c) gemination of *p*, *t* and *k* after short stressed non-low vowels in some Swedish and Norwegian dialects, e.g.: Sw. *droppe* 'drop' ON *dropi*; (d) gemination of *k* after a short vowel and before *j* or *w* in Old Norse, e.g. *bekkr* <**bakjar* 'brook'; (e) gemination of *p*, *t* , *k* before *l* and *r* in West Germanic; (f) assimilation of *mp*, *nt*, *ŋk* to *pp*, *tt*, *kk* in large parts of Scandinavia, e.g. Sw/Dan/Norw *drikk!* 'drink!'; (g) the change of *p*, *t*, *k* to *pf/ff*, *ts/ss*, *kx/xx* in Old High German.

It is in my opinion unlikely that ejectives ever turn into preglottalised voiceless stops in word-initial position. It is even more unlikely that these stops would have lost their buccal occlusion in OHG, thus turning into preglottalised fricatives, which later oralised their glottal constriction. Oralisation of a glottal constriction ('klusilspring') only occurs after a stressed high (closed or half-closed) vowel, which in the Danish dialects in which this phenomenon is attested, must have stød, e.g. *huks* <*hu's*[2] 'house' or *tik* <*ti'* (<*ti'ð*) 'time.' There is, moreover, no need to assume such a complicated and implausible order of events in the early history of Old High German, since the development of affricates out of voiceless fortis stops, be they aspirated or not, is rather straightforward, and is at least in the case of *t* well attested in the Germanic languages, in Danish for instance every fortis *t* is affricated: t^s, and the same holds for the dialects of the province of Groningen in the Netherlands.

It is, on the other hand, not entirely impossible that the ejectives developed preglottalised allophones in medial and final position, which may have survived the later deglottalisation of the ejectives in other positions. In the remainder of this paper I will look at the available evidence for this

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[2] I use a question mark ? (in superscript) for the v-stød, and a quotation mark ' for the common Danish stød. In accordance with Danish practice the unaspirated lax stops are here transcribed as b, d, g, and their aspirated tense counterparts as p, t, k.

hypothesis, with special emphasis on the cases of preglottalisation and preaspiration.

Glottal reinforcement in British English

In Standard BrE (RP) a glottal stop or glottal constriction is often inserted before *c*, and before *p*, *t*, *k* followed by a pause or another consonant. In other dialects, such as Tyneside English and Central Scots, glottalisation is more pervasive: "it is found in voiceless stops and affricates following a primarily stressed vowel both before a following obstruent and intervocalically. […] Glottalisation applies irrespective of word and morpheme boundaries" (Docherty *et al.* 1997: 282). In contrast with RP glottal or glottalised stops "do not occur in turn-final and other pre-pausal contexts in Tyneside" (Docherty *et al.* 1997: 307), which makes the distribution of the glottalised stops in this dialect remarkably similar to that of the vestjysk stød (see below). In British English the glottalised variants are only rarely produced with a glottal stop articulation. In their study of glottal and glottalised variants of /t/ in Newcastle upon Tyne Docherty and Foulkes (1999) found that 70% of all glottal variants they examined (N = 549) were fully voiced, 27% partially voiced, and only 3% procent voiceless. They conclude that: "the most typical laryngeal characteristic associated with these sounds (i.e. the glottal variants of BrE, HP) is an interval of laryngealised voice quality."

Kortlandt (2003) assumes that BrE glottalisation is old, and recessive. Docherty *et al.* (1997) think that it is expansive in some varieties of RP, but recessive in Tyneside English. But the final answer to the question of the age of BrE glottalisation comes from Trudgill (1999), who analysed the phonology of some speakers of New Zealand English, who were born between 1850 and 1890, and were recorded in the late 1940s. Because of what Trudgill calls a "colonial lag" in the development of the English language in New Zealand in the first period of colonisation, their speech is representative of an earlier generation of BrE speakers, i.e. of those born between 1820 and 1850. He found no traces of glottal reinforcement or glottal replacement in the recordings, and concludes therefore that "preglottalization in Britain, too, is a recent and probably late nineteenth-century phenomenon" (Trudgill 1999: 237).

The vestjysk stød

In the dialects of West Jutland and North Funen in Denmark stops are preceded by a glottal stop when "these stand in an original medial position, following a voiced sound in a stressed syllable" (Ringgaard 1960:

195). Ringgaard describes the v-stød as a full glottal stop, which differs from the common Danish stød both in the way it is articulated and in the auditory impression it makes. This latter stød, which is used in approximately the same way in the dialects in question as in Standard Danish, is described by Fischer-Jørgensen (1989) as creaky voice. Pictures from an X-ray film of the vocal cords during the production of words with v-stød in Ringgaard´s dissertation show clearly that "the v-stød is articulated by a contraction not only of the true vocal cords but also of the false ones, so energetical that Sinus Morgagni is completely obliterated, and of so long duration that the occlusion of the vocal cords is found all through the following plosive." (Ringgaard 1960: 198). It is remarkable, though, that this strong glottal stop gives Ringgaard the same auditory impression as the preglottalised plosives of Northern English, which Docherty and Foulkes (1999) have demonstrated are hardly ever pronounced as voiceless stops. The v-stød is found after a stressed vowel, or stressed vowel plus sonorant (*r*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *ŋ*, *w*, *j*) or lax voiced fricative (*β*, *δ*, *γ*), before a stop in originally medial position. As its Tyneside English counterpart the v-stød applies irrespective of word and morpheme boundaries, e.g., *læˀdhi'əð* 'lightness', *värˀgste* (Dan. *værk-sted*) 'workshop', *hjælˀbmə* 'help me' with v-stød, but *læt* 'light, easy', *värk* 'work' and *hjælp* 'help!' without v-stød, but with aspirated final stops.

In the dialects of West-Jutland final short vowels were lost in the course of the thirteenth century: in the oldest texts that have come down to us from this region, such as the Stockholm manuscript C37 of *Jyske Lov* (the Law of Jutland) from around 1280, there are already numerous examples of apocopated forms. This loss of final unaccented vowels gave rise to a large number of minimal pairs in the modern dialects that only differ from one another in the laryngeal features of the final stop. In apocopated words the stop is unaspirated and preceded by the v-stød, in non-apocopated words the final stop is aspirated, e.g. *henˀd* 'to fetch-inf' (Dan. *hente*) *hent* 'fetch!-imp' (Dan. *hent*), *skarˀb* 'sharp-pl' (Dan. *skarpe*), *skarp* 'sharp-sg' (Dan. *skarp*), *haˀd* 'hats' (Dan. *hatte*), *hat* 'hat.' The phonemicization of the allophonic variation between originally medial and final stops provides us according to Ringgaard (1960: 107) with a terminus ante quem for the origin of the v-stød, but this conclusion is not inevitable, as it is possible that the two types of allophones/phonemes at first only differed in the absence or presence of aspiration. At a later stage the opposition between the two kinds of stop would then have been made more salient by the glottal reinforcement of the unaspirated stop. There are some indications that this was indeed the course of events. V-stød is found in words with a sequence sonorant + stop, in which the sonorant derives from a stop or

voiceless fricative, e.g.: *kjøv*$^{?}$*d* 'bought' with *v* < *b* < *p*, cf. Dan. *købte*, Norw. *kjøpte*, *bruw*$^{?}$*d* 'used' with *w* < *γ* < *g* < *k*, cf. Dan. *brugte*, Norw. *brukte*. Since v-stød does not occur after a voiceless fricative it must be of a more recent date in these words than the weakening of postvocalic stops and fricatives in vestjysk and the other Danish dialects. It is not absolutely clear when the process of obstruent lenition started, there are some sporadic occurrences of lenited stops (*b*, *d*, *th*, *g*(*h*) < *p*, *t*, *k*) in texts that were composed well before 1300, but have come down to us in more recent manuscripts, such as Saxo Grammaticus' *Gesta Danorum* (written around 1200), which has weakening in some latinized Danish names, e.g. *Krage* < ON *Kraki*, or *Valdemars sjællandske lov* (Valdemar's law for Zealand), which has weakened forms like *uthæn* 'without, outside' and *withæ* 'know'. But in an overwhelming majority of cases we find *p*, *t*, *k* instead of expected *b*, *d*, *g*(*h*) in the manuscripts from the 14th century. Since these very same manuscripts have large numbers of apocopated forms, it seems reasonable to assume that the lenition of postvocalic stops was a later change in the dialects of Jutland than the apocope of unstressed final vowels. If this assumption is correct then it follows that the preglottalization of the stops after a sonorant (or lax voiced fricative) in a word like *kjøv*$^{?}$*d* 'bought' must be a later development of an earlier pronunciation that made the final stops in apocopated words different from those in non-apocopated words. Another indication that preglottalization is an innovation in the dialects of West Jutland and North Funen is that it seems to have been (and to some extent still is, see Ringgaard 1960: 10-11) completely regular: all non-aspirated stops after a stressed vowel (or vowel + sonorant/voiced lax fricative) receive v-stød, even originally lax ones, as e.g. in *æ*$^{?}$*g* 'egg' (Dan.*æg*, Swe *ägg*), *ne*$^{?}$*b* 'beak'(Dan *næb*, Swe *näbb*).

The way in which the Old Scandinavian stops developed in the West-Danish dialects can be summarised as follows. After a stressed vowel the singleton fortis stops *p*, *t*, *k* became lenis stops (*b*, *d*, *g*), and later voiced lenis fricatives (*β*, *δ*, *γ*) or glides (*w*, *j*), or disappeared altogether; after a sonorant the fortis stops *p*, *t*, *k* were lenited to *b*, *d*, *g* in medial position, but did not change in final position; the geminate fortis stops *pp*, *tt*, *kk* were reduced to *b*, *d*, *g* in medial position, but to *p*, *t*, *k* in final position; the lenis stops *b*, *d*, *g* were weakened to *β*, *δ*, *γ* in both medial and final position, medially the geminate lenis stops *bb*, *dd*, *gg* were weakened to *β*, *δ*, *γ* as well, but they remained stops (*b*, *d*, *g*) wordfinally. These changes led to the following distribution of the fortis and lenis stops: in medial position there is opposition between lenis stops and lenis fricatives/glides, in final position between fortis and lenis stops, both in apocopated and non-apocopated words. At some point in time all (unaspirated) lenis stops

were strengthened by means of the v-stød if they followed a stressed vowel or vowel + sonorant. In the inflectional system of the dialects in question we thus find alternation between *β*, *δ*, *γ* and *ˀb*, *ˀd*, *ˀg* in words which originally had a geminate lenis stop, and between *ˀb*, *ˀd*, *ˀg* and *p*, *t*, *k* in words with an originally geminate fortis stop:

	medial		final		
gg	*vεγə*	'wall-pl'	*vεˀg*	'wall-sg'	(Dan. *vægge*, *væg*)
	byγmark	'barley field'	*byˀg*	'barley'	(Dan. *bygmark, byg*)
kk	*træˀgə*	'pull-pres'	*træk*	'pull!-imp'	(Dan. *trækker*, *træk!*)

Preaspiration in North Germanic

Preaspirated stops are found all over Scandinavia, with the exception of Denmark. In Icelandic, Faroese and some Swedish and Norwegian dialects (Jæren and Gudbrandsdalen in Norway, Gräsö, Härjedalen and Arjeplog in Sweden, and some dialects of the archipelago of Åland and Åboland in Finland) preaspiration is normative[3], i.e. part of the phonological system of the language/dialect. In other Norwegian and Swedish dialects preaspiration is frequent, especially in the speech of women, but optional from a phonological point of view.

In all these dialects there are two series of stops, which I will refer to as fortis and lenis. Fortis stops are always voiceless, and aspirated in initial position, lenis stops are voiceless and unaspirated in Icelandic, Faroese, and the dialects of Jæren and Gräsö, but usually fully voiced in all positions in the other dialects (for details see Helgason 2002: 105-212). Geminate fortis and lenis stops only occur after short vowels, after long vowels there is opposition between voiced fricatives and unaspirated or slightly aspirated stops in Faroese and the southern dialect of Icelandic, and between voiced fricatives and aspirated stops in the northern dialect of Icelandic. In the Swedish and Norwegian dialects the voiced fricatives *ð* and *γ* of Viking Age Scandinavian have become voiced stops, which however in spontaneous speech often turn up as approximants or voiced fricatives. In careful speech there is a four-way contrast between postvocalic stops in Swedish and Norwegian: they can be either long or short, and either voiced or voiceless. This is illustrated by the following examples from Standard Swedish:[4]

[3] The terms normative and non-normative preaspiration stem from Helgason 2002: 21-23

[4] *vit* 'white'; *vitt* 'white n-sg' or 'wide n-sg'; *vid* 'wide'; *vidd* 'extent'; *rätas* 'to be straightened'; *rättas* 'to be corrected'; *rädas* 'to fear'; *räddas* 'to be saved'.

	voiceless	voiced	voiceless	voiced
short	vit [vi:t]	vid [vi:d]	rätas [rɛ:tas]	rädas [rɛ:das]
long	vitt [vit:]	vidd [vid:]	rättas [rɛt:as]	räddas [rɛd:as]

The main function of non-normative preaspiration seems to be that it enhances the impression that the following stop is voiceless (cf. van Dommelen 1998). Geminate fortis stops are in general[5] more often and more intensively preaspirated than their singleton counterparts. In geminate lenis stops, which usually are voiced intervocalically, there is a tendency for voicing to die out with increased stop duration (Helgason 2002: 142). By preaspirating the fortis stops speakers can counterbalance the loss of contrastiveness between the two series of geminates. Since singleton lenis stops are usually fully voiced, there is in principle already enough contrast between voiceless fortis and voiced lenis stops, and hence less need to preaspirate the fortis stops. In the dialect of Gräsö off the coast of Central Sweden both singleton and geminate lenis stops are partially or completely voiceless. This dialect preaspirates singleton fortis stops in medial position, thus creating/restoring a contrast with the unaspirated lenis ones. Other dialects have fully voiced lenis stops, but still allow a fortis stop to be preaspirated in this position.

In Icelandic both fortis and lenis stops are voiceless. In word-initial position fortis stops and affricates are aspirated (p^h, t^h, c^h, k^h), lenis stops and affricates unaspirated (p, t, c, k). Corresponding to the four-way contrast between stops in Swedish and Norwegian we find the following oppositions in Icelandic intervocalically:

	lenis	fortis
short	β, ð, γ	p, t, k (Southern); p^h, t^h, k^h (Northern)
long	pp, tt, kk	hp, ht, hk

After nasals and *l* there is opposition between aspirated (fortis) and unaspirated (lenis) stops in the northern dialect; in the southern dialect there are voiceless nasals and laterals in those cases where the northern dialect has aspirated stops. The contrast between fortis and lenis stops has been replaced by a contrast in voice of the nasal/lateral preceding the stop. In

[5] There seem to be no rules without exceptions. The odd man out here is the dialect of Arjeplog in Lappland, Sweden, in which preaspiration is twice as long before singleton stops as before geminates. It is possible that this deviant distribution is due to Saami influence (cf. Helgason 2002: 79; Wretling *et al.* 2002)

both dialects there is opposition between voiced and voiceless *r* before a stop. Although the geographic distribution of preaspiration and voiceless sonorants and nasals is different, it can be argued that preaspiration and voiceless sonorants are two sides of the same coin: in both cases the stop is preceded by a period of voicelessness.

Before nasals (mainly *n*) and *l* the fortis stops seem to have geminated, which is probably caused by the "prestopping" character of *n* and *l* in Icelandic (as well as in some West-Norwegian dialects). The more or less implicit (pre-)stop present in *n*, *m* and *l* "surfaces" in the clusters *sn*, *rn*, *nn*, *sm*, *sl*, *rl*, *ll*, which are pronounced as: *stn*, *rtn*, *tn*, *spm*, *stl*, *rtl*, *tl*, e.g.: *slá* 'to hit' [stlau:], *snúra* 'line' [stnu:ra], *smár* 'small' [spmau:r], *varna* 'to warn' [vartna], *varla* 'hardly' [vartla][6]. It lengthens the preceding fortis stop, and makes stops (p, k) out of the voiced fricatives *β* and *γ*, eg.: *nefna* 'to mention' [nɛpna], *sigla* 'to sail' [sikla]. The lengthened fortis stops are pronounced as preaspirated singleton stops, e.g.: *epli* 'apple' [ɛhpli], *vakna* 'to wake up' [vahkna], *ætla* 'to think' [aihtla].

In view of the geographical distribution of preaspiration in Scandinavia it seems likely that it dates back to at least the period before the break-up of the parent language (Proto-Norse) into a multitude of dialects in the post-Viking era. Kortlandt (1988a-b, 2000, 2003) assumes that the preaspirated stops found in North Germanic are the reflexes of preglottalised stops in Proto-Germanic, and hence, that the history of preaspiration is the history of its loss in most of the contexts in which it once occurred. This theory faces a number of difficulties. It does not explain why fortis stops are (post)aspirated in word-initial position in almost all North-Germanic dialects, and in medial position in the northern dialect of Icelandic ('harðmæli'), the dialects of Bjerkreim and Dalane in Norway and Western Åland in Finland. Moreover, it does not account either for the fact that in Central Swedish not only voiceless stops but also voiceless fricatives tend to be preaspirated (Helgason 2002: 89). It should, finally, be borne in mind that the preaspirated stops of North Germanic (or the preglottalised stops of West-Jutlandic) in a large number of cases do not reflect the second series of PIE stops, but rather the first or the third series, e.g. in the past participles and past tenses of weak verbs, in words containing the reflexes of the PIE clusters *kt* and *pt*, and in word-forms that underwent final devoicing, e.g. Ic. *batt* < *bant* < *band*. Preaspiration must hence be secondary in these forms.

6 These examples stem from Gíslason & Þráinsson 1993: 76-77 and 177-179.

Helgason (2002) suggests that preaspiration was distributed in Old-Scandinavian in roughly the same way as it is in present-day Swedish and Norwegian: "Thus, preaspiration was nonnormative, i.e. the timing of voice offset relative to stop closure in the production of fortis stops was—and still is in most of Scandinavia—relatively free. The time at which this relative freedom in voice offset became established is unknown, but in the scenario proposed here one must assume that it was already the dominant pattern in PN (= Proto-Norse, HP)" (Helgason 2002: 239). After the voiced lenis stops were devoiced in Icelandic, in some dialects of Faroese, in the dialects of Gräsö in Sweden and Jæren in Norway preaspiration was no longer optional in these dialects as it had become the only means by which fortis and lenis stops were kept apart in medial position. In other dialects, such as those in Gudbrandsdalen in Norway and Härjedalen and Sweden, preaspiration became obligatory as well, although the lenis stops remained voiced. In these dialects, which like Standard (Central) Swedish, have a fourfold opposition between voiced and voiceless singleton and geminate stops in medial position, the contrast between fortis and lenis stops is doubly expressed: by voice and (post)aspiration in wordinitial position, and by voice and preaspiration in medial position.

Although Helgason's theory accounts in a principled way for the present distribution of pre- and postaspiration in North Germanic, I do not think it can be the final word in this matter. Preaspirated obstruents are, as Silverman (2003) has shown, diachronically unstable for lack of phonetic salience. It would therefore be rather surprising if such an unstable feature would have survived for at least a thousand years in a large number of dialects that had little or no contact with one another. It would be even harder to explain why preaspiration is becoming more, instead of less, frequent in the speech of younger speakers of regional varieties of Standard Swedish (cf. Tronnier 2002). A possible solution of this problem lies in the assumption that the daughter languages inherited the preconditions for the emergence of non-normative preaspiration from the parent language Proto-Norse, rather than preaspiration as such. As long as these preconditions are present preaspiration may, but need not, arise. One of the preconditons is, I think, the presence in the language of a double contrast between its stops: there has to be an opposition between tense and lax stops, and between long (geminate) and short (singleton) stops. It will further the emergence of preaspiration if the opposition between the fortis and lenis stops is partly expressed by means of postaspiration, but this does not appear to be a necessary condition. Some confirmation of this hypothesis is provided by the discovery and analysis of preaspiration in Tuscan Italian by Stevens & Hajek (2004a and b), a language whose

fortis stops certainly do not reflect the PIE stops of the second (glottalised) series. In the Sienese variety of Italian there is opposition between voiceless and voiced stops, and intervocalically between long and short stops, as in the Nordic languages. As in other Tuscan dialects the singleton fortis stops are optionally spirantised intervocalically, e.g. *la hasa* < *la casa* 'the house', *trovaθo* < *trovato* 'found' (this is the so-called *gorgia Toscana*).[7] According to Stevens & Hajek (2004a) preaspiration is "the result of an articulatory gesture intended to maximise the perception of geminate consonants in natural speech, with minimal supralaryngeal articulatory effort. In this way, the perceptual effect of consonant duration within the /VC:/ sequence is preserved. It is also likely, but as a secondary effect, that preaspiration serves to enhance the voicelessness of /pp tt kk/, by blocking voicing in and around the closure." Stevens and Hajek did not only find preaspiration in Sienese Italian, but also voiceless sonorants before a fortis stop (Stevens & Hajek 2004c), which corroborates the hypothesis that the two phenomena are intimately connected.

If the assumption is correct that it was the preconditions for the emergence of preaspiration rather than preaspiration itself that the Nordic languages inherited from Proto-Norse, we need no longer look for a common origin for all the cases of preaspiration in these languages. Preaspiration may have emerged, and possibly have disappeared again, in different areas at different points in time. It may be rather old in Icelandic, where its long duration and the supralaryngeal friction that is usually produced with it[8], have made it more salient than its non-normative counterparts in Sweden and Norway. In the dialect of Vemdalen in the province of Härjedalen, Sweden, it must be older than the gemination of postvocalic stops in words that had short stressed syllables in the proto-language. The geminates that were already present in the dialect before short stressed syllables were lengthened, are preaspirated in Vemdalen, the new ones remain unaspirated. But since it is unclear when this process of syllable lengthening took place in this dialect, we don't know exactly when its speakers started to preaspirate their geminate stops. In southern Sweden, on the other hand, preaspiration seems to be a fairly recent phenomenon, considering the fact that it is used more frequently by younger than by older people (Tronnier 2002).

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7 In some Tuscan dialects the stops are aspirated in intervocalic ("weak") position, instead of sprirantised (Bruni 1984: 299).

8 Hansson (2003: 69) e.g. transcribes *mœtti* 's/he met' as [ma^{i}çti], with a palatal fricative instead of an *h*. See also Silverman 2003: 582-3.

The hypothesis also explains why there is no preaspiration in Danish, or any of its dialects. In the other Nordic languages preaspiration became one of the means to make a contrast between fortis and lenis geminates, but in Danish the opposition was simply given up: fortis and lenis geminates merged into singleton lenis stops, and singleton medial stops were spirantised. As a consequence of these changes the only opposition that is left in medial position is the one between stop and glide or approximant. In such a system there is no function for preaspiration.

Concluding remarks

Kortlandt's theory on the origin of preglottalisation and preaspiration in the Germanic languages hinges on the assumption that the lenis stops of Proto-Germanic were voiceless in all positions. He has hence to assume that it is another feature than [voice] that makes the distinction between fortis and lenis stops audible. It is in my opinion more likely that at least in medial position the lenis stops were fully voiced, which made them different from their voiceless fortis counterparts. In wordinitial and pretonic position there probably was a contrast between aspirated voiceless stops and partially or fully voiced unaspirated stops. The lenis stops in medial position became voiced spirants in North Germanic, but the geminates that were created by all kinds of assimilation and lengthening processes remained stops. The distinction between the lenis and fortis geminates could be made more salient in the various dialects by preaspirating the fortis stops. At a later stage [preaspiration] could then in some dialects take over the role of distinctive feature from [voice]. To judge from the evidence from Sienese Italian, Central Swedish and other Nordic dialects that have both preaspiration and fully voiced lenis stops, this appears to be the only possible order of events: the use of preaspiration as a means to stress the voiceless character of the following stop must predate the loss of voice.

Preglottalisation, on the other hand, seems to be closely connected with the loss of the distinction between long and short consonants. In various varieties of British English it serves to enhance the contrast between fortis and lenis stops: in RP it "reinforces" *p*, *t*, *c*, *k* between a sonorant and a following consonant or pause, in Northern English and Central Scots it seems to protect the fortis stops and affricates against lenition in medial position. In West-Jutlandic it is the lenis stops that are "reinforced" by the v-stød: preglottalisation makes the lenis stops (more) different from their aspirated fortis counterparts in prepausal position, but in medial position,

where most Danish dialects have given up the distinction between fortis and lenis stops, it merely signals that the consonant is a stop.

Since preglottalisation and preaspiration solve different problems in different languages at different points in time, there is no reason to assume that there is some historic connection between these two phenomena in the Germanic languages. They are autonomous innovations in the dialects in which they occur. In an earlier paper (Perridon 2002) I have shown that the theory that the gemination of consonants in originally short syllables in Swedish (e.g. *droppe* 'drop' ON *dropi*, *vecka* 'week' ON *vika*, *skepp* 'ship' ON *skip*) is in last instance caused by a glottalic feature present in the fortis stops, does not account for the facts of the 'quantity shift' in the Scandinavian languages. The outcome of this shift (or rather series of shifts, as there is no causal connection between the changes in Swedish/Norwegian and those in Icelandic) was that every stressed syllable in these languages contains exactly one long element: either a long vowel followed by a short consonant, or a short vowel followed by a long consonant. I have therefore to conclude that there is no evidence that the fortis stops of the Germanic languages retained the glottalic features of their Proto-Germanic and PIE predecessors after the plain stops of the first PIE series had become spirants (*f*, *þ*, *x*).

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TOCHARIAN FRIENDSHIP

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1. The Tocharian handbooks register several words which are supposed to mean 'friend' or 'friendship', see for instance in the English-Tocharian B index provided by Adams (1999: 771): Toch. B *waṣamo* 'friend', and its abstract *waṣamñe* 'friendship'; *yṣuwar* 'friendly, friendliness', *maitär* 'friendship'. On the side of Tocharian A one finds *ort* 'friend', *ortum* 'friendly', *ortune* 'friendship', along with *naṣu* 'friend', and again *maitär* 'friendship'. We may leave aside Toch. AB *maitär*, which is the obvious loanword from Skt. *maitrī-* 'friendship, friendliness, benevolence' (*MW*: 834b). In Toch. A it is mostly used as the name of a tune (Poucha 1955: 231), which is quite common in the Buddhist drama about "Encounter with Maitreya" (Maitreyasamiti-Nāṭaka). Among the words that belong to the genuine Tocharian vocabulary, Toch. B *yṣuwar* has a special status: it belongs to the phraseology of politeness. This word is used as an adverb, along with a doublet *yṣuwarsa* extended with the perlative affix. It appears prominently in a phrase of epistolary style, with the verb *prek-* 'to ask', meaning 'to ask kindly, with kindness' (for references and interpretation, cf. Pinault 1995). From parallel expressions of Buddhist literature in Sanskrit, it can be proven that it corresponds to Skt. *śivam*, *śivena* 'kindly, auspiciously' (*MW*: 1074ab). The form Toch. B *yṣuwar* is probably based on an adverb derived from some Common Tocharian (henceforth CToch) outcome of the IE word for 'good', *$h_1$wés-u-/*-éw-* (cf. Skt. *vásu-*, Av. *vohu-*, etc.), as shown by myself (Pinault 1995: 196-199)[1]. The essential meaning of Toch. B *yṣuwar* does not reveal any connection with the notion of friendship. The rest of the material quoted at the beginning of this paragraph is still in need of complete revision.

2. The meaning of Toch. B *waṣamo* is sufficiently established: it translates Skt. *mitra-* 'friend' in B 308a2.3, and this meaning fits all the occurrences. Toch. A *naṣu* is given by the glossary of the Tocharian handbook (*TEB* II: 109, 239) as the semantic match of Toch. B *waṣamo*, but it has never

[1] These data have been ignored by Adams (1999: 522), who keeps finding "attractive" the etymological connection with Toch. B *waṣamo* 'friend' as proposed by Van Windekens (1976: 609).

been properly investigated. Unfortunately, the noun *naṣu* is not attested in many passages, and most of them are fragmentary or problematic in some way[2]. The context of A393b3, which is reduced to three words, is too poor. In two other occurrences, the translation by 'friend' is open to some doubt, since the noun is qualified by adjectives which mean 'bad, nasty, vicious', to wit *omäskeṃ* (*TEB* II: 87) and *umpar* (*TEB* II: 85). It would be somewhat paradox to qualify true friends as essentially of bad nature or influence concerning morality. See the two passages in question:

A222a1 (lacuna) *naṣuṣ omäskeñ ñi w[o]śśi ṣeñc.* The interpretation is made difficult by the uncertainty about the reading and understanding of the hapax *w[o]śśi*[3]. Since the sentence does not contain any coordinative conjunction, *naṣuṣ* and *omäskeñ* cannot refer to two different groups of people: one should read a single syntagma, at nom. pl., *naṣuṣ omäskeñ* 'the bad n.', which is subject of the final verb of the sentence.

A229b4-5 *kuppre penu cem praṣtā särki yāmeñc caṃ omäskeṃ: umparñän pat nu naṣūntaśśäl triworäṣ:... (pat) nu omäskeṃ śla praski nu ypeñc onmiṃ ypantär pākraśi ypantar pe* "Also if these ones do this bad thing according to time, or (if) having been mingled with a vicious n., ... (they do) something bad, they do [it] with fear, they feel remorse, and they even admit [it] openly." This text, which is also partly broken, discusses the consequences of various bad actions, which have been made in different circumstances: it explores the case of bad consciousness. The interpretation of *naṣu*, here at comitative sg., as 'friend' is far from being obvious.

One single occurrence of Toch. A *naṣu* has been the starting point of the tentative translation 'friend'. It is found in the famous story of the painter and the mechanical girl, which is one of the few classical texts of Tocharian teaching (see *TEB* II: text I.2, 19-23). The passage in question belongs to the stanza in which the master of mechanics (Skt. *yantrācārya-*, Toch. A *yaṃtrācāre*) laments on the apparent suicide of the painter who had spent

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[2] The abstract *naṣurñe* 'friendship', which figures in *TEB* II: 109, has no existence, since it is based only on an unproven restoration in the text A6a4-5 by Thomas, cf. *TEB* II: 20 n. 16. This proposal is absent in Sieg's study of the text, 1944: 9.

[3] Judging from plate (34) published in the companion volume of the *Tocharische Sprachreste* (1921), one may seriously consider an alternative reading *w[ä]śśi*. In that case, one could introduce the meaning of this word *wäśśi*, which is relatively secure in its sole other occurrence, in YQ1.41[III.8]a7: 'ambivalent, ambiguous, dubious' (*JWP*: 176, 180). The whole sentence in A222a1 would mean: 'the bad n. were ambivalent (of dubious nature) for me'. But it must be said that this interpretation cannot be verified without an understanding of the context, which does not seem possible for the time being.

the night in his house. This suicide, made credible by a painting done by the artist on the wall, is believed to have been caused by the humiliation felt by this painter, in whose arms a mechanical maiden, made of wood and cords, broke into pieces during the night.

A 8b6 *pekäntāśśi käṣṣiśśi käṣṣi pekant ñi naṣu***:** *lokit yeṣ ñi yantärṣi śomiṃ cami spa*(*ktāṃ*) *ypā*: 'The master-painter of the masters of painters, my n., came as a guest; my mechanical girl made service for him.' Compare the translation given by Sieg (1944: 12) 'Von den Malermeistern der Meistermaler, mein Freund(?), kam als Gast, mein künstliches Mädchen versah ihm den Dienst.' I note that Sieg, with commendable caution, let his translation of *naṣu* be followed by a question mark.

Another possible occurrence of the same word is found at the end of the story, in the speech of the painter, who enjoys his revenge on the mechanic by coming out as still alive, and warning the artisan, about to cut the rope on the deceptive image of the hanged artist: A9b4 *mar ṣñi poṣi mar ñi peke kan yat sne maṅk***:** *pälkār naṣu āne(ñci) neṣ ṣotre pyāmtsār***:** *ālak peke ālak pekant kyal mā kärsnāt*: 'Do not destroy your wall, do not (destroy) my painting without cause! Look carefully, O n., consider the symbol before: One (is) the painting, another the painter. Why do you not understand (it)?' After the imperative *pälkār* one reads (on pl. 5) quite clearly *narṣu*, but it is probably due to a scribal mistake for *naṣu*: this slip can be easily explained by a reiteration of the gesture needed to trace the sign for implosive /r/ on the top of the akṣara of the preceding syllable *rna*, hence *rṣu*. This possibility is mentioned by Sieg (1944: 12 n. 12), who dares to translate, however: 'Sieh sorgfältig zu, du Narr(?)'. Great philologists may indulge in some moment of fun: this tentative rendering is close to a pun between Tocharian and German.[4] For these two passages (A8b6 and 9b4), Lane gave the translation 'friend' without question mark in his meritorious study of this text (1947: 44, 45; 1948: 20). It seems that the morphology played a large part in leading the first Tocharologists to this interpretation of *naṣu*: this noun shows the same adjectival inflection as *yäslu* 'enemy', the meaning of which is certain (*TEB* II: 129), and both appear as substantivized adjectives[5]. They are never

[4] I mention the bold hypothesis adduced by Hackstein (2003: 88): taking for granted the reading *narṣu*, he finds in it another instance of the adverb *ṣu*, and isolates an hapax **nar*, which he interprets as a vocative sg. of a cognate of the well-known IE noun for 'male adult man', **$h_2$nér-*. I think one can dispense with a solution that forces to assume an allomorph with o-grade (**$h_2$nór-*) which is not otherwise attested, and (to my opinion) unfounded for more general reasons.

associated in any text, however, and it would be superficial to see in *naṣu* the antonym[6] of *yäslu* only for morphological reasons. Before proceeding to the comparison of parallel versions of the story quoted above, one may observe, on general grounds, that the notion of "friendship" is not self-evident in the context: the painter is quite angry about the bad trick played on him by the mechanic, and it would be unlikely that he addresses the artisan as 'friend' in the final situation, unless in an ironic tone. In his speech after discovering the hanged corpse of the painter (A8b3-9a2), the mechanic does not express any grief for the loss of a dear friend, but rather his fright (cf. *wiyo*, A8b3) for the public scandal of the sudden death of the artist in his home.

3. As expected, the story of the painter and the mechanical girl has its source in the Buddhist edifying narrative literature. It is included in the chapter entitled Bhaiṣajyavastu ('Treatise about remedies') of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin.[7] More precisely, it belongs to the narrative section which introduces the stances (*gāthā*) of Anavatapta Lake. It is very likely that the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādin, to the school of which is linked most of Tocharian Buddhist literature, contained a text that was similar or even identical. The text is known in different languages: Sanskrit[8], Tibetan[9], Chinese[10]. While reading these texts, which run in very parallel ways, one sees that there is no question of any friendly relationship between the master of mechanics and the painter, beyond the observance of hospitality by the former. From the general atmosphere of the story, it is normal that specialists in various arts and crafts have contacts, and during his travel in a foreign country the painter has the occasion to meet the mechanic and to stay for the night in his house. The mechanic never calls the painter his friend, even when he makes his report at the royal court, see the Sanskrit text:[11] *deva āsīd yavanaviṣaye citrācāryaḥ / sa matsakāśam āgataḥ / tasya paricaryārthāya mayā dāruputrikā praveśitā* / 'O lord, there was a master-painter in the Yavana country. He came to my vicinity. In order

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[5] See *TochGr*: 65 (§ 100), 66 (§ 102a), 102 (§ 148), 144 (§ 205); also *TEB* I: 156, § 244.

[6] It is regrettably stated as such by Poucha, 1955: 141, 243.

[7] Cf. Wille 1990: 65-66 for the Sanskrit version. The story is part of the previous lives of the disciples Maudgalyāyana and Śāriputra.

[8] Cf. Dutt 1947: 166-168, to be completed by Wille 1990 (cf. note 6), who gives, pp. 72-73, a new edition of the leaf 200, verso, containing our story.

[9] Cf. the translation by Schiefner, 1876: 521-523 and 1882: 361-362.

[10] References in *Chavannes*: n° 163, translation t. 2: 12-13; and Ji Xianlin, 1943: 286, 323.

[11] Text after Dutt, 1947: 167.

to make service to him a wooden girl has been brought by me (close to him)'. Compare the very accurate translation of the Chinese text given by Ji Xianlin (1943: 324): "Im mittleren Indien gibt es einen Malermeister, der (als Gast) in mein Haus kam und dort wohnte. Ich habe ein mechanisches hölzernes Mädchen gemacht, um ihn zu bedienen." At the beginning of the story the situation of hospitality is quite clear, see again the Sanskrit text:[12] *sa k(ena)c(i)d (ar)th(a)karaṇīyena madhyadeśād yavanaviṣayaṃ gataḥ / sa tatra yantrācāryasya niveśane 'vatīrṇaḥ / tena tasya*[13] *paricaryārthāya yantraputrikā kr̥tvā praveśitā* / 'This (master-painter) because of some business to be done came from Madhyadeśa to the Yavana country. He arrived in the dwelling-place of a master of mechanics. This one, in order to make service to the painter, having made a mechanical girl, brought her (close to him).' It is rendered faithfully in Tocharian, with some expansion about the marks of hospitality given by the mechanic: A5a5-6 *ālyākyāṃ praṣṭaṃ ālak saṃ pekant yaṃtrācāres waṣṭā lokit yeṣ tmäṣ säm yaṃtrā(cāre pe)käntāṃ puk wäknā yärkā yāmuräṣ oṣeñi pkäntäk waṣtaṃ lake raksā-ṃ* (…) *yantärṣināṃ śomināṃ śkaṃ lapäṣ lyalymā-ṃ* 'At another time a certain painter came as guest in the house of an master of mechanics; thereupon this master having treated the painter with honour in every way, at night spread for him a bed apart in the house, (…) and caused to be placed a mechanical girl close to the head (of his bed)', cf. Sieg's translation (1944: 8): 'Wie zu einer andern Zeit ein fremder Maler als Gast in das Haus eines Mechanikers ging. Der Mechaniker behandelte darauf den Maler in jeder Weise mit Verehrung, deckte ihm für die Nacht abgesondert in seinem Haus ein Lager, (...) und stellte ihm ein künstliches Mädchen an das Kopf[ende des Lagers].' It is understood that the painter has received from the artisan a separate room for the night, with the company of the deceptive mechanical girl, and this room is closed by a door, as we learn from one further episode of the story, when the painter paints himself as hanged on the wall facing the door (A8a4, 9a2), and hides behind that door (8b1). One has to imagine that the artisan has a large house with a separate room for the guest. To describe the situation of the painter the key-word is Toch. A *lokit* (A5a5, 6a3.4, 8b6), corresponding to B *laukito* 'guest' (*TEB* II: 137, 236). It is confirmed by the argument of the narrative: after he has been made to believe that the painter had committed suicide during the night, the mechanic goes to tell the matter to the king, according to a rule of this part of the kingdom, as it is said in the Sanskrit text[14]: *ācaritañ ceha yavana-viṣaye / yasya kasyacin*

[12] Cf. Wille 1990: 72, Bl. 200v1.

[13] Continuation after Dutt 1947: 166. Same content and similar wording in the Kaṭhināvadana 25,2, quoted by Wille, 1990: 72 n. 27.

niveśane 'tithiḥ kālaṃ lokāṃtaraṃ karoti sa taṃ tāvan na satkaroti yāvad rājñe niveditam iti 'And it was a custom in the Yavana country, that if a guest dies in the meantime in the house of somebody, this one shall not proceed to the funeral before the event is reported to the king'. Therefore, one could conceive that the Skt. term *atithi-* applies perfectly to the painter, and could be translated by Toch. A *lokit*. Unfortunately, this passage, which explains in the Sanskrit narrative why the artisan goes to the royal court, is not translated in the Tocharian text. Since the notion of "guest" is conveyed by *lokit* in A8b6, one cannot translate the preceding *ñi naṣu* on the same line by 'my guest', which could be theoretically possible. Furthermore, if *naṣu* has to be read in A9b4, the painter uses the same term to address the artisan. This double usage of *naṣu* implies that it has a reciprocal value. In the Sanskrit version[15] of the final speech of the painter, he addresses the artisan with *bhoḥ puruṣa*, which is quite conventional, but does not convey any idea of friendship. Since *naṣu* does not seem to imply any notion of friendly relationship between the two artists, one can simply understand it as 'neighbour' or 'companion'. The first pāda of the stanza in the line A8b6 is actually a nominal sentence: 'A master-painter (was) my neighbour, he came as a guest'. It would correspond perfectly to the Sanskrit text quoted above, which is also faithfully rendered by the Chinese version. Actually, the painter lived next door in the dwelling place of the mechanic: they shared the same abode for the night.

4. This interpretation of Toch. A *naṣu* gives a good understanding of the other occurrences discussed above, A222a1 and 229b4, where are mentioned 'bad neighbours' or 'bad company'. We have now a firm basis in order to envisage the etymological analysis of this word. It is definitely a substantivized adjective. Judging from the other adjectives in *–u* (*TEB* I: 156, § 244), *naṣ-u* can be derived from a noun **naṣ* 'neighbourhood, vicinity, proximity' or from an adverb **naṣ* 'next to', compare B *nauṣu* 'previous, anterior' from adverb *nauṣ* 'former, earlier', A *śpālu* 'superior, excellent' from *śpāl* 'head, top'.[16] I will not propose here an ultimate morphological analysis of this word, but the most sensible comparandum seems to be

[14] Cf. Wille 1990: 73, Bl. 200v5, completed by Kaṭhināvadana 25,6.

[15] Cf. Dutt 1947: 167 and Wille 1990: 73, Bl. 200v8. Compare 'Hausgenosse' in the translation of the Tibetan text by Schiefner (1876: 523).

[16] This word **naṣ* is homonymous with the noun Toch. A *naṣ* 'deprecation, calumny, denigration' (*JWP*: 158, 289), attested independently and related to A *naṣmi* (corresponding to B *neṣmiye*). The etymology of this totally different word is discussed by myself in a paper currently in press.

the group of derivatives from IE **nezd-* 'proximate, near'[17]: OIr. *nessam*, Gaul. *neđđamon* (gen. pl. 'of the next ones'), Osc. *nessimas* (= Lat. *proximae*), Ved. *nédīyas-*, Av. *nazdiiō*, Ved. *nédiṣṭha-*, OAv. *nazdišta-*, Khotanese *naysda-*, Mod. Pers. *nazd*, Pashto *niždē*, etc.[18] Our adverb **naṣ* would be the regular result from an adverb **nózd-en*, with locative formant (cf. Ved. *jm-án* 'on earth') from a root noun **nózd-* 'proximity', hence **næšdžä* (assimilation and cluster reduction) > **næžžä* (devoicing) > CToch. **næṣṣä* > A *naṣ* with simplification of the final geminate. On the semantic side, the notion of 'dwelling together or near' is of course present in words meaning 'companion' or 'neighbour' in several languages.[19]

5. The meaning of Toch. A *ort* 'friend' was ascertained after some hesitation[20] by Sieg (1944: 6) in his translation of the mutilated passage A3b4 *ṣñi ṣñaṣṣesā ortāsā* 'bei seinen Anhängern und Freunden' = 'through one's relatives (and) friends'. Accordingly, the meaning 'friendship' of the abstract *ortune* is confirmed by the phrase *ortune yām-/ya-* 'to establish friendship', cf. A254a8 *ypantra cesmaṃ ortune ṣokyo skassuṣ plantanträ* 'Sie schliessen mit ihnen Freundschaft, [sind] sehr glücklich [und] freuen sich' (translated by Schmidt, 1974: 339)[21], A280a6 *eṣäl el wrassaṃ ortune yal kropnal pñintu* 'Man muß Gabe geben, Freundschaft zu den Wesen machen [und] Tugendhaftigkeit sammeln' (translated by Thomas, 1952: 24). It gives also a correct understanding of the secondary adjective *ortuneṣi* 'characterized by friendship, friendly', in A113a5 *ortuneṣiṃ rakeyo* 'with friendly speech' and in YQ1.6[II.8]a6 *ortuneṣiṃ pältsäkyo* 'with friendly thought' (*JWP*: 106-107), this last instance about Maitreya. One can also mention the compound *kāswa-ortum* (A359, 31) 'provided with a good friend'. It is now fully certain that Toch. A *ort* means 'friend': it is, instead of Toch. A *naṣu*, the actual semantic match of Toch. B *waṣamo*. To the adjective A *ortuneṣi* corresponds

17 Cf. Hamp 1976. I agree with his remark (p. 160 n. 3) that the segmentation of this lexeme remains uncertain. The inclusion of the Tocharian form in the concert of cognates, if accepted, would imply that the analysis of the etymon as **ne-zd-* with zero grade of the root **sed-* 'to sit', as given traditionally (see for instance *EWAia* II: 56), is pure speculation. One should recognize a root **nezd-*, which was subject to ablaut, as showing normal *o*-grade in the prototype of the Tocharian form.

18 Cf. Cowgill, 1970: 132, 138; McCone, 1996: 48.

19 See Buck, 1949: 1349.

20 *TochGr*: 18; see also Poucha, 1955, 48, which reflects Sieg's older assumption. This hesitation is still reflected by the question mark after the gloss of Toch. A *ort* in *TEB* II: 88.

21 Cf. the new edition and translation of this text in Geng Shimin/Laut/Pinault 2004: 52, 54.

the adjective B *waṣamñeṣṣe*, derived with the cognate suffix from *waṣamñe* 'friendship', the abstract based on *waṣamo*, and it is used in the phrase parallel to A *ortuneṣiṃ pältsäkyo* 'with friendly thought', cf. B *waṣämñeṣṣe pälskosa* in B128b5, *wa(ṣa)mñ(e)ṣṣepi pälsko(nts)e* in B307a6. The gist of this semantic analysis of Toch. A *ort* has been given by Hilmarsson (1984) as a prelude to his etymological interpretation of this word. To sum up, Hilmarsson (*op.cit.*: 116-118) explains Toch. A *ort* from IE **r̥tu-* > CToch. **ærtu-* with regular *u*-Umlaut, cf. AB *or* 'wood' < **(dz)æru* < **dóru* (cf. Gk. δόρυ, Ved. *dā́ru*, etc.) and compares it further with Ved. *r̥tú-* 'right time, fixed time' and Gk. ἀρτύς 'arrangement, disposition', basis also of the verb ἀρτύω 'to arrange, prepare'. Lat. *artus –ūs* 'limb' and Arm. *z-ard* (gen.sg. *–ardow*) 'ornament', which are also cognate, remain formally distant, since they are based on a full-grade allomorph of the same stem, **$h_2$ér-tu-*, which would become post-IE **artu-* > CToch. **artu-* > A **ārt*, without *u*-Umlaut. The Vedic and the Greek words are universally assumed to be derived as well from the root ** $h_2$er-* 'to become adjusted, fit' (*LIV*: 269). All these words reflect divergent levelling of the two allomorphs of a stem with proterokinetic inflection: ** $h_2$ér-tu-/* h_2r̥-téw-* (cf. *EWAia* I: 257)[22]. Now, the equation of CToch. **ærtu-* with Ved. *r̥tú-* and Gk. ἀρτύς raises a difficulty if one accepts the hypothesis of some version of the Rix's Law in Tocharian. According to this rule (see references and examples in Meier-Brügger 2003: 122-123), the three initial laryngeals before syllabic liquids and nasals were reflected by three different vowels followed by the non-syllabic resonants, according to the triple representation of the laryngeals in Greek: **#h_1R̥C-* > *eRC-*, **#h_2R̥C-* > *aRC-*, **#h_3R̥C-* > *orC-*. Hackstein (1998) has found in Tocharian indications of a differentiated development of the two laryngeals **h_2* and **h_3*, in the same environment, by contrast with **h_1*, which gave the same result (**#h_1R̥C-* > CToch. **æR-*) as the initial syllabic resonant without any preceding laryngeal, see for instance the negative prefix B *en-* A *an-* < CToch. **æn-* < **n̥-*. The initial groups with the two other laryngeals **#h_2R̥C-* and **#h_3R̥C-* are supposed to become **aRC-* > CToch. **ārC-*. It is not the place to scrutinize the etymologies in question, which are not equally probative. At least, one telling example is Toch. B *antapi*, A *āmpi* 'both', based on **āntäpV*, from **h_2n̥t-bhí* 'on both sides' with zero grade (Hackstein 1998: 225), by contrast with the verb Toch. B *eṅk-* 'to seize' < **ænk-* < **h_1n̥ḱ-*, on the zero grade of the root ** $h_1$neḱ-* (*LIV*: 250). Accordingly, **h_2r̥tu-* should develop into **artu-* > **ārtu-*, which could not be affected by *u*-Umlaut (cf. Hilmarsson 1984: 108): it would become Toch. A **ārt*, instead of *ort*. I want just to point out this

[22] See also Schaffner, 2001: 93, 489, with references.

dilemma. If one seeks to follow the promising track of the phonetic rule which is assumed by Hackstein, one is forced to dismiss an etymology which looks attractive from the semantic point of view. One may conceive "friendship" as a link between two persons which are well adjusted to each other. But one can conceive different semantic directions for expressing the notion of friendship, by consulting the terms of the same field in various IE languages, see Buck 1949: 1343 (19.51 FRIEND) and 1346 (19.53 COMPANION). Hilmarsson has the merit of reformulating more exactly an ancient etymology[23]: its interest lies also in the link with the –*tu*-stem well attested in other languages and in the explanation by Umlaut of the vocalism of the Tocharian word. But this connection with the root *$*h_2er$-*, while remaining possible, should not be placed beyond any doubt. One can explore other possibilities, from which I may mention two in passing. Semantically, Hitt. *ara*- 'comrade, partner, fellow, friend', *arāwa*- 'free', Lyc. *arawa*- 'freedom', etc. (Puhvel 1984: 116-120) offer a connection with another lexical basis. For explaining these words, the most straightforward root is *$*h_1er$-* 'to move forward, arrive at' (*LIV*: 238), by assuming a semantic bridge from physical motion to morality (Melchert 1992: 50 n. 21)[24]: 'moving', hence 'going well', 'doing well', finally 'appropriate' and 'correct'. A derivative from this root would qualify the good companion, as being ever reliable. But the reconstruction of a stem * *h_1r̥-tu*- > CToch. **ærtu*- would be entirely *ad hoc*, without any support in other derivatives of this root in other languages. A second possibility would be to assume an adjective **r̥h_1d^h-ú*-, which could become regularly CToch **ærtu*- as well: it would be cognate with the neuter in **-e/os*- reflected by Ved. *rā́dhas*-, Av. *rādah*- 'benevolence, generosity' (*EWAia* II: 448) on the root **reh_1d^h*- 'to accomplish with success' (*LIV*: 499). Therefore, Toch. A *ort* should not be considered a counter-example in future discussions about the evidence for Rix's Law in Tocharian.

6. The previous paragraphs have shown that the treatment of the different nouns supposed to refer to 'friendship' had been very superficial indeed. The false equivalence between Toch. B *waṣamo* and A *naṣu* has suggested a typical *Wurzeletymologie* based on two roots with the meaning 'to be'. Toch. A *naṣu* has been linked with the verbal root A *nas*- B *nes*- 'to be' (Schneider 1940: 199), by introducing the meanings acquired independently by Skt. *násate* 'to join', OHG *nerian* 'to save' etc.[25] Without considering the very

[23] Cf. Van Windekens, 1976: 342.

[24] See also Hajnal, 1995: 105-106 n. 87.

[25] Taken over by Van Windekens (1941: 71 and 1976: 310).

problematic formal derivation, this solution is quite unlikely for reasons of relative chronology: the meaning of the IE root *nes- was ‘to come back safely’ (*LIV*: 454), and its evolution to the usage as verb ‘to be’ results largely of the value of the stative present (*nós-/*nés-)[26] based on this root, which explains the shape of the CToch. verb. One fails to understand how a derivative of the same root could become in the same language a designation of the ‘friend’ or ‘companion’. In the same vein, there has been the quite speculative hypothesis of Schmeja (1970: 79), who poses Toch. B *waṣamo* and A *naṣu* as two derivatives of the rhyming roots *wes- (= *$h_1$wes-) and *nes-, which would be parallel in some obscure way to the adjectives *$h_1$wés-u- (cf. Skt. *vásu-*, etc.) and *$h_1$és-u- (cf. Hitt. *aššu-*, Ved. *su-*, etc.) ‘good’. Those assumptions were very approximate also under the morphological and phonetic aspects. In our inquiry about the vocabulary of friendship, we now have to examine the adjective Toch. B *waṣamo*, which has no formal match in Toch. A. Before discussing any etymology, we have to look for its synchronic place in the derivational system of Tocharian.

The word has the following occurrences:[27]

singular nom. *waṣamo* B 128(MQR) a2^{v}, 600 (MQ) b4^{p}, PK AS 7N(K11) b6^{v}, H.149.75b2^{p}, *waṣmo* for[28] *wāṣmo* PK AS 7N(K11)a7^{v}, voc. *waṣama* B 77(Š) 2^{p}, *wāṣämai* PK AS 12La6^{p}, b6^{p}, obl. *waṣamoṃ* B 308(Š) a2.3^{p}, *wāṣmoṃ* PK AS7O b2^{v}, gen. *wāṣmontse* B 21(Š) a4^{v}, perl. *wāṣmontsā* B 282(MQ) a1^{v}, loc. *wāṣmon(n)e* B 234(MQR) a1^{v}; plural nom. *waṣamoñ* B 600(MQ) b3^{p}, PK AS17Eb2^{p}, H.149.179a3^{p}, *wāṣmoñ* PK AS5C(S6) a5^{v}, *wāṣmoñä* B 70(Š) 6, obl. *wāṣmoṃ* PK AS5C(S6) a3^{v}, gen. *(wā)ṣmoṃts* B 14(Š) a1^{v}, *wāṣmots* H.149.26/30b5^{v}, abl. *waṣamoṃnmeṃ* PK AS17Ea6^{p}.

The distribution of the two variants clearly follows a well-known pattern (cf. Winter 1990): the forms of type *waṣamo*, *waṣamoṃ* are normal in prose, while the forms of type *wāṣmo*, *wāṣmoṃ*, etc. are confined to versified parts. The exceptional occurrence of *waṣamo* in a metrical passage (PK AS 7Nb6) does not contradict the whole scheme: one should admit that the poets had the two forms *wāṣmo* and *waṣamo* at their disposal and could use them according to the metrical requirements. As shown by

[26] For this type of present, see Jasanoff 2003: 74-76, who gives however a somewhat different analysis of the Tocharian verb, which entails some analogical reshaping.

[27] The exponents *p* and *v* indicate that the passage is in prose or verse, respectively; there is no sign when the context is too fragmentary or unsure to make a decision.

[28] This manuscript contains other mistaken forms, cf. immediately afterwards on the same line *ma* for the negation *mā*.

Winter (*op.cit.*), the "shorter" forms of type *wāṣmo* can be explained by the syncope of the medial vowel in the underlying Toch. B form **wāṣā́mo*, and the subsequent retraction of the accent on the first syllable, hence *wā́ṣmo*. This process took place in ancient Toch. B, when the form was still **wāṣämo*. Subsequently, in standard Toch. B, the accent falling regularly on the second syllable produces the prose form *waṣámo* < **wāṣā́mo*. The vocative singular is worth of some remark: the form *wāṣämai* is attested in a manuscript in MQ orthography, the language of which reflects the stage of ancient Toch. B. It is similar to *klyomai*, vocative sg. masc. of the adjective *klyomo* 'noble' (cf. B 99b5, 515b8). The form *waṣama* belongs to a manuscript of the central region, written in standard Toch. B: it shows the ending –*a*, which is the most frequent (*TEB* I: 103) in substantives, substantivized adjectives, and proper names.

7. Toch. B *waṣamo* belongs to a well circumscribed set of verbal adjectives with suffix –*mo*, which are derived from present or subjunctive stems (cf. *WTG*: 47-48, § 40):

(1) *alāṣmo* 'sick' of the stem *alāṣṣä-* of present IX of *alāsk-* 'to be sick' (*WTG*: 218; Adams 1999: 25)[29].

(2) *aiśamo* 'wise' from the stem *aiśä-* of present II of *aik-* 'to know' (*WTG*: 225; Adams 1999: 106).

(3) *klyemo* 'standing, being in' from the stem *kälye-* of present II of *käly-* 'to stand' (*WTG*: 235; Adams 1999: 231), cf. participle active *klyeñca*, middle *klyemane*.

(4) *cämpamo* 'capable, able' from the stem *cämp-* of present/subjunctive II of *cämp-* 'to be able' (*WTG*: 244; Adams 1999: 254).

(5) *päknāmo* 'intending' from the stem *päknā-* of subjunctive VI of *päk-* 'to intend, want' (*WTG*: 257; Adams 1999: 369).

(6) *pälkamo* 'luminous, shining' from the stem *pälk-* of present I of *pälk-* 'to shine, illuminate' (*WTG*: 260; Adams 1999: 378).

(7) *ynamo* 'walking' from the stem **yänä-*, secondary stem, present I of *i-* 'to go', cf. act. 1pl. *ynem(o)*, 3pl. *yaneṃ*, middle participle *ynemane*, agent noun *ynūca* 'going' (*WTG*: 222; Adams 1999: 516, 517).

[29] On the formation of this verb, see Hackstein 1995: 248-250.

(8) *lyukemo* 'shining, brilliant' from the stem *lyuke-* of present III of *luk-* 'to light up, be illuminated' (*WTG*: 284; Adams 1999: 567, referring wrongly to the subjunctive stem).

(9) *waskāmo* 'moving, mobile' from the stem *wāskā-* of subjunctive V of *wāsk-* 'to move' (*WTG*: 287; Adams 1999: 584).

(10) *weñmo* 'speaking' from the stem *weñä-* of subjunctive VII of *we(ñ)-* 'to speak' (*WTG*: 293; Adams 1999: 608). It occurs in verse (H.149.26/30a3); the expected prose form should be *weñamo* < **weñä́mo*. See the discussion of this form by Winter (1977: 154). The question of derivation from present stem or subjunctive stem seems immaterial to me, since the subjunctive stems in question (cf. No. 5, 9 above) show the structure of inherited present stems.

(11) *salamo* 'flying' (*WTG*: 298) is obviously derived from a stem of the verb *säl-* 'to fly' (rather than 'to jump'), but the form raises some difficulties. The reading of *salamo* in B 404a3 and of the feminine *salamña* in H.149.330a3 is secure. One would rather expect **salāmo* as based on the stem of the subjunctive V **sālā-*, the existence of which can safely be assumed beside the preterit I, 3sg. mid. *salāte*. Hilmarsson (1990: 94) derives this form from the weak stem of this subjunctive V, to wit **sälā-*, which requires a form accented on the first syllable, **sä́lā-mo* > *salamo*. But this scenario (followed by Adams 1999: 686) is contradictory to the normal accentuation on the second syllable of these derivatives with suffix –*mo*, see below. I would rather suggest the refection of a form **slámo* < **sälā́-mo*, based on the stem of present I of *säl-* 'to fly', which is effectively attested in Toch. A, cf. 3pl. act. *sliñc* and middle participle *sälmāṃ*. By some kind of preventive restructuring, the regular form of the verbal adjective **sälä́mo* was recharacterized by substitution to *säl-* of the allomorph *sāl-* which was normal in the rest of the paradigm, cf. the preterite I *salāte* (stem **sālā-*), the preterit participle *sasālau*, hence **sāl-ämo* > *salámo*. About the alternative and quasi synonymous form *ṣlyamo*, fem. *ṣlyamña* 'flying' (for the meaning, see Hilmarsson 1990: 89-90), it is certainly explainable as based on a stem going back to the reduplicated present **si-sl̥-ye/o-* (cf. Homeric Gk. ἰάλλω, according to Hilmarsson 1990: 110-111), but I would suggest a slightly different phonetic development: this IE stem became[30] first **säṣälyyä-* (after regressive transfer of palatalization in the cluster *-*sly*-), then **ṣäṣälyyä-* by assimilation, and simplification to **ṣälyyä-* ; this stem, which gave the basis of the

infinitive *ṣällatsi*, served also to build the verbal adjective**ṣälyyä-mo* > *ṣlyámo*.

(12) *sälpamo* 'blazing, glowing' from the stem *sälp-* of present I of *sälp-* 'to blaze up, burn' (WTG: 299; Adams 1999: 690).

According to Hilmarsson (1990: 94), these deverbatively derived adjectives had the accentuation of the underlying verbal stem (present or subjunctive), but this prediction is at variance with the evidence, cf. *aiśámo* vs. 3sg. mid. *áiśtär*, *cämpámo* vs. 3sg. act. *cámpäṃ*, *pälkámo* vs. 3sg. act. *pálkäṃ*, *sälpámo* vs. 3sg. act. *sálpäṃ*; similarly *ynámo* can only be explained as based on a form accented on the second syllable, **yänā́mo*. Therefore, our adjective *waṣamo* 'friend' presupposes a previous form **wāṣā́mo*.

8. These adjectives follow the inflectional pattern of the adjective Toch. B *klyomo* (A *klyom*) 'noble' (*TEB* I: 153, § 238), which did not derive from a verbal stem, however: it goes back to the internal derivative **ḱléu-mon-* 'possessing renown' of the neuter action noun **ḱléu-mn̥* 'hearing' cf. Av. *sraoman-*, Ved. *śrómata-*, OHG *hliumunt* (Melchert 1983: 22)[31]. As in other languages, for instance Ancient Greek (compare γνώμων 'judge' vs. γνῶμα 'judgement' and ἡγεμών 'leader, chief' based on ἡγέομαι 'to lead'), this formation has become deverbative in Tocharian, and *klyomo* should be viewed as a relic. Another exception to the general deverbative process is certainly Toch. B *śaumo* 'man' (Toch. A *śom* 'boy'), which is based directly on the root *śau-* 'to live', and not on the present stem, compare the middle participle *śamāne* (A *śāmāṃ*) 'living', based on the (thematic, class II) present stem **śāwæ-*, with contraction.[32] From an internal point a view, one should first consider a deverbative source for Toch. B *waṣamo*, and only as an ultimate step a derivation from a pure nominal basis. Before proceeding to this investigation, I would like to recall the formal development which explains *klyomo* from **klyumo* through Umlaut[33], because **klyumo* looks

[30] The palatalization of the sibilant **s* before /i/ is invalidated by several etymologies, for instance B *esale*, A *asäl* 'post' < **æsälæ* < **osi-lo*, cognate with the IE word for ash-tree, cf. Lith. *úosis*, Lat. *ornus*, etc.; Toch. B *laks* 'fish' < **läksä* < **luks-i-* 'white (flesh or body)', cf. Gk. λεῦκος, OIcel. *lyr*, etc. (much simpler than the controversial connection with 'salmon', cf. Adams, 1999: 544); 1pl. act. present ending *–mäs* < **-mesi*. The assumption of Ringe (1996: 80) remains entirely *a priori*. More on this topic in another context.

[31] The alternative scenario adduced by Ringe (1996: 10) creates an unnecessary anachronism and is contradicted by the accentual pattern.

[32] Cf. Winter 1988: 211-215.

[33] Cf. Hilmarsson 1988: 516 n. 7.

as the outcome of *ḱléu-mō(n), nom. sg. masc. of the stem ḱléu-mon-. The shape of suffix ending in nasal of this type of adjective is proven by several forms of the paradigm, for instance oblique sg. *klyomoṃ*, nominative pl. *klyomoñ* in masculine, and in feminine, nominative sg. *klyomña*, etc. But a word of caution must be expressed: the final vowel *–o* which caused the change of the preceding vowel is probably not the direct outcome of the IE nominative sg. **-ō(n)*. Actually, this sequence was already realized as**-ō*, after loss of the nasal at the PIE stage, and this final long vowel becomes regularly by raising CToch. **-u*, which finally disappears, also after having triggered the Umlaut of the vowel of the preceding syllable, cf. the well-kown example B *okt* A *okät* "eight" < CToch. **æktu* < **oḱtō*. Therefore, the final vowel *–o* of the suffix *–mo* had a different and more complex history. One suspects some kind of overlap between the suffix **-mon-* and a complex suffix **-moHon-*, with nominative sg. **-moHō(n)*: this latter form may have replaced, for still unknown reason, the form **-mō(n)*. The sequence **-moHō(n)* would give by Umlaut the attested form: **-moHō(n)* > **-mæ.u* > **-mo.u* > *-mo*, in a quite parallel way to Toch. AB *or* 'wood' < **(dz)æru* < **dór-u*, cf. Gk. δόϱυ, Ved. *dā́ru*, etc. This process presupposes a "laryngeal hiatus" (quite similar as in Indo-Iranian) in Common Tocharian, for which there are other indications.[34] Without dwelling longer on this problem, one should keep in mind that the direct equation of the adjectives in Toch. B *–mo* (A *–m*), with the animate stems in **-mon-*, nom. sg. **-mō(n)*, cf. Gk. –μων, albeit perfectly justified on the morphological side, is not as straightforward on the phonetic side.

9. As said before (§ 7), the Toch. B adjectives in *–mo* are derived from verbal stems in their quasi totality. In the case of Toch. B *waṣamo* (older **wāṣämo*), there is no such verbal stem which can be taken as basis. One would expect a stem **wāṣṣä-*, judging by the quite similar shape of the adjective *alāṣmo* 'sick'. The specific form of the latter is due to the effect of the accent falling on the second syllable: **alā́ṣṣä-mo* > *alā́ṣmo* after syncope of unaccented *–ä-* and simplification of the geminate in the group *–ṣṣm-*. Based on a verbal stem **wāṣṣä-*, the parallel formation would show the following development: **wāṣṣǻ-mo* > **wāṣǻmo* > *waṣámo*, by generalization of the single *–ṣ-* on the model of the syncopated doublet **wā́ṣṣmo* > *wā́ṣmo* (verse form). Now, one faces the absence of any suitable verbal root **wā-* with a present IX **wā-ṣṣä-* in Tocharian. As a negative result, the morphological status of Toch. B *waṣamo* precludes any connection with the root *wäs-* 'to dwell,

[34] The issue is mentioned in general terms by Ringe (1996: 10, 90).

abide, remain', as proposed already by Pedersen (1925: 30-32)[35], accepted by Van Windekens (1976: 548), followed by Adams (1999: 582). This etymology is not particularly illuminating for the semantics: the meaning 'friend' would be based on cohabiting, and the verbal adjective *waṣamo* is supposed to go back to an agent noun meaning 'who dwells together or near'. A neighbour is far from being a friend. This verbal root AB *wäs-* goes back to IE _*h$_2$wes-_ 'to dwell, stay the night' (*LIV*: 293), and is cognate with a well-known set of verbal formations: Ved. *vásati*, Av. *vaŋhaiti*, Goth. *wisan*, OHG *wesan*, Gk. Hom. *ἄεσα*, Arm. *goy*, etc. To the rich family of this IE root one may very likely add the Tocharian designation of the 'night', B *yṣiye*, A *wṣe* < _*wäṣäyæ_, which goes back to the reshaping of a stem _*h$_2$wes-ēn_, itself a "de-locative" derivative from _*h$_2$wés-en_ 'during the time of rest' (cf. Pinault 1995: 197-198)[36]. I would not insist on the fact that any resident for the night is not bound to act as a friend. As seen from a strictly formal point of view, the stem _*wāṣṣämo_ (or _*wāṣämo_) cannot be based on a present (or subjunctive) stem of the verb *wäs-* (*WTG*: 290): this verb[37] gives a present IX, based on zero grade of the root with suffix _*-sḱe/o-_: B act. 3sg. *wsaṣṣäṃ*, 3pl. *wsaskeṃ*, participle act. *wsäṣṣeñca*, mid. *wsäskemane*. Besides, there is a subjunctive IV, stem *wṣī-* (inf. *wṣītsi*, verbal noun *wṣīlñe*), based also on the zero grade. If, for the sake of argument, one assumes a derivative in *–mo* based on this present stem, it would probably result in _*wsäṣṣámo_ < _*wsäṣṣä́mo_ < _*wsäṣṣä-mo_. The verbal system of this root shows no trace of a stem _*wāṣä-_ or *wāṣṣä-*, which would be of aberrant structure in Tocharian morphology. The door is then open for pure speculation. It is wholly gratuitous to assume a prototype of _*wāṣämo_ as _*h$_2$wōs-e-mon-_ (Adams 1999: 582), through comparing the present stem _*h$_2$wos-e/o-_ reflected by OIr. *foaid* 'to spend the night'. Even if one follows the scheme of the acrostatic present reconstructed by Jasanoff (2003: 75) for the most ancient present of this root (_*h$_2$wós-/*h$_2$wés-_), it is exorbitant to reconstruct besides a stem _*h$_2$wōs-_, for the present or, to mention an even more remote hypothesis, for the perfect.

10. Since there is no cognate formation in Tocharian, one cannot analyse Toch. B *waṣamo* as a calque from the Sanskrit, which has an interesting ar-

35 On the same pages, Pedersen had the merit to recognize the origin of these Toch. B adjectives in *–mo* as agent nouns based on verbal stems.

36 Same connection, but without the details, in Ringe 1996: 81.

37 See also Hackstein 1995: 218-220.

ray of designations of friendship.[38] There remains a way to find an etymon to the verbal stem **wāṣṣä-*, if one admits that it can go back to a denominative formation. In Tocharian, the existence of the IE denominative type of present in *-*ye/o-* is at least documented by the class XII of presents (*TEB* I: 216-217), which gave the only productive denominative verbal formation. The suffix is actually Toch. AB –*ññ-* with thematic inflection, and it is obviously derived from denominatives of –*n*-stems (*-*n-ye/o-*), which played such an important role in the nominal morphology, see for instance *lareññä-* 'to love' from the adjective *lāre* 'dear, beloved', showing in its inflection several traces of a nasal formation (*TEB* I: 152), cf. masc. obl. sg. *lareṃ* < **lārénä(n),* nom. pl. *lareñ* < **lāréñä*. It is likely that originally the denominative formation with suffix *-*ye/o-*, which was already productive in IE, was not restricted to –*n*-stems.[39] Consequently, one can assume that Toch. B *waṣṣä-* continued with regular palatalization a stem **was-ye/o-*, based on a denominative present from a nominal base **was-*, which did not surface in the language. An etymological connection presents itself, as soon as one considers the predominant quality of a reliable and faithful friend: his willingness to afford help or support in need.[40] The root conveying this meaning would be represented in Indo-Iranian by Ved. *av*ⁱ- 'to help, support, assist' (*EWAia* I: 134), which has a verbal system and many nominal derivatives, among which the action nouns *ávas-* nt., *ūtí-* fem. 'help, assistance', the agent noun *avitŕ̥-* 'being ready to help', etc. Therein lies more than a mere root etymology. The connection between friendship and readiness to bring help and support is expressed by derivatives of this root, and has left an undeniable trace in the phraseology. The 'helpful friend' is designed by the phrase Ved. *sákhā … avitā́* (RV IV.16.18a-b, IV.17.18a, VI.33.4b, VII.19.10d), to which corresponds in Homeric Gk. the formulaic ἑταῖϱος ἐνηής, about a good companion. This phrase has three occurrences in the *Iliad* (17.204, 21.96 and 23.252), and one in the *Odyssey* (8.200), accounting for 4 of the 5 instances of the adjective ἐνηής in the epic poems. This adjective has been convincingly explained as a possessive compound with an adverbial first member, and as a second member the formal match of Ved. *ávas-*, Av. *auuah-* 'help, support'[41]: **en-āwes-* from

[38] Cf. recently Hara 2001. Thanks are due to Nalini Balbir (Paris), who informed me about this excellent paper.

[39] In case of denominatives based on stems ending in vowel, one may assume that the original shape was obscured by loss of the semivowel in intervocalic position and subsequent contraction.

[40] This theme is known in Sanskrit literature (Hara 2001: 172-180) and elsewhere, of course.

*awos/-es-. It means exactly 'having in oneself the disposition to help'. The semantic link between readiness to help and friendship is also documented by Doric ἀίτας (< *aw-ītās) 'beloved'. I adopt the reconstruction of the root as *h_2ewh_1-, according to García-Ramón (1996), rather than *h_1ewH- as given by *LIV* (243), since this latter hypothetical shape is founded only on the connection with Hitt. *iyawa-* (adduced by Puhvel 1984: 353). The relevance of the Hittite data is ruined by several objections, which have been presented to me by H. Craig Melchert[42]: to limit myself to the semantic aspect, the few understandable passages do not favour the interpretation of the Hittite verb *iyawa-* as 'to be healed, recover' according to Puhvel, a meaning which would be anyway still distant from the meaning of the root in the other languages.

Therefore, beside the neuter stem *$h_2éwh_1$-e/os- reflected by Indo-Iranian and Greek, we may assume an allomorph *h_2uh_1-s- as basis of a denominative present. It would be comparable to *mn̥-s- (in Ved. *medhā́-*, Av. *mazdā-*) as allomorph of *mén-s- (Av. *mą̣s*), which has been reshaped as *mén-e/os- (Ved. *mánas-*, Av. *manah-*, Gk. μένος).[43] I propose to derive CToch. *wāṣṣä- from post-IE *was-ye-, going back to IE *h_2uh_1-s-ye/o- 'to be helpful', 'to manifest oneself with help'. At first sight, this derivation comes up against a problem which lies in the development of the laryngeals in Tocharian. It has been proposed (cf. Hackstein 1995: 17) that the sequences *-ih_1- and *-uh_1- had a totally different treatment (> CToch. *-yä-, *-wä- or *-ī-, *-ū-) from the sequences *-$ih_{2/3}$- and *-$uh_{2/3}$- (> CToch. *-(i)yā-, *-(u)wā-).[44] But this controversy does not lead us to an aporetic end because the history of the neuters suffixed by *-(e/o)s- with proterokinetic inflection offered structures of the type nom.-acc. sg. *CéRH-s, where the laryngeal in a final syllable was certainly "vocalized" already at a (late) PIE stage[45], giving *CéR°Hs or *CéRəs, cf. Av. *təuuiš* 'strength' < *$téwh_2$-s, *stairiš* 'layer of straw' < *$stérh_3$-s, Ved. *kravíṣ*, Gk. κρέας 'raw flesh' < *$kréwh_2$-s. Consequently, it takes only to assume this treatment of the laryngeal in the nom.-acc. sg. *$h_2éwh_1$-s > *$h_2éw°h_1$-s (*$h_2éwə_1$s) with levelling to the whole paradigm and even to the zero grade *h_2uh_1-s-, which was reshaped in *$h_2w°h_1$-s- (*h_2w $ə_1$-s-), the basis of our denominative. The reconstruction of the prehistory of Toch. B *waṣamo* 'friend' ultimately related to the IE neuter *$h_2éwh_1$-(e/o)s-

41 Cf. Stüber 2002: 90-92.

42 Personal communication (September 24, 2003), for which I am most grateful.

43 Cf. Schindler 1975: 266, and the discussion by Stüber (2002: 28-29).

44 An alternative path is taken by Ringe (1996: 30-34).

45 Cf. Schindler 1975: 266; Beekes 1981: 276, 285.

'help', would provide an independent confirmation of the theories that have been drawn about the evolution of the neuter *-s*-stems.

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РОЖДЕНИЕ СЛОВАРЯ

АДРИАНА ПОЛС

... ибо не правила языкъ раждаютъ, но изъ
употребленїя онаго извлекаются правила.[1]

В 1780 году Екатерина Романовна Дашкова, или Екатерина Малая, сподвижница императрицы Екатерины II Великой, по пути домой из зарубежного путешествия провела два дня в городе Лейден, чтобы повидаться со старыми знакомыми. Первый ее визит был семейству знаменитого профессора Лейденского университета Гаубиюса, которого она очень уважала. В своих мемуарах она пишет:

«Старая служанка,[2] открывшая мне дверь, сказала, что его нет дома, но я возразила ей, что знаю, что он не выходит и что он, вероятно, будет рад меня видеть, и попросила ее доложить, что княгиня Дашкова желает с ним проститься. Он услышал из соседней комнаты мой голос и вышел ко мне. (...) Я увиделась с Гобиеусом с удовольствием, но, не желая прерывать его занятий,[3] я не вошла

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[1] Из Предисловия к первой части Словаря Академии Российской (далее «САР») 1789, с. VI.

[2] Цит. по: *Екатерина Романовна Дашкова, Записки. 1743-1810*, Л., 1985, с. 104. В издании *Записки княгини Е.Р. Дашковой*, М., 1990, ей отворяет дверь слуга мужского рода. См. также *Екатерина Романовна Дашкова, Записки княгини*, Минск, 2003, с. 127. Kyril Fitzlyon, переводчик и издатель книги *The Memoirs of Princess Dashkova, Introduction by Jehanne M. Gheith, Afterword by A. Woronzoff-Dashkoff*, Durham and London, 1995, на 153-ой странице ловко решает вопрос пола слуги Гаубиюса, переводя *his old servant, the cook*. В конце концов особа, открывшая дверь княгине, оказывается женского пола: *sa vieille servante, sa cuisinière*, см. издание, в котором «Pour la première fois, (...) la princesse Dachkova s' exprime dans sa langue authentique: *PRINCESSE DACHKOVA, MON HISTOIRE. MÉMOIRES D'UNE FEMME DE LETTRES RUSSE À L'ÉPOQUE DES LUMIÈRES, Édition présentée et annotée par Alexandre Woronzoff-Dashkoff , Catherine Le Gouis, Catherine Woronzoff-Dashkoff,* Paris-Montréal, 1999, с. 117. Книга *Het Rapenburg* (см. сноску № 5) сообщает, что семейство Гаубиюса обслуживали три служанки (dienstbodes) и один слуга (knecht) (с. 393).

[3] Профессору Гаубиюсу было 75 лет, и хотя он в 1775 году ушел в отставку, он все еще принимал пациентов. Во время короткой встречи в коридоре Дашкова не могла не увидеть в его кабинете князя Григория Григорьевича Орлова, экс-фаворита

в комнаты и, простившись с ним, пошла прогуляться пешком по городу и затем вернулась домой.»[4]

Иероним-Давид Гаубиюс в этот, последний, год своей жизни, жил в одном из самых больших домов на канале Рапенбург,[5] где сейчас в № 65 располагается международное отделение юридического факультета университета.[6] В нескольких десятках шагов от этого места Университетская библиотека хранит память Дашковой в виде ее научного подвига, за который она в 1790 году была награждена императрицей Большой золотой медалью «*РОССЇИСКОМУ СЛОВУ ОТЛИЧНУЮ ПОЛЬЗУ ПРИНЕСШЕМУ*»: Словарь Академии Российской.

Что произошло за эти десять лет? Из Голландии Дашкова продолжала путь через Бельгию, Францию и Италию. В 1781 году она находилась в Вене. Там премьер-министр, князь Кауниц, пригласил ее к себе на обед. В мемуарах Дашкова подробно описывает их беседу:

«За столом он все время говорил о России и, заговорив о Петре I, сказал, что русские ему всем обязаны, так как он создал Россию и русских.
Я отрицала это и высказала мнение, что эту репутацию создали Петру I иностранные писатели, так как он вызвал некоторых из них в Россию, и они из тщеславия величали его создателем России, считая и себя его сотрудниками в деле возрождения России.»[7]

Екатерины II, и его жену, «очевидно пришедших посоветоваться с доктором». Княгиня Орлова страдала грудной болезнью, и она с мужем напрасно переезжала из города в город для консультаций со знаменитыми специалистами. Она умерла в Лозанне 16 июля 1782 года.

[4] Дашкова пишет в своих мемуарах, что жила в апартаментах ее родственника, князя Шаховского.

[5] Th.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, C. Willemijn Fock, A.J. van Dissel, *Het Rapenburg, Geschiedenis van een Leidse gracht.* Deel VIa: *Het Rijck van Pallas*, Leiden, 1992, c. 391-394. Гаубиюс отказался стать лейб-медиком при русском дворе, потому что не хотел покинуть любимый город Лейден и красивый, просторный дом, который он в 1754 году купил за 30 275 голландских гульденов (с. 286). Зато он в 1760 году стал врачом штатгалтера Виллема V. Он не хотел постоянно жить при дворе, потому что хотел наслаждаться своим «дворцом», своей библиотекой с почти 5 000 книгами, своими картинами, своим «Museum Gaubianum», в котором находились анатомические и химические препараты, приборы, горные породы и ископаемые.

[6] Среди бывших студентов имеются и русские выпускники.

[7] Цит. по: *Екатерина Романовна Дашкова, Записки. 1743-1810*, с. 126.

Кауниц напомнил Дашковой о том, что только со времени Петра I страны Европы начали признавать существование России.

«Послушайте, – отвечала я, – такая обширная страна, как Россия, наделенная всеми источниками силы и богатства, не нуждается на пути своего величия в иностранной помощи.»[8]

Хотя Дашкова и признает заслуги Петра I, она упрекает его в жестокости и грубости при достижении своих целей. Заведя речь об Адмиралтействе и морской верфи на берегах Невы, Кауниц замечает: «Вместе с тем отрадно видеть великого монарха, работающего с топором в руке на верфи». Но Дашкова противоречит ему:

«По моему мнению, он забыл свои обязанности, когда губил время в Саардаме, работая сам и изучая голландские термины, которыми он, как это видно из его указов и морской фразеологии, засорил русский язык.»[9]

Этот диспут содержит в себе все важные для нашего рассказа элементы. Петр I своими реформами старался сблизить Россию с Европой. Было ясно, что Россия сильно отстает от Европы, но чтобы нагнать упущенное, необходимо было обращаться к зарубежным странам за помощью. И это была причина недовольства. В Академии наук, созданной Петром I и открытой в 1725 году, вначале работали только иностранцы, а исследования по традиции писались на латыни. Академия «являлась в Петербурге таким же чуждым растением, как и в Пекине, но иначе нельзя было поступить: приходилось призывать на практику чужеземных представителей».[10] Только со вступлением в Академию в 1742 году М. Ломоносова, – физика, химика, естествоиспытателя, а также лингвиста, филолога и поэта, – начался новый этап развития русского языка.

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[8] *Екатерина Романовна Дашкова, Записки княгини*, с. 151.

[9] *Екатерина Романовна Дашкова, Записки княгини*, с. 153. – САР 2002, т. 2, с. 9 приводит из книги *Русская терминография в историческом аспекте* О.В. Борхвальдта: «Во всяком случае, пионером среди терминологических словарей считают *Русско-голландский глоссарий корабельных частей*, составленный лично Петром I в 1697-1698 гг.».

[10] А.Н. Пыпин, *История русской литературы*, т. III., гл. 4 (Ломоносов). – Спб., 1899, с. 492-493, цит. по: Г.А. Богатова, *Словарь Академии российской: Вторая жизнь в XXI веке* в САР 2002, т. 2, с. 10.

Академия наук и художеств

В июле 1782 года, после семилетнего пребывания в разных странах Европы, Дашкова вернулась в Петербург. В декабре, на одном придворном бале, Екатерина II подала Дашковой знак подойти к ней. Княгиня вспоминает об этом:

«Я приблизилась. И если бы я упала прямо с облаков, то менее удивилась бы, чем в ту минуту: императрица предложила мне место директора Академии искусств и наук.»[11]

Дашкова сначала не могла ничего сказать, а потом стала возражать, приводя между прочим, что она как женщина не может руководить Академией наук, что по недостатку своего образования она никогда не искала ученых отличий, хотя в Риме предоставлялся ей случай купить его за несколько дукатов. Князь Потемкин, которому она дала прочитать письмо к императрице с отказом, разорвал его в клочки. Дашкова удивилась и рассердилась, но Потемкин успокоил ее словами, «что императрица, определяя вас на это место, имеет в виду удержать вас в Петербурге и тем самым иметь случай чаще видеться с вами. Говоря правду, ведь она утомлена этим сборищем дураков, которые ее вечно окружают». Ее гнев прошел, она села за другое, более умеренное письмо и кончила его, даже не переодев платье, которое она надела с утра для придворного бала.

«В семь часов письмо было отправлено, и я получила на него ответ. Заметив о моем раннем пробуждении, императрица наговорила мне очень много лестных и обязательных фраз, но ни одного слова об отказе, который она, очевидно, сочла не заслуживающим никакого внимания (...). Таким образом, я очутилась в положении вьючного животного, запряженного в непривычное ярмо, без всякого определенного руководства моих трудов, даже без комиссии, которая, на первый случай могла быть полезной, сообщив мне первоначальный толчок.»[12]

Екатерина Малая вполне оправдала надежды Екатерины Великой: она преобразовала заведение Академии, наладила ее научную и издательскую деятельность, устроила источники академических

[11] *Екатерина Романовна Дашкова, Записки княгини*, с. 168.
[12] Там же, с. 171-172.

доходов, и «думала с самого начала избежать всякого повода ко взаимному неудовольствию и зависти ученых академиков».[13]

Академия наук занималась точными науками. Идеи создания словарей происходила от Санкт-Петербургской Академии наук, но для составления словарей, разработки русского языка, выработки правил правописания, была создана Российская академия.

Российская Императорская Академия

Назначение Екатерины Романовны президентом новой академии для Екатерины II было дело решенное. Дашкова вспоминает:

«Однажды я гуляла с императрицей по Царскосельскому саду. Речь зашла о красоте и богатстве русского языка. Я выразила мое удивление, почему государыня, способная оценить его достоинство и сама писатель, никогда не думала об основании Российской академии. Я заметила, что нужны только правила и хороший словарь, чтобы поставить наш язык в независимое положение от иностранных слов и выражений, не имеющих ни энергии, ни силы, свойственных нашему слову.
«Я и сама удивляюсь, – сказала Екатерина, – почему эта мысль до сих пор не приведена в исполнение. Подобное учреждение для усовершенствования русского языка часто занимало меня, и я уже отдала приказание относительно его».
«Это поистине удивительно, – продолжала я. – Ничего не может быть легче, как осуществить этот план. Образцов для него очень много, и вам остается только выбрать из них самый лучший».
«Пожалуйста, представьте мне, княгиня, очерк какого-нибудь», – сказала императрица.»[14]

Дашкова постаралась убедить Екатерину II, что есть другие, более способные на это дело лица, но императрица настаивала на своем желании, и Дашкова не сочла нужным дольше возражать. Дома она составила план будущего заведения, и, к крайнему ее удивлению, Екатерина утвердила этот наскоро набросанный план собственной подписью как вполне официальный документ и «вместе с ним издала указ, определивший меня президентом новой академии».[15]

[13] Там же, с. 172.
[14] Там же, с. 183.
[15] Там же, с. 184.

Дашкова скоро представила полную смету всех необходимых издержек на устройство новой академии.[16]

«Императрица не привыкла к таким умеренным сметам и, я думаю, скорее изумилась, нежели осталась довольна моим расчетом. (...) учреждение самого полезного заведения, в полном составе своем, обошлось императрице не дороже, чем покупка нескольких орденских звезд.»[17]

При торжественном открытии Российской академии, во вторник 21 октября 1783 года,[18] было зачитано 31 имя «известных людей, знающих Российский язык»[19] в порядке их чина. Ниже они приводятся в алфавитном порядке;[20] буквой «*м*» помечены награжденные золотой медалью академики, а также указан год присуждения медали.

Тайный советник *П.В. Бакунин*; профессор Московского университета *А.А. Барсов*; личный секретарь Екатерины II и фактический министр иностранных дел, в конце жизни – дипломат и канцлер князь *А.А. Безбородко*; митрополит новгородский и санкт-петербургский *Гавриил*$^{\text{м}1786}$; адмирал *И.Л. Голенищев-Кутузов*; директор Академии наук и президент Российской академии княгиня *Е.Р. Дашкова*$^{\text{м}1790}$; поэт, генерал-прокурор, а потом министр юстиции *Г.Р. Державин*; коллежский асессор *С.Е. Десницкий*; кабинет-министр *И.П. Елагин*; архиепископ псковский и рижский *Иннокентий*; писатель *Я.Б. Княжнин*; министр внутренних дел *О.П. Козодавлев*; математик *С.К. Котельников*; действительный статский советник *Н.В. Леонтьев*; надворный советник, медик, непременный секретарь Российской академии *И.И. Лепехин*$^{\text{м}1784}$; писатель *Н.А. Львов*; естествоиспытатель *Н.Я.*

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16 Русская Академия помещалась до 1800 г. в одноэтажном каменном доме на левом берегу Фонтанки, за Обуховским мостом (ныне наб. Фонтанки, 112). Из: *Екатерина Романовна Дашкова, Записки. 1743-1810*, с. 283, сноска № 163.

17 *Екатерина Романовна Дашкова, Записки княгини*, с. 185.

18 Даты даются по старому стилю, по юлианскому календарю.

19 А.И. Красовский, «Опыт истории Императорской Российской Академии от основания оной в 1783 году по 1840 год. Первый период. От 21 октября 1783 по 12 ноября 1796 года», *Журнал Министерства Народного Просвещения* 1848, ч. LX, отд. III, цит. по: Н.В. Карлов «ДВЕ АКАДЕМИИ, ЛЮДИ И СВЕРШЕНИЯ», *Вестник Российской Академии наук* 72/7, 2002, с. 646-653.

20 М.И. Сухомлинов, *Сборникъ отдѣленія русскаго языка и словесности императорской академіи наукъ* XXXVII/1. *Исторія россійской академіи*, выпускъ VII, С.-Петербургъ 1885, с. 442-446. А.А. Ржевский почему-то не приводится в списке членов Академии в САР 1789, ч. I, с. XVII-XVIII.

Озерецковский; управляющий кабинетом ее величества действительный тайный советник *А.В. Олсуфьев*; духовник Екатерины II *И.И. Панфилов*; медик *А.П. Протасов*; писатель *А.А. Ржевский*; физик, астроном, вице-президент Академии *С.Я. Румовский*[м1790]; генерал майор *П.А. Соймонов*; президент Академии художеств граф *А.С. Строганов*; генерал майор *П.И. Турчанинов*; коллежский советник *В.А. Ушаков*; переводчик, поэт-сатирик и драматург *Денис И. Фон-Визин*; профессор Московского университета *М.М. Херасков*; действительный статский советник *А.В. Храповицкий*; обер-камергер Екатерины II и писатель *И.И. Шувалов*; надворный советник *С.Н. Щепотьев*.

Также со дня открытия академии считались членами российской академии: протоиерей московского собора *П.А. Алексеев*; историк *И.Н. Болтин*[м1786]; генерал-фельдмаршал князь *Г.А. Потемкин-Таврический*.[21]

Президент Дашкова в своей вступительной речи обрисовала присутствующим преимущества русского языка, его недостатки и объявила программу Академии: создать прежде всего Российскую грамматику и Российский словарь.

На следующем собрании, 28 октября, Фонвизин сделал первый шаг к составлению словаря. Полагая, что для успешного хода дела необходимо установить порядок или план, Академия образовала из своей среды *отдел* или *отряд*, чья задача состояла в том, чтобы выработать важнейшие принципы составления словаря. Членами этого отряда были избраны Фонвизин, Леонтьев, Румовский, Лепехин, митрополит Гавриил.[22]

Уже на заседании Академии 11 ноября опытный в словарном деле Фонвизин читал

« «начертаніе для составленія толковаго славено-россійскаго словаря». При чтеніи сдѣлано было только два возраженія, а именно. Въ начертаніи говорилось: «Славенскія слова неупотребительныя или коихъ знаменованіе опредѣлить неудобно не должны имѣть мѣста въ словарѣ» и «Многія есть слова, которыя объяснять не должно, каковы суть всѣ, означающія всеобщія существъ собственности, напр. *бытіе*, *пространство*, *время* и проч.» Противъ перваго возражала Дашкова, противъ втораго – другіе члены, а Дашкова приняла сторону Фонвизина.[23] Въ слѣдующемъ собраніи, 18 ноября 1783 года,

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[21] «О немъ только однажды упоминается въ запискахъ засѣданій россійской академіи, – при извѣстіи о его смерти», Сухомлинов, с. 446.

[22] Сухомлинов, с. 11, Собрание 28 октября 1783 года.

разсуждаемо было о составленномъ Фонвизинымъ начертанiи или планѣ толковаго словаря, и планъ этотъ «всѣми членами признанъ былъ за достаточный».[24] Но въ приговорѣ этомъ не участвовалъ самый строгiй изъ критиковъ въ академической средѣ Иванъ Никитичъ Болтинъ, и представленныя имъ замѣчанiя заставили академиковъ пересмотрѣть и перевершить дѣло.»

В отсутствии Фонвизина, который в то время находился в Москве, академики на собрании 30 января 1784 года приняли примечания Болтина, направленные против плана Фонвизина. Фонвизин, узнав об этом,

«подъ свѣжимъ впечатлѣнiемъ полученнаго извѣстiя написалъ дѣльное и остроумное письмо къ своему сочлену по академiи – Осипу Петровичу Козодавлеву.»

В длинном письме Фонвизин защищает свои взгляды. Например, против нового решения внести в словарь собственные имена он возражает:

«Собственныя имена отнюдь не составляютъ существа языка, а *уменьшительныя* ихъ еще меньше, и если *Ивану* нѣтъ мѣста въ лексиконѣ, тѣмъ менѣе *Ванькѣ* такая претензiя прилична. Чтожъ касается до *увеличивательныхъ*, будто духовными особами употребляемыхъ, то я отъ роду не слыхивалъ, чтобъ собственныя имена имѣли когда-нибудь *увеличивательныя*. Знаю, что бываютъ они полныя и сокращенныя, наприм. *Iоаннъ*, *Иванъ*; но не думаю, чтобъ какой-нибудь архiерей назвалъ себя когда-нибудь *смиренный Iоаннище*. (...)
Академiя положила принять въ словарь изъ собственныхъ именъ только самыя употребительныя; но какъ можно опредѣлить, которое имя есть самое употребительное и которое нѣтъ? Всякiй за свое имя вступится. Въ вашемъ домѣ *Осипъ*, въ моемъ *Денисъ* весьма употребительны, и мнѣ кажется, что всякое имя нарекается христiанину при святомъ крещенiи точно для того, чтобъ оно было употребительно. Вѣрьте мнѣ, что буде въ лексиконѣ нашемъ помѣстятся и одни тѣ, кои признаны будутъ самыми употребительными, то они съ своими *уменьшительными*, *привѣтственными*, *уничижительными*, и проч. составятъ въ словарѣ нашемъ однихъ *Петрушекъ*, *Ванюшекъ*,

[23] Сухомлинов, с. 11, Собрание 11 ноября 1783 года.
[24] Сухомлинов, с. 12, Собрание 28 (sic) ноября 1783 года.

Анютокъ, *Маренутокъ* по крайней мѣрѣ не меньше тридцати тысячъ душъ. Тридцать тысячъ душъ имѣть хорошо, но не въ лексиконѣ!»[25]

Замечания Фонвизина на «Примечания» Болтина были учтены, все предложения историка отвергнуты, и 12 марта 1784 г. на заседании Академии окончательно восторжествовала точка зрения Фонвизина. Его «Начертание» и прилагаемый «Способ, коим работа Толкового словаря словено-российского языка скорее и удобнее производиться может» отныне бесповоротно становятся основными пособиями в «сочинении» Академического Словаря.[26]

На собрании Академии 9 сентября 1785 года был решен вопрос как называть Словарь:

«Словарь (...) первоначально называли *славянороссійскимъ*, но такъ какъ въ немъ помѣщались и многія изъ иностранныхъ словъ, изгнать которыя нѣтъ никакой возможности, то и рѣшено назвать его просто *словаремъ россійской академіи.*»[27]

Словарь

«был предметом очень жаркой критики, в особенности относительно метода расположения слов, принятого согласно этимологической, а не алфавитной системе. Возражали, что словарь запутан и худо приспособлен к народному употреблению – это возражение было сделано мне самой государыней и потом подхвачено с радостью придворными куртизанами. Когда Екатерина спросила меня, почему мы не приняли более простого метода, я отвечала, что в первом лексиконе какого бы то ни было языка такая система не представляет ничего странного. Она облегчает труд отыскивать и узнавать корни слов; вместе с тем, академия в течение трех лет повторит издание,

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25 Сухомлинов, с. 12-13, Собрание 30 января 1784 года. – Фонвизин знал о чем говорит. В 1769 году он перешел на службу к министру Н.И. Панину. Получив в награду от императрицы 9000 душ крестьян, министр оставил себе только 5000, а остальные разделил между своими секретарями, при чем на долю Фонвизина досталось 1180 душ, см. *Сочинения Д.И. Фонвизина, Полное собрание оригинальных произведений с кратким биографическим очерком*, ред. А.И. Введенского, С.-Петербург, 1893, с. 10.

26 Цит. по: А.С. Курилов, *Фонвизин Денис Иванович,* в САР 2004, т. 4 , с. 52.

27 Записки заседаний российской академии. Собрания: 28 февраля 1785 года, ст. I, *л.* 60; – 9 сентября 1785 года, ст. I, *л.* 73. Цит. по: Сухомлинов, с. 136. – Название образовано по аналогии с *Le Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, первый том которого был переведен на русский язык в 1773 году, см. САР 2002, т. 2, с. 15.

расположит его по алфавиту и во всех отношениях усовершенствует.»[28]

Дашкова решила поставить вопрос на первом заседании:

«Все члены совета, как и надобно было ожидать, выразили единодушное мнение,[29] что первый словарь невозможно иначе расположить и что второе издание будет полнее и в алфавитном порядке. В следующий раз я передала императрице общий отзыв академиков и их доказательства. Государыня осталась при своем мнении (...).»[30]

Составители словаря старались устранить недостатки гнездовой системы приложением алфавитного списка слов:

«Самая главнѣйшая неудобность въ семъ порядкѣ состоитъ въ прїискиванїи словъ производныхъ и сложныхъ; но для отвращенїя оныя приложена роспись всѣмъ словамъ и реченїямъ по чину азбучному, съ означенїемъ столбцовъ, на которомъ какое слово находится.»[31]

«Екатерина, стремившаяся во всем установить закон и незыблемый порядок, хотела дать уложение и русскому языку. Академия, повинуясь ее наказу, тотчас приступила к составлению словаря. Императрица приняла в нем участие не только словом, но и делом. Часто осведомлялась она об успехе начатого труда, и несколько раз слыша, что словарь доведен до буквы *Н*, сказала однажды с видом некоторого нетерпения: всё *Наш да Наш!* когда же вы мне скажете: *Ваш*? Академия удвоила старание. Через несколько времени на вопрос императрицы: что словарь? отвечали ей, что Академия дошла до буквы *П*. Императрица улыбнулась и заметила, что Академии пора было бы *Покой* оставить.»[32]

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[28] *Екатерина Романовна Дашкова, Записки княгини*, с. 186-187.

[29] В статье «Е.Р. Дашкова и словарь ее эпохи», в САР 2001, т. 1, с. 16 говорится о баллотировке: 38 против 17. Видимо, в баллотировке принимали участие не только 34 академика, но и другие лица, или же это заседание не было первым заседанием 21 октября 1783 г.

[30] *Екатерина Романовна Дашкова, Записки княгини*, с. 187. Гнездовая система затрудняет, например, поиск слова *челобитье* в гнезде *БІЮ*: «БІЮ... *Бью челомъ.* Земно кланяюся. Реченїе сїе употреблялося изстари во всѣхъ прошенїяхъ, въ присутственныя мѣста подаваемыхъ; но нынѣ по высочайшему соизволенїю ЕКАТЕРИНЫ II. возведшїя Россїянъ на верхъ славы, отмѣнено, какъ и производныя отъ него: *челобитье, челобитная, челобитчикъ, челобитчиковый.*» (САР 1789, ч. I, столбцы 173-174).

[31] Предисловие к первой части САР 1789, ч. I, с. XI.

В 1789 году вышла в свет *Часть I от А до Г.*[33] Уже в следующем году была опубликована *Часть II от Г до З*. В 1792 году последовала *Часть III от З до М*. *Часть IV от М до Р* появилась в 1793 году, а в 1794 году, за два года до смерти Екатерины Великой, были опубликованы *Часть V от Р до Т*, и *Часть VI от Т до V*. Словарь содержал 43 257 слов и словарных статей.[34]

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[32] А.С. Пушкин: «Российская Академия», *Пушкин, Полное собрание сочинений* АН СССР, М., 1949, т. 12, с. 41.

[33] Буквы на *А, Б, В* приняли на себя «честнѣйшїе Отцы, Протоїерей Іоаннъ Красовскїй, и Іерей Іоанн Сидоровскїй». Они были избраны на собрании Академии 5-го октября 1784 года (по данным Сухомлинова с. 446 они считались членами с 28 октября 1783 года), в замену тех членов, которые «принявшїе на себя добровольно сей трудъ, по обязательствамъ к службѣ, не могли исполнить своего благонамѣренїя, и многїе изъ нихъ находятся въ отсутствїи» (Предисловие к САР 1790, ч. II, с. IV и XI). Екатерина Романовна Дашкова или, – как она сама пишет свою фамилию по принципу *писать как говорят* – Дашкава, «употребила трудъ въ собранїи словъ, буквеннымъ порядкомъ, на писмена *Ц, Ш,* и *Щ*» (Предисловие к САР 1790, ч. II, с. VII). – В мемуарах буквы не уточняются. В книге *Екатерина Романовна Дашкова, Записки. 1743-1810*, с. 167 она «взяла на себя собрать слова, начинающиеся на определенные три буквы алфавита, и согласилась исполнить работу (...)». Так же и в книге *Екатерина Дашкова, Записки 1743-1810* Калининградского книжного издательства 2001, с. 291, которая печатается по вышеупомянутому изданию. Во французском издании (см. сноску № 2): «Je pris sur moi derechef de collecter pour trois lettres de l'alphabet les mots qui commençaient par elles» (с. 182). Издание мемуаров из Минска завалило княгиню работой: «trois lettres de l'alphabet» и «les mots qui commençaient par elles» превратились в «все слова» и в «первые три буквы нашей азбуки»: «Мое участие в составлении словаря состояло в наборе всех слов, начинающихся на первые три буквы нашей азбуки. Каждую субботу мы собирались вместе для отыскания корней слов (...)», цит. по: *Екатерина Романовна Дашкова, Записки княгини*, с. 188. Буквой *А* занимались на самом высоком уровне: «Въ собраніи россійской академіи 24 февраля 1784 года, княгиня Е.Р. Дашкова «предложила собранію письменныя примѣчанія, писанныя рукою ея императорскаго величества, къ пополненію словъ, по буквѣ *А* собранныхъ, служащія, которыя съ достодолжнымъ благоговѣніемъ и благодареніемъ академіею приняты, и положено помѣстить ихъ въ своихъ мѣстахъ, поелику предпріятыя къ составленію словаря правила сіе позволяютъ. Рукопись же повелѣно хранить въ академическомъ книгохранилищѣ, яко неоцѣненный залогъ высокомонаршаго къ россїйской академіи и отечественному языку благоволенія» (Записки засѣданій россійской академіи. Собраніе 24 февраля 1784 года, см.: Сухомлинов, с. 397-398). – Слова, начинающиеся с буквы *А, Б, В*, поставляли и другие академики, см. Краткое начертаніе трудовъ императорской россійской академіи отъ ея учрежденія, до изданія сея вторыя части, САР 1790, ч. II, с. III-XIII.

[34] Из 364 заседаний Российской академии, падающих на годы, когда Дашкова была президентом, две трети прошли под ее личным председательством. Цит. по: *Лия Лозинская*, «Во главе двух академий», http://www.n-t.ru/ri/lz/da04.htm.

В 1848 году САР «составляет уже редкое и весьма дорогое сочинение, которое осталось в немногих книгохранилищах».[35] В начале XX в. революцией и войной многие городские и деревенские библиотеки были уничтожены. Доступность его была затруднена. Наступили темные времена. В 20-30е годы XX в. «между Академией и властью отношения не были безоблачны (...)». Обыск, ссылка, арест:

«Идея обвинения по созданию русского националистического центра прерастала в дело славистов.
Все это наводит на мысль, что «Словарь Академии Российской», созданный княгиней Дашковой и элитой русского придворного общества (князья, графы, послы, тайные советники, министры) и авторами из духовной среды[36] (три митрополита, семь протоиереев...), писателями и академиками, опекаемый Екатериной II, был в 20-е годы если не под негласным арестом, то «под подозрением», он как бы не был признан «по классовому составу» исполнителей, «забыт». В десятитомной «Истории русской литературы», изданный в 1941-1947 гг., анализ данных САР и его роли в создании литературного языка нового времени отсутствует. Словарь просто упомянут в одном или двух местах (всего два абзаца).»[37]

Также в 1941 году должен был выйти в свет первый том нового предприятия Академии наук, пятнадцатитомного *Словаря современного русского литературного языка*. Но война и блокада Ленинграда нарушили нормальный ход работы. Работа возобновилась только в 1945 году, и первый том появился в 1948 году тиражом в 3 000 экземпляров и в 1950 году тиражом в 25 000 экземпляров. Порядок расположения слов в Словаре – алфавитный. Но группы слов,

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[35] А. Красовский, *Опыт истории императорской российской Академии от основания оной в 1783 году...* Сочинение написано в 1839 году по просьбе А.С. Шишкова. Опубликовано в 1848 г. в *Журнал Министерства Народного Просвещения*, с. 21, цит. по: САР 2001, т. 1, с. 23.

[36] САР можно считать глубоко религиозной книгой, которая была не по вкусу тогдашним властям. Он описывает не только Российский язык, но и Славенский язык, т.е. язык «просвѣщенія Славянъ словомъ Евангельскія истинны», см. Предисловие к САР 1789, ч. I, с. VII. На с. XIII утверждается: «Академія почла за нужное слѣдовать въ Словарѣ своемъ правописанію книгъ церковныхъ». Объяснение слова БО́ГЪ начинается так: «Предвѣчное и верховнѣйшее существо, отъ котораго всѣ прочія существа пріяли начало бытія своего, и о коемъ существуютъ». Слова и выражения со словом «богъ» занимают примерно 12 столбцов.

[37] Цит. по: Г.А. Богатова, «XVIII век – взгляд из XX века», в САР 2001, т. 1, с. 23 и 24.

образованных от одной основы и связанных по значению, объединяются в одну гнездовую словарную статью. Приводятся четыре основания для принятия гнездовой системы построения Словаря. Аргументы те же самые, которыми Дашкова старалась убедить императрицу Екатерину, и это не удивительно, ведь

«Используя старую, более чем полуторастолетнюю традицию академических словарей, редакция настоящего Словаря ставила себе задачей объединить лучшие признанные положения этой традиции с лингвистической теорией и практикой нашей современности.»[38]

Второй том, буква *В*, вышел в свет в 1951 году тиражом в 26 000 экземпляров. Выпуск третьего тома задержался: он был подготовлен еще до дискуссии по вопросам языкознания. А после опубликования труда И.В. Сталина «Марксизм и вопросы языкознания» он должен был подвергнуться переработке. Гнездовой способ расположения слов, однако, остался без изменений. Третий том вышел в 1954 году, также тиражом в 26 000 экземпляров. В первых трех томах прилагаются, как и в САР, алфавитные указатели толкуемых слов.

Постановлением Президиума АН СССР от 4 июля 1952 г. было признано необходимым осуществить перестройку Словаря, начиная с четвертого его тома. В 1955 году, наконец, желание Екатерины Великой было исполнено:

«Прежде всего, устраняется система гнездового расположения слов, как явно мешающая справочной цели издания. Недостатки гнездового расположения слов в толковом словаре стали очевидны уже после завершения издания «Словаря Академии Российской 1789-1794 гг.». Поэтому, окончив работу над словопроизводным словарем и выпустив его в свет, Российская Академия приступила сразу к работе над вторым академическим словарем. Это второе издание порывало с системой гнездования и выходило с 1806 по 1822 г. под наименованием «Словарь Академии Российской по азбучному порядку расположенный». Новая попытка применения В.И. Далем в его «Толковом словаре живого великорусского языка» этого несовершенного способа размещения слов встретила резкие и справедливые осуждения критики. Возврат к гнездовому расположению слов в Академическом словаре в сороковые годы двадцатого века может быть понят в связи с путаницей и неразберихой в языкознании,

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[38] *Словарь современного русского литературного языка* АН СССР, М.-Л., 1948 и 1950, т. 1, От редакции, с. III.

порожденными «новым учением о языке» акад. Н.Я. Марра, и объяснен ими.»[39]

В четвертом томе, (тираж 23 500 экземпляров), как и в последующих томах слова располагаются в алфавитном порядке. В 1965 году семнадцатый том (тираж: 13 600 экземпляров) завершает издание *Словаря современного русского языка Академии Наук СССР* или просто *Большого Академического Словаря* (БАС). Всего в Словаре 120 480 слов.

Через 26 лет после его завершения БАС, награжденный в 1970 г. Ленинской премией, «давно уже стал библиографической редкостью», как пишется в 1991 году в предисловии к первому тому (тираж: 100 000 экземпляров) нового издания.[40] Редакторы второго, переработанного и дополненного издания окончательно расправляются со всеми возражениями и соображениями знаменитых предшественников:

«Во втором издании Словаря устранена алфавитно-гнездовая система расположения слов, принятая в первых трех томах первого издания. Слова располагаются теперь строго в алфавитном порядке.»[41]

В 1994 году тиражом в 10 060 экземпляров были опубликованы в одном переплете два тома V-VI, буквы Е-З.

По-видимому, на словарное дело повлияли бурные события последних лет. Мир уже 11 лет ждет седьмого тома из предвиденных двадцати. Ждет уже такой срок, за который Екатерина Романовна Дашкова успела выпустить в свет полный словарь, начиная с самого начала.

Свой экземпляр «библиографической редкости» великодушно выдал мне на дом из своей личной библиотеки на длительное пользование Фриц Кортландт, чье 60-летие его ученики и коллеги сегодня торжественно отмечают и с которым они его от всего сердца поздравляют. Ему посвящается эта история, этим я хочу выразить признательность за то, что я долгие годы, дома, днем и ночью, могла «вести разговоры»[42] с этим Большим Академическим Словарем.

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[39] *Словарь современного русского литературного языка* АН СССР, М.-Л., 1955, т. 4, Предисловие, с. III.

[40] *Словарь современного русского литературного языка*, издание второе, переработанное и дополненное, М., 1991, т. I, с. 5.

[41] Там же, с. 8.

[42] «Хотелось бы отметить незаметный при беглом просмотре, но очевидный при внимательном чтении «разговор с читателем». В этом смысле особенно

Переиздание

В 1999 году по поводу 275-летия Российской Академии Наук в выставочном зале музея им. В.И. Вернадского в Москве проходила выставка «Наука – людям», на которой, в связи с многочисленными вопросами посетителей, родилась идея переиздания САР. Из-за плохого состояния томов, имевшихся в расположении издателя, простая репродукция Словаря оказалась невозможной. Было решено сделать исправленное и самыми современными способами переработанное переиздание. Эту задачу взял на себя созданный в 1992 году Московский гуманитарный институт имени Е.Р. Дашковой. Начиная с 2001 года, в дашковских темпах каждый год выходит в свет очередной том, так что в 2006 году, наверно, мы отметим не только день рождения Фрица Кортландта, но и день полного возрождения Словаря Академии Российской. И в XXI веку, в Лейденской университетской библиотеке на канале Witte Singel, он, в зеленом переплете с золотыми буквами, все еще «принадлежит к числу тех феноменов, коими Россия удивляет внимательных иноземцев».[43]

интересны так называемые «анонимные речения», т.е. иллюстрации, сочиненные составителями Словаря, поскольку в них говорит, выражает свои эмоции и выносит свой «приговор» реальный человек (интеллигент) конца XVIII века. Создатели САР, безусловно, отдавали себе отчет в воздействии своего произведения на умы современников и, как в своих определениях (внутри лексикографической дефиниции), так и в иллюстративном материале, цитатах, проводили свое видение описываемого явления, в чем проявилась нравственно-воспитательная и даже религиозная установка Словаря». Из: М.И. Чернышева, «Состав и структура Словаря Академии Российской» в САР 2002, т. 2, с. 38. Пример из САР 1789, ч. I, 582-583: «Увожу̀ (...) Повозкою или водянымъ судномъ кого или что противъ воли, или украдкою, воровски, а иногда и спасая; отвожу съ собою. (...) *Голландцы часто пріѣзжихъ заманивъ на корабль увозятъ въ Остъиндїю*» (...). – Пример «разговора с читателем» из БАС, т. 3, с. 211: «Узнав, что девушка голландка, Оганесян стал, конечно, прежде всего расспрашивать ее о нидерландской живописи и о судьбе тамошних музеев. Казаков. *Весна на Одере*, ч. II, гл. 7».

[43] Эти слова Н.М. Карамзина приводятся на обороте переплета САР 2001, т. 1. Они взяты из речи Карамзина, произнесенной в Российской Академии 5 декабря 1818 г. по случаю его избрания в члены Академии. А.С. Пушкин цитирует эти слова в своей статье «Российская Академия», напечатанной им в *Современнике* 1836 г., кн. II, с. 5-13: «Карамзин справедливо удивляется таковому подвигу. «Полный Словарь, изданный Академиею», говорит он, принадлежит к числу тех феноменов, коими Россия удивляет внимательных иноземцев; наша, без сомнения, счастливая судьба во всех отношениях есть какая-то необыкновенная скорость: мы зреем не веками, а десятилетиями. Италия, Франция, Англия, Германия славились уже многими великими писателями, еще не имея словаря: мы имели церковные, духовные книги; имели стихотворцев, писателей, но только одного

Из окон библиотеки открывается вид на Ботанический Сад Лейденского университета, который находится в нескольких шагах от дома профессора Гаубиюса. В этот сад в 60-х годах XVIII века на стажировку попал поклонник Карла Линнея,[44] студент Санкт-Петербургского университета Иван Иванович Лепехин (1740-1802). В семидесятых годах он, географ, натуралист, путешественник, в Петербурге руководил Ботаническим садом и за многочисленные заслуги был избран академиком.[45] По решению коллег он стал непременным секретарем Российской академии и тем самым ближайшим сотрудником Екатерины Романовны Дашковой.[46] Может быть, они в свободную минуту и вспоминали о красивом Рапенбурге в голландском городе Лейден. Празднуя первую годовщину своего существования, академия присудила первую золотую медаль ее президенту Дашковой. А она, уступив ее своему непременному секретарю, приняла почетную награду лишь в 1790 году.[47]

Лейден

истинно классического (Ломоносова), и представили систему языка, которая может равняться с знаменитыми творениями Академий Флорентинской и Парижской», *Пушкин, Полное собрание сочинений Академии наук СССР*, М., 1949, т. 12, с. 41-42.

[44] В 1730 г. сад стал слишком маленьким и конкуренция с городом Утрехт слишком большой. Решили расширить сад с канала *Doelengracht* до *Stadtsingel*, теперь *Witte Singel*. Линнею, приехавшему в Лейден в 1735 году, предложили, чтобы он в качестве руководителя (hortulanus) организовал Ботанический Сад по своей новаторской системе *Methodus sexualis*, опубликованной в Лейдене в 1737 г. Хотя он отказался от этого предложения, он подсказал оформление сада, идя на компромисс между своей системой и эклектической системой Бурхааве. В Лейдене опубликованы *Системы природы* (1735), *Genera plantarum, и Critica botanica* (Willem Otterspeer, *De vestiging van de macht: de Leidse universiteit 1673-1775*, Amsterdam, 2002, с. 121 и 297).

[45] Цит. по данным статьи О.Н. Трубачева *Лепехин Иван Иванович награжден медалью в 1784 году* в САР 2003, т. 3, с. 51.

[46] При отсутствии Дашковой, Лепехин замещал ее на собраниях. Он – главный мотор всех комиссий Словаря, издательских его дел. В 1789 году он подписал к печати первый том САР. В колоритном, лирическом описании зверей и растений чувствуется его рука.

[47] Лепехин сообщил об этом отсутствующему Державину. Державин отвечал Лепехину следующим письмом 13 января 1785 года, из Петрозаводска: «Милостивый государь мой Иванъ Ивановичъ! Покорную вамъ приношу благодарность за доставленіе листовъ словаря, а паче описанія торжества академическаго. Радуюсь чистосердечно, что вы хотя малое получили поощреніе за труды ваши, и княгиня Катерина Романовна достойно ея великодушія поступила, что почесть свою уступила вамъ. Да будете всегда – она славою, а вы притомъ и златомъ – отъ Всевышняго награжденны.» (Сухомлинов, с. 6).

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ARCHAISCHE WÖRTER IN DEN MALBERGISCHEN GLOSSEN DER 'LEX SALICA'[1]

AREND QUAK

1. Einleitung

Zu den ältesten volkssprachlichen Zeugnissen in den germanischen Sprachen gehören die sogenannten Malbergischen Glossen der 'Lex Salica' [= MGl.]. Es handelt sich dabei um Erklärungen zu den einzelnen Paragraphen dieses Gesetzestextes, die auf das 6. oder 7. Jahrhundert zurückgehen dürften. Auf diese Zeit deutet wenigstens das Fehlen des Umlauts und der zweiten Lautverschiebung - insoweit nicht überhaupt eine unverschobene fränkische Mundart vorliegt. Das Problem allerdings ist die Überlieferung dieser Glossen. Bekanntlich sind sie erst in Handschriften aus dem späten 8. und aus dem 9. Jahrhundert erhalten, wobei die romanischen Abschreiber die altfränkischen Glossen häufig nicht mehr verstanden und sie daher bis zur Unkenntlichkeit verballhornten oder gar diese "griechischen" Wörter wegließen (Handschrift A3). Die ursprünglichen Formen müssen also durch genauen Textvergleich der einzelnen Handschriften mühsam rekonstruiert werden, was immer eine gewisse Unsicherheit mit sich bringt. Dennoch hat sich die Forschung seit dem 19. Jahrhundert immer wieder mit diesen volkssprachlichen Wörtern auseinandergesetzt in der Hoffnung, ihnen doch einige Erkenntnisse über die fränkische Sprache dieser frühen Periode abzugewinnen.

Im Folgenden soll der Versuch unternommen werden, einige Formen genauer zu betrachten, wobei an erster Stelle solche Wörter gewählt wurden, die nur eine beschränkte Verbreitung im germanischen Raum aufweisen. Sie sind neben den MGl. häufig nur noch im Altnordischen überliefert, wo sie manchmal sogar das normale Wort bilden. Das ist auffällig, da diese germanische Sprache geographisch doch sehr weit vom fränkischen Text der 'Lex Salica' entfernt ist. Die Frage, die man dabei stellen kann und hier zentral steht, ist die, ob ein solches Wort archaisch und somit bereits in

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[1] Anlass zu dieser Studie ist die Arbeit an einem altniederländischen Wörterbuch, in das auch die Malbergischen Glossen aufgenommen werden sollen, da sie eine mit den altniederländischen Mundarten eng verwandte fränkische Mundart repräsentieren dürften. Vgl. Pijnenburg u.a. 2003, namentlich S. 5-18.

den MGl. als Relikt aufzufassen ist, oder ob man an eine andere Erklärung denken soll. Zu diesem Zweck soll auch der eventuelle indoeuropäische Zusammenhang geklärt werden.

2. Die Vokabeln

Den ganzen archaischen Wortschatz der Malbergischen Glossen darzustellen, würde den Rahmen dieses Beitrags sprengen. Es können hier nur ein paar herausgegriffen werden. Im Zusammenhang mit dem geplanten altniederländischen Wörterbuch sollen jedoch zu seiner Zeit alle Glossen noch einmal kritisch überprüft werden.

2.1 **gim(n)-* 'Winter, winterlich'.

Eine alte Bezeichnung für den Winter scheint in einigen Glossen vorhanden zu sein. Es handelt sich um folgende Belege[2]:

(1) PLS II,4: *Si quis porcellum de campo furaverit qui sine matrem vivere possit, et ei fuerit adprobatum, XI. denarios qui faciunt solidum I culpabilis iudicetur excepto capitale et dilatura.* 'Wenn einer ein Ferkel vom Felde, das ohne Mutter leben kann, stiehlt und es ihm nachgewiesen wird, werde er 40 Pfennige, die machen 1 Schilling außer Wert und Weigerungsgeld zu schulden verurteilt' (Eckhardt 1955: 119-121). Die Handschriften überliefern dazu als Glosse: A2: *mal. in zymus sunt*; A3: *mal. imnis fit sunt*; C6: *malb. hinnifliht (< hinnifiht) siue tertega sunt; Herold: malb. ymnisfith siue thertesun*. Die entsprechende Stelle in der LS II,2 lautet ähnlich: *Si quis porcellum furauerit, qui sine matre uiuere possit, et ei fuerit adprobatum, <sunt dinarii XL qui faciunt> solidus I culpabilis iudicetur excepto capitale et dilatura*. Die Handschriften überliefern hier: D7: *mal. hymnis thetica*; D8: *malb. hymnis thetica*; D9: *himnes theta* (auf Rasur). Eckhardt sieht in der ersten Glosse eine Bezeichnung für Sühnegeld. Das dürfte nicht stimmen, da es im Text um Ferkel geht und das Wort *thertica* eben ein solches Tier zu bezeichnen scheint.[3] Es ist eher anzunehmen, dass eine Glosse wie etwa: *gimnis fig* 'ein Winter altes Ferkel' oder ähnliches vorliegt, was der Bemerkung im Paragraphen, dass das Tier ohne Mutter leben kann, entspricht. Schon Kern (443-43) denkt daher an *fit(h) = fich* und identifiziert dies mit mnl. *vigge* 'Ferkel' (MNW IX,473), der flämischen Form von mnl bigge 'Ferkel'. Das scheint in diesem Zusammenhang

[2] Die Formen und Bedeutungen richten sich zunächst mal nach der Ausgabe von Eckhardt (1955). Die Zitate werden aus der Ausgabe der MGH übernommen: PLS = Pactus Legis Salica, LS = Lex Salica.

wahrscheinlicher, vor allem, weil **gim-* auch in anderen Paragraphen eine Zeitbestimmung 'Winter' oder 'Jahr' wiederzugeben scheint (s. unten). In A3 scheint somit eine ältere (?) Glosse **gimnis fich* vorzuliegen, die in C6 und bei Herold ergänzt wurde: **gimnis fich sive thertica*, während A2 vermutlich nur die Form **(ain)gimnis* 'einwintrig' hat, die vermutlich aus einem anderen Paragraphen übernommen worden ist (s. unten), wie das in dieser Handschrift häufiger passiert. Die D-Handschriften scheinen eine Glosse **gimnis thertica*, 'ein *thertica* von einem Winter', zu haben, wobei *fich durch ein anderes Wort ersetzt worden ist.

(2) PLS II,7: *Si quis porcum anniculum furauerit, CXX denarios qui faciunt solidus III culpabilis iudicetur excepto capitale et dilatura.* 'Wenn einer ein einjähriges Schwein stiehlt, werde er 120 Pfennige, die machen 3 Schillinge außer Wert und Weigerungsgeld zu schulden verurteilt'. Die Handschriften bieten: A1: *mal. drache hoc est*[4]; A2: *mal. inzymus sunt*; A3: *malb. ingis mus*; C6: *malb. inzymis natariae*; Herold: *malb. in Zymis ethatia*. Die Glosse dürfte hier ursprünglich, wie in A2 und A3, etwa **aingim(n)-* 'einwintrig' bzw. **ainiâri-* 'einjährig' als Entsprechung zu lat. *anniculum* gelautet haben, vgl. Quak u.a. 1983: 18-19. Die Schreiber der Texte in C6 und Herold scheinen das Wort **aingim(n)-* nicht mehr verstanden und eine Verdeutlichung hinzugefügt zu haben. Man könnte daraus die Schlussfolgerung ziehen, dass •*aingim(n)-* schon im 6. oder 7. Jahrhundert als altmodisch oder unverständlich empfunden wurde, falls nicht eine andere Mundart vorliegt. Van Helten (1902: 259) denkt in PLS II,7 an **chaltia ainiaria,* das dann zu **chaltia aniaria* geworden wäre. Durch Augensprung wäre daraus *chataria* geworden. Dies scheint weniger wahrscheinlich.

(3) PLS II,8: *Si quis porcum bimum furauerit, DC denarios, qui faciunt solidos XV culpabilis iudicetur excepto capitale et dilatura.* 'Wenn einer ein zweijähriges Schwein stiehlt werde er 600 Pfennige, die machen 15 Schillinge außer Wert und Weigerungsgeld zu schulden verurteilt'. Die Handschriften haben: C6: *malb. inzymis senio*; Herold: *malb. in Zymis-suoagni*; Herold (noot bij II,8): *Zymisengano sol. XV*. Diese Stelle entspricht LS II,3: *Si quis bimum porcum furauierit, solidus XV culpabilis*

[3] Höfinghoff (1987: 69ff.) neigt eher zu Kerns Lösung, vor allem im Hinblick auf *tertussum* in § 12. Dann könnte das Wordt auf **terd-* zurückgehen, das mit ahd. *zart* 'zart' verwandt ist und sich auf 'Spanferkel' bezieht. Eher ist an eine Doppeltglossiering zu denken, wie Quak u.a. (1983) annehmen: *gimnis ficho terdigo.*

[4] Gehört zu II,12.

iudicetur excepto capitale et dilatura. Dabei haben die Handschriften: D7: *mal. inzimus* [< *izimus*] *sinani*; *malb. ingismus suianni id est*; D9: *mal. in zimis suiani*. Der zweite Teil der Glosse ist wohl als *suaini-* 'Herde' zu lesen, das auch sonst im Text der 'Lex Salica' vorkommt.[5] Vermutlich liegt im ersten Teil eine Glosse **tuigimn-* 'zweijährig' vor, denn im lateinischen Text ist ausdrücklich von *bimum* die Rede, vgl. auch 2.6. Durch den Einfluss des häufiger vorkommenden **aingimn-* ist dann der Anfang des Wortes abgeändert worden (vgl. Quak e.a. 1983: 19-20).

(4) LPS II,10: *Si quis tres porcos aut amplius furauerit, <usque ad sex capita>, MCCCC denarios qui faciunt solidos XXXV culpabilis iudicetur excepto capitale et dilatura.* 'Wenn einer drei Schweine <bis zu sechs Häuptern> stiehlt, sind 1400 Pfennige, die machen 35 Schillinge außer Wert und Weigerungsgeld zu schulden verurteilt'. In den Handschriften findet sich: A3: *ingismus taxaga*; C6: *malb. inzymis texaca sunt*; C5: *malb. texeca*; Herold: *malb. in Zymis exachalt et cepto tua septun chunna* (uit B10); A2: *inzymus sunt* (bij PLS II,19). Hier ist **aingimn-* mit der Bezeichnung *texaca* 'Diebstahl', die in der Lex Salica oft erscheint, verbunden. Dieselbe Glosse erscheint auch in PLS III,13: *Si quis super ipsis XII remanserint aliqui, solidos LXV culpabilis iudicetur, excepto capitale et dilatura*. 'Wenn aber über diese 12 <Rinder> hinaus einige übrigbleiben, werde er [1400 Pfennige, die machen] 35 Schillinge außer Wert und Weigerungsgeld zu schulden verurteilt'; mit den Glossen: C5: *malb. texeca*; C6: *malb. inzymis texaca*; Herold: *mal*. Hier scheint **aingimnis texaca* 'Jährlings-Diebstahl' gemeint zu sein, wie Eckhardt die Glosse überträgt.

(5) PLS IV,2: *Si quis anniculum uel bimum berbicem furauerit, sunt denarii CXX qui faciunt solidos III culpabilis iudiectur excepto capitale et dilatura*. 'Wenn einer einen einjährigen oder zweijährigen Hammel stiehlt <und es ihm nachgewiesen wird>, werde er 120 Pfennige, die machen 3 Schillinge außer Wert und Weigerungsgeld zu schulden verurteilt'. Die ganze Abteilung handelt vom Diebstahl von Schafen. Dazu bieten die A-Handschriften eine Glosse: A1: *mal. lamilam hoc est*; A2: *mal. lampse sunt* (vgl. auch PLS IV,3), die sichtlich als 'Lamm, Lämmchen' interpretiert werden soll.[6] Die beiden anderen Texte dieser Redaktion haben: C6: *malb. inzymis und Herold: malb. in Zymis*. Die

[5] Allerdings ist die Bedeutung 'Herde'an dieser Stelle seltsam. Man wurde eher **suuin* 'Schwein' erwarten.

entsprechende Stelle in LS IV,2 lautet: *Si quis annuculum uel bimum ueruicem furauerit, <sunt dinarii CXX qui faciunt> solidus III culpabilis iudicetur excepto capitale et dilatura*. Hier bieten die Handschriften alle dieselbe Glosse wie C6 und Herold: D7: *mal. inzimus*; D8: *malb. ing zimus*; D9: *mal. inzimis*. Offensichtlich handelt es sich hier um eine Übersetzung von lat. *anniculum* bzw. *bimum* und ist ein Jungtier gemeint.

Der letzte Beleg ist wieder *tui-gim-* 'zweijährig'. Er steht im Kapitel, das den Diebstahl von Rindern beschreibt:

(6) PLS III,3: *Si quis bimum animal furauerit, sunt den. DC qui faciunt sol. XV culp. iud. excep. cap. et del.* 'Wenn einer ein zweijähriges Rind stiehlt und es ihm nachgewiesen wird, werde er 60 Pfennige, die machen 5 Schillinge außer Wert und Weigerungsgeld zu schulden verurteilt'. Die Handschriften haben: C6: *malb. inzymis pondero mala*; Herold: *malb. Zymis pedero malia* (dieselbe Glosse steht auch bei PLS III,4). Die entsprechende Stelle in LS III,2 lautet: *Si quis annuculum usque ad bimatum furauerit, <sunt dinarii DC qui faciunt> solidus XV culpabilis iudicetur excepto capitale et dilatura.* Die Handschriften bieten hier: D7: *mal. thinzimus pordorsu*m; D8: *malb. thinzimus podor*; D9: *mal. thin zimus podor*. Auf Grund der Wörter *bimum* und *bimatum* im lateinischen Text und der Belege mit *th-* in der LS, kann man vermuten, dass die Belege im PLS in das bekanntere *ingimus* geändert wurden (s. oben). Die ursprüngliche Glosse dürfte in Übereinstimmung mit den D-Handschriften etwa **tuigimnis podero* 'zweijähriges Jungtier' gelautet haben. Es sieht somit danach aus, dass **tuigim-* hier attributiv zum Substantiv *podor* 'Jungtier' gebraucht ist. Das geht auch aus dem weiteren Zusammenhang hervor, denn die zweite Glosse *mala* entspricht der Bezeichnung nl. *maal* 'junge Kuh, die noch kein Kalb bekommen hat'. Hier liegt also salfränkisch *māla* vor[7]. Dies lässt sich vielleicht vergleichen mit gr. *mêlon* 'kleines Tier, Schaf', air. *mîl* 'Tier' und arm. *mal* 'Schaf, Hammel' (s. auch Kaspers 1958-50: 306) und möglicherweise auch mit dem ersten Teil im Ortsnamen *Malenowa* 'Mallau' [8. Jh.]. Dazu gehören vielleicht auch (mit s-mobile): *smal* 'klein', vgl. ahd. *smalaz fihu, smala-nôz* 'Kleinvieh', mhd. *smal-hirte* 'Hirt für Kleinvieh' und an. *smali* 'Kleinvieh'.

[6] Man beachte, dass auch hier die A-Handschriften eigene Wege gehen.

[7] Vgl. PLS III,5: *Si quis uaccam sine uitulo furauerit, malb. maia LMCC den. qui faciunt sol. XXX culp. iud. excep. cap. et d.* 'Wenn einer eine Kuh ohne Kalb stiehlt - gerichtlich *mala* -, werde

Mit der Erklärung der geheimnisvollen Glossenwörter **gim(n)-* bzw. **ain-* und **twigimn-* haben die Forscher sich schon früh beschäftigt. Kern (1869: 443) denkt im Zusammenhang mit **gimn-* an gr. *cheimón*, slav. *zima* 'winter' und liest: *ên-gimni-* und *tui-gimni-*. Dies liegt näher als die Annahme von van Helten (1902: 268-71), der an ein Wort denkt, das 'Diebstahl' bedeutet. Es handle sich nach ihm um eine salfränkische Bezeichnung **ingim-* zur Wurzel lat. *inhiare*. Dass dies nicht stimmen dürfte, geht daraus hervor, dass das Wort für verschiedene Arten von Jungtieren gebraucht wird, sowohl für Schweine als für Schafe und Rinder. Das lässt eher eine attributive Bezeichnung vermuten. Kasper (1948-50: 304) weist wohl mit Recht auf færöisch *gimbur* 'junges Mutterschaf' und auf Ortsnamen wie *Gimborn* neben *Winterborn* in Deutschland, was eventuell eine Identität zwischen *winter-* en *gim-* suggeriere. Daher kann man eine Glosse **aingim-* 'einen Winter alt' annehmen (Quak u.a. 1983: 14-16). Auch Gysseling (1976: 63) vermutet **aina-gima-* 'einjähriges Schwein, Kalb oder Lamm' und sieht darin eine Zusammensetzung von germ. **aina-* 'ein' und **gima-* 'Winter', wie es auch in an. *gymbr* 'einjährige Sau' en adä. *gimmerlam* 'einjähriges Lamm' vorkommt. Es würde dann zu ie. **ghimo-* 'winter', vgl. gr. *chímaros* 'einjährige Ziege' und lat. *bimus* 'zweijährig', *trimus* 'dreijährig' gehören (*IEW*: 426). An. *gymbr* 'einjähriges, weibliches Schaf' hat Entsprechungen in isl. norw. *gimber, gymber*, fær. *gimbur, gimbri*, schw. *gymmer* (dial. *gimmer, gimra*), > me. *gymbure, gymbyre* (> engl. *gimmer* 'junges Schaf'). In seinem altnordischen etymologischen Wörterbuch hat De Vries hier (1977: 196) auch einen Hinweis auf das salfränkische *ingimus* 'einen Winter altes Tier' und vergleicht auch lat. *bīmus* (< **bi-himus*) 'zweijährig', *hibernus* 'winterlich' und gr. *chímaira* 'Ziege', *cheimerinós* 'winterlich'.

Zu dem obengenannten Wort gehört wahrscheinlich auch das Adjektiv germ. **gamala-* 'alt'. Auch hier sieht man, wie fast nur die skandinavischen Sprachen das Wort festgehalten haben, obwohl es auch in anderen germanischen Sprachen wenigstens in der ältesten Stufe vorkommt. An. *gamall* 'alt', ae. *gamol*, mnl. *gamel*, ahd. *gamal* 'alt'. De Vries (1977: 154) nennt hier folgende Erklärungen für die Etymologie des Wortes:

(1) Ableitung bei germ. **gam-* (< ie. **ghom-* neben **ghiom-*), vgl. gr. *chíon* 'Schnee'. Dazu gehören dann auch an. *gói* und *gymbr*;

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er 1200 Pfennige, die machen 3o Schillinge außer Wert und Weigerungsgeld zu schulden verurteilt'. Handschriften: C6: *malb. maia;* Herold: *malb. mala.* Es ist hier vielleicht auch darauf hinzuweisen, dass in PLS III,3 wieder C6 und Herold eine Erklärung hinzugefügt haben, s. oben unter 1.2.

(2) Eine Zusammensetzung mit dem Präfix *ga-* und zwar < *ga-máll* < germ. **ga-mêlaz* 'bezeitet' zu an. *mál* 1;

(3) bzw. **ga-mahall* 'verstümmelt, kraftlos' zu an. *hamla*;

(4) < **gam-ala*, indem **gam-* mit der Bedeutung 'essen, nähren, gedeihen' auch in *gamban*, *gambra* und dem westgerm. Personennamen *Gambara* vorliegt;

(5) zu lat. *humilis* 'niedrig', gr. *ómalós* neben *chthamalós*; also aus **ghomali* 'gleich mit der Erde gewachsen' und dann mit an. *ala* 'wachsen' zu verbinden.

Er lehnt mit Recht die Deutungen 2 und 3 ab, da sie nicht zum westgermanischen Material stimmen. In diesem Zusammenhang nennt er auch an. *gói* 'Monat von Mitte Februar bis Mitte März'. Nach ihm (1977: 182) handle es sich hier um eine ursprüngliche Bedeutung 'Schneemonat'. Dann wäre es verwandt mit gr. *chiôn* 'Schnee', lat. *hiems* 'Winter', av. *zyå* 'Winter', mir. *gemred* 'Winter', arm. *jiun* 'Schnee' und mit abweichendem Vokal gr. *cheíma, cheímon*, skt. *hêmanta*, ksl. *zima*, lit. *žièma*, lett. *ziema*, apr. *semo* 'Winter'.

2.2 *scimada* **'Ziege'**

Ein zweites Wort, das nur im Altnordischen eine Entsprechung zu haben scheint, ist die Glosse *scimada* 'Ziege'. Der erste Beleg lautet eventuell **fau scimada* 'wenig Ziegen' (mit germ. **fauh-* 'wenig', vgl. ahd. *fôh*) oder **lauh-scimada* 'freiweidende Ziegen', denn nach Schmidt-Wiegand (1973: 529) handelt es sich hier um solche und gehört der erste Teil zu **lauh* 'Wald, Wäldchen; Gesträuch', vgl. ahd. *lôh* '(heiliger) Wald'. Da im Text von drei Ziegen gesprochen wird und die Glosse zum nächsten Paragraphen von mehr als drei Ziegen (*super tres capras*) redet, ist es wohl am einfachsten, diese als **mêro scimada* zu interpretieren und scheint die Lesung *fau(h)* in § 1 näher zu liegen.

(1) PLS V,1: *Si quis tres capras furauerit, sunt denarii CXX qui faciunt solidos III culpabilis iudiectur, excepto capitale et dilatura.* 'Wenn jemand drei Ziegen stiehlt, werde er zu 120 Pfennige verurteilt, die machen drei Schillinge, ohne Wert und Weigerungsgeld. Dazu die Glossen: A1: *mal. lauxmada*; A2: *malb. lauismata*; C6: *afrae siue lamphebrus mala uel pecti*; Herold: *lamp* (en als noot:) *afres siue la[m]phebros vel pectis*. Die jüngere Fassung hat eine andere Glosse: LS V,1: *Si quis tres capras furauerit, <sunt dinarii CXX qui faciunt> solidus III culpabilis iudicetur*

excepto capitale et dilatura. Glosse: D7: *mal. haper* [< *aper*]; D8: *malb. aper;* D9: *mal. aper*.

Es ist deutlich, dass die Redaktionen unterschiedliche Glossen überliefern. Die D-Handschriften dürften ein Wort haben, das als salfrk. **hafer* 'Ziege' zu interpretieren ist und etymologisch lat. *capra* entspricht. Das Wort erscheint auch in den Texten C6 und Herold, die allerdings eine Mehrzahlform **hafra* zu haben scheinen: *afrae* bzw. *afres*. Das Wort hat seine Entsprechungen in ae. *hæfr* und an. *hafr* (so auch van Helten 1902: 293-96 und Kern 1880: Sp. 455).[8] Dieselbe Bezeichnung dürfte auch in den Formen *lamphebrus* (C6) bzw. *lamphebros* (Herold) stecken, die vermutlich als **lamb-hafra* 'Lamm-Ziegen' = 'junge Ziegen' zu interpretieren sind. Am Schluss der Glossierung findet man in C6 und bei Herold auch *pecti(s)*. Kern möchte hier **geiti* 'Ziegen' lesen, aber van Helten findet mit Recht eine Verlesung <p> statt <g> eigentümlich (1900: 294). Deshalb denkt er an eine Zusammensetzung **smala-fecho* 'Kleinvieh', vgl. ahd. *smalez fehu* (Graff 3, 420). Die Glosse hätte dann ursprünglich gelautet: *hafera siue lamphafera, smalafech* in C6 und Herold und *hafer* in den D-Handschriften.

Anders liegt bei der Glosse *scimada* der A-Handschriften. Schon Kern (1880: Sp. 455) hat sie mit an. *skimuðr* 'Ziegenbock' verbunden, sodass ein salfrk. **scimada* belegt scheint. Allerdings kommt das altnordische Wort äußerst selten vor. Nach Auskunft des Arnamagnæanske Institut in Kopenhagen erscheint es nur einmal und zwar als poetisches Wort: Der einzige Beleg findet sich in Finnur Jónssons 'Lexicon Poeticum' mit dem Hinweis "Þul IV bb 1"[9]. In den Prosatexten kommt es überhaupt nicht vor.

Die Identifikation des ersten Teiles der Glosse mit *fau* 'wenig' (vgl. ahd. *fôh*) findet van Helten weniger wahrscheinlich. Er nimmt an, dass es sich um eine Verballhornung von lat. III 'drei' handelt, weil im Text von *tres capras* gesprochen wird. Es ist aber doch wenig wahrscheinlich, dass die Abschreiber das nicht verstanden und abgeändert hätten. Beim anderen Wort (s. unten) denkt er - wahrscheinlich mit Recht - wohl an **mêro* 'mehr'.

Der zweite Beleg für das Wort lautet **mero-scimada* 'mehr Ziegen'. Sie kommt vor in:

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[8] Auch in einigen Ortsnamen könnte das Wort vorkommen, vgl. Schoonheim (2003: 132) *Haurech* [1119] und *Heuerle* [1129].

[9] Damit wird verwiesen auf: Sveinbjörn Egilsson, *Þulur or Rhymed Glossary of Synonyms I-IV*, Reykjavík 1848. Dieses Buch ließ sich leider nicht in einer niederländischen Bibliothek auftreiben, sodass die Angabe nicht kontrolliert werden konnte..

(2) PLS V,2: *Si uero super tres capras furauerit, sunt denarii DC qui faciunt solidos XV culpabilis iudiectur, excepto capitale et dilatura*. 'Wenn er aber mehr als drei Ziegen stiehlt, dann werde er zu 600 Pfennigen verurteilt, die machen 15 Schillinge, ohne Wert und Weigerungsgeld.' Die Glossen dazu lauten: A1: *mal. muscisimada*; A2: *mal. ros cimada*; C6: *malb. chene crudo*; Herold: *malb. chrenecrude*. Die entsprechende Stelle in LS V,2 lautet: *Si <quis> super tres capras furauerit, <sunt dinarii DC qui faciunt> solidus XV culpabilis iudicetur excepto capitale et dilatura*, mit den Glossen: D7: *mal. chanchurda*; D8: *malb. chancus*; D9: *mal. chanchurda*.

Ebenso wie in 2.1 scheinen die Redaktionen unterschiedliche Glossen zu haben. Die D-Handschriften und C6 und Herold gehen zusammen, denn es liegt nahe, dass es sich hier um dieselbe Glosse handelt, die wohl verbunden werden soll mit ahd. *cortar* 'Herde' bei Williram, was einer Form **cordar* im Salfränkischen entspricht. Für den ersten Teil denkt Kern an ae. *hrán* 'Rentier'[10], das er dann allerdings mit ae. *crod* 'Gedränge' verbindet. Van Helten (1900: 295) weist das wohl mit Recht ab und verbindet den zweiten Teil mit dem obengenannten Wort für 'Herde' und sieht im ersten Teil urspr. **cheit-* oder **chet-* 'Ziege' - vgl. nl. *geit* 'Ziege'. Es lägen somit zwei Glossierungen vor: **mero scimada* 'mehr Ziegen' in A und **che(i)tocordar* 'Ziegenherde', als Ergänzung zu *super tres capras*, in den anderen Fassungen. Es sei noch darauf hingewiesen, dass die A-Handschriften hier offenbar die älteste Form bewahren, denn man darf wohl annehmen, dass *scimada* 'Ziege' eine seltene, vermutlich altertümliche Form war.

2.3 *taka* **'Besitzergreifung'.**

Dieses Wort ist als zweites Element in der Zusammensetzung **alach-taca* belegt. Das erste Element dürfte mit einem altfränkischen **alach* 'Wohnung, Hof' identisch sein, wie Ruth Schmidt-Wiegand vor Jahren festgestellt hat (1967).

(1) PLS XIV,4: *Si quis hominem qui alicubi migrare disponit et habet praeceptum rege et habundiuet se in mallo publico et aliquis ei extra ordinationem regis restare aut adsallire presumit - mallobergo alachtaca alachteoch uia lacina -, sunt denarii VIIIM qui faciunt solidos CC culpabilis iudicetur*. 'Wenn einer einen Mann, der <anderswo> zuziehen will und vom König Vollmacht hat, und <sich> im öffentlichen Thing ausweist,

[10] Das ist nicht wahrscheinlich, weil *hrân* sehr selten vorkommt und vermutlich ein Lehnwort aus an. *hreinn* 'Rentier' ist.

> und jemand sich unterfängt, ihm entgegen der Anordnung des König zu protestieren oder [ihn] anzufallen - gerichtlich "Hofergreifung" "Wegsperrung" genannt -, werde er 8000 Pfennige, die machen 200 Schillinge zu schulden verurteilt.' Glosse: A2: *mal. sunt alachtaco*; C6: *malb. alcata alchatheocus uia lacina*; Herold: *malb. alacfacis uia lacina*. Dieselbe Bestimmung lautet in der LS XVI,4: *Si quis hominem, qui alibi migrare disponit et de rege habet cartas et se habundiuit in mallo publico, et aliquis extra ordinacionem regis testare ad adsallire cum presumpserit, <sunt dinarii VIIIM qui faciunt> solidus CC culpabilis iudicetur*. Glosse: D7: *mal. alachra et hii uia lacina*; D8: *malb. alachra et hii uia lacina*; D9: *mal. alagra et hii uia lacina*. Auf Grund der Überlieferung scheint die A-Gruppe ursprünglich nur **alachtaca* gehabt zu haben, was sich mit der Überlieferung in D und bei Herold deckt. C6 und Herold haben außerdem den allgemeinen Begriff via *lacina* 'Wegversperrung', der auch sonst in der 'Lex Salica' erscheint. C6 enthält weiter eine neue Form, die meistens als **alachteoch* interpretiert wird und vermutlich als Variante für **alachtaca* dienen soll.

Wahrscheinlich handelt es sich hier um zwei Wörter, deren erstes *alach-taca* ist, das zur Wurzel des starken Verbs *takan* 'nehmen' gehören könnte. Das Problem dabei ist, dass *takan* im Westgermanischen nicht mit Sicherheit überliefert ist. Es kommt als *tekan* im Gotischen vor und weiter als *taka* im Altnordischen (ae. *tacan* ist ein Lehnwort aus dem Altnordischen). Der Beleg in der 'Lex Salica' wäre ein Hinweis dafür, dass das Verb ehemals auch im Westgermanischen existierte. Einen zweiten Hinweis bildet mnl. *taken* 'nehmen, greifen', das allerdings nur als schwaches Verb vorkommt.[11] Wenn man die Belege in C6 sieht, liegt es nahe zu vermuten, dass **alachtaca* das ältere Wort war, das von einem Kopisten durch die neue Zusammensetzung **alachteoch* verdeutlicht wurde. Diese Variante wird meistens mit dem Verb germ. **teuhan* 'ziehen' verbunden und gehört also zu einer im Westgermanischen bekannten und gut belegten Wurzel.

2.4 *wrēþu*- 'Herde'.

Das Wort ist nur in einer Ableitung belegt: **wrēdunia* 'Leitsau" in einem Paragraphen über den Diebstahl einer *scrofa ducaria*, vgl. Quak u.a. 1983: 22-23.

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[11] Vielleicht gehören auch das Substantiv ndl. *takel* und das davon abgeleitete Verb *takelen* zu dieser Wurzel. S. weiter eventuell auch mnd. *tacken* 'berühren, betasten'. Bjorvand/Lindeman (2000) setzen ein ie. **deH_1-g-* an (917-19).

(1) PLS II,15: *Si quis scrouam ducariam furauerit <cui fuerit adprobatum>, mallobergo chredunia hoc est, DCC denarios qui faciunt solidos XVII semis culpabilis iudicetur excepto capitale et dilatura*. 'Wenn einer ein-Leit-Mutterschwein - gerichtlich 'Leit-Sau' genannt - stiehlt, werde er <dem es nachgewiesen wird> 700 Pfennige, die machen 17½ Schillinge außer Wert und Weigerungsgeld zu schulden verurteilt". Glossen: A1: *sunnista hoc est*, (in Kombination mit II,14), vgl. II,13: *mal. redonia hoc est*; A2: *mal. redonii sunt*; C6: *malb. radonia sunt*; Herold: *mal. chredunia*. In A1 liegt *sonista*, das Wort für eine Herde, vor, das auch sonst im Text erscheint. Der Grund liegt wohl darin, dass von einer Herde gesprochen wird. Außerdem scheinen in A1 die Glossen nicht immer zum richtigen Paragraphen gestellt zu sein. Dieselbe Stelle lautet in LS II,5 *Si quis scronam ducariam furauerit, mallobergo reo dimia,<sunt dinarii DCC qui faciunt> solidus XVII culpabilis iudicetur excepto capitale et dilatura*. Dazu finden sich die Glossen: D7: *mal. reo dimia*; D8: *mald. reo demia*; D9: *mal. reodimia*.

Wahrscheinlich ist das Wort mit got. *wreþus* 'Herde (Schweine)' in Luk. 8,33 und mit ae. *wrāð* 'Bündel, Bande, Gruppe' und adän. *vrāþ* 'Schweinsherde' zu verbinden. Vermutlich handelt es sich um eine Ableitung mit dem Suffix *-unia*[12] zu diesem Wort. Auffällig ist allerdings, dass der Anlaut *wr-* nicht überliefert ist (vielleicht mit Ausnahme des Belegs bei Herold). Das könnte darauf hindeuten, dass das Wort jünger ist als etwa **wrainio* 'Beschälhengst'. Auch van Helten (277-78, § 22) verweist nach ae. *wrāð* und aschw. *wrāth* 'Herde', aber er lehnt diese Identifikation ab, weil sich in den Belegen <e> statt salfrk. <a> finde[13] und weil die weiblichen Wörter auf *-unia* movierte Formen zu männlichen Personenbezeichnungen seien (277). Er will deshalb **hirdunia* lesen, das zu **hirdi* 'Hirt' gehören würde. Das Fehlen von *wr-* in der Überlieferung ist tatsächlich seltsam, da man *uuredunia* erwärten würde. Vermutlich hat daher Ruth Schmidt-Wiegand recht, wenn sie bemerkt, dass in den Glossen Einflüsse unterschiedlicher Mundarten spürbar sind (1969: 63ff.), in diesem Fall wäre das der Einfluss einer Mundart, in der *wr-* früh zu *r-* wurde.

2.5. *sondolino* 'Wasservogel'.

PLS VII,8: *Si quis anserem aut anedam furauerit domesticam, malb. sundelino, sunt CXX qui faciunt solidos III culpabilis iudicetur, excepto capitale et dila-*

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[12] Vgl. damit auch salfrk. *militunia* und *ambahtunia*.

[13] Dabei hat C6 wohl <a>!

tura. 'Wenn einer eine zahme Gans oder Ente - gerichtlich "Schwimmer" genannt - stiehlt und es ihm nachgewiesen wird, werde er 120 Pfennige, die machen 3 Schillinge außer Wert und Weigerungsgeld zu schulden verurteilt'. Dazu finden sich in den Handschriften folgende Glossen: A1: *mal. sundolino* [+ *mal. sundolino* in PLS VIII,1, wo von Bienen gesprochen wird!]; A2: *mal. sundoleno*; C6: *malb. s.d dilino*; Herold: *malb. sundleno*. Dieser Paragraph entspricht LS VII,5: *Si quis ansera domestica aut aneda furauerit, mallobergo sundelino, <sunt dinarii CXX qui faciunt> solidus III culpabilis iudicetur excepto capitale et dilatura*, mit den Glossen: D7: *mal. sondolino*; D8: *malb. sundelino*. Außerdem scheint die Glosse fälschlich in LS VII,4 geraten zu sein: *Si quis sparuario furauerit, mallobergo sundelino*[14], *<sunt dinarii CCXI qui faciunt> solidus VI culpabilis iudicetur excepto capitale et dilatura* mit den Glossen: D7: *mal. sondolino*; D8: *malb. sundelino*; D9 *sun dulino* (diese Handschrift hat § 4 mit § 5 kombiniert). Der Grund dafür ist wohl die Ähnlichkeit mit der richtigen Glosse zu dieser Stelle: *socelino*.

Van Helten (1900: 308-9, § 45) verweist auf ae. *sund* 'Schwimmen, Schwimmkunst'. Zu vergleichen ist weiter an. *sund* 'Schwimmen; Sund, Meer' und das Verb *synda* 'schwimmen'. Es liegt nahe, dass eine abgeleitete Form **sundilo* 'Schwimmer, Wasservogel' gemeint ist. Die Endung *-o* könnte eine Latinisierung sein und *-in-* könnte eine gebeugte Form sein. Man vergleiche damit die Glosse **ohsino*, die sicherlich eine gebeugten Form des Substantivs **ohso* 'Ochse' wiedergibt. Offenbar wurden solche Formen oberflächlich latinisiert, indem man ein *-o* daran hängte. Das Wort *sundilo* 'Schwimmer' passt gut zu anderen Nomina agentis in den 'Malbergischen Glossen': *thrasilo* 'Schnauber' (= 'Stier') und *sokilo* 'Raubvogel'.

2.6. *theva* 'Brand, Brandstiftung'

Auch das letzte Wort, das hier behandelt werden soll, ist selten überliefert. Es handelt sich um **theva* 'Brand, Brandstiftung'. Allerdings sind die Parallelformen nicht nur skandinavisch. Es gibt sogar ein ahd. *deba*, das allerdings nur in den Malbergischen Glossen überliefert ist, wie Lloyd-Springer (II,546-48) vermerkt: *anddeba* 'Brandstiftung', *sêulundeba* 'Erstickung des Lebens (durch Feuer)', *saldeba* 'Scheunenbrand, Brandstiftung in einem Einzelhaus', *leodeba* 'Stallbrand'. In dieser Liste nicht genannt ist *hrêodeba* 'Leichenverbrennung'. Das Wort würde auf germ.

[14] Falsche Anpassung an VII,5.

**þebō-* zurückgehen, was im Hinblick auf die Schreibung mit <d> im Salfränkischen etwas seltsam anmutet. Man müsste denn annehmen, dass /þ/ in der Position nach /n/ und /l/ zu /d/ geworden ist. Die Aufnahme dieses Wortes in das etymologische Wörterbuch des Althochdeutschen dürfte mit dem Vorkommen des Wortes in der Zusammensetzung *debandorn* Dornstrauch'[15] zusammenhängen, die ein Äquivalent in ae. *þefan-þorn* 'Purgier-Kreuzdorn (Rhamnus Cathartica)' hat, das schon im 8. Jahrhundert als *þebanthorn* in den Epinal-Glossen vorkommt. Die Wörter gehören zu einer untergegangenen Wurzel germ. **þef-* 'erwärmen, warm sein'[16], die Entsprechungen hat in anderen indoeuropäischen Sprachen: skt. *tápati* 'erwärmt, erhitzt', avest. *tafsąn* 'es soll ihnen heiß werden', lat. *tepēre* 'warm sein', abulg. **teplъ* in *teplostъ* usw (< ie. **tep-* = *IEW*: 1069). Auch hier kann man feststellen, dass die Malbergischen Glossen mit ihrer verhältnismäßig alten und reichen Überlieferung offenbar eine alte archaische Wurzel festgehalten haben. Lloyd-Springer II erwähnt übrigens S. 547 noch, dass das Wort *deba* in romanischen Mundarten weiterlebt.
Es finden sich folgende Belege:

(1) Die erste Gruppe von Glossen lautete vermutlich ursprünglich: ***anddeva, *seli-anddeva, *seolan-deva** und ***halla-thifatio**. Sie finden sich in PLS XVI,1: *Si quis casam quamlibet super homines dormientes incenderit, mallobergo seolandeua, cui casa est solidos LXII semis conponat et quanti ingenui intus fuerint, mallare debent de seolandouefa, et contra unumquemque solidos LXII semis culpabilis iudicetur. Et si aliquis intus arserit, mallo-bergo leodi seolandouefa sunt MMD denarios qui faciunt solidos LXII semis culpabilis iudicetur; de leode VIIIM denarios qui faciunt solidos CC culpabilis iudicetur, et cui casa est mallobergo alfathio hoc est, MMD denarios qui faciunt solidos LXII semis culpabilis iudicetur*. 'Wenn einer irgendwelche <fremde> Behausung über schlafenden Männern an-zündet - gerichtlich "Scheunenbrand" -, büße er <dem es nachgewiesen wird> (an den), dem die Behausung gehört, 62½ Schillinge und wieviele Freie darin waren, dürfen ihn wegen Lebensgefährdung ansprechen, und gegen einen jeden werde er 62½ Schillinge zu schulden verurteilt. Und wenn jemand darin verbrennt - gerichtlich "Manngeld", "Lebensgefährdung" genannt -, werde er

[15] Nur in der Samanunga-Kodex R in der bairischen Handschrift Wien 162 (Gll. I,237,34), der aus dem Jahre 820-830 stammt, vgl. Jochen Splett, Samanunga-Studien 7; Simmler, Westgerm. Konsonantengemination 25.
[16] Zu dieser Wurzel gehören auch an. *þefa* 'riechen', ae. *þefian* 'keuchen'.

> 2500 Pfennige, die machen 62½ Schillinge zu schulden verurteilt; wegen Manngelds werde er 8000 Pfennige, die machen 200 Schillinge zu schulden verurteilt; und (an den), dem die Behausung gehört, - gerichtlich "Hausanzündung" genannt -, werde er 2500 Pfennige, die machen 62½ Schillinge zu schulden verurteilt'.

Die erste Glosse lautet in A1: *mal. alfathio*; Der Kontext deutet auf eine Bezeichnung für eine Brandstiftung, so dass man für die Glosse in A1 auch die Glosse in derselben Handschrift zu PLS XVI,2 heranziehen kann: *Si quis casa cletem salina incenderit et ei fuerit adprobatum, mal. althifathio hoc est IIMD din. qui f. sol. LXIII culp. iud.* 'Wenn einer eine Nebenbehausung aus Flechtwerk anzündet und es ihm nachgewiesen wird - gerichtlich "Hausanzündung" genannt -, werde er 2500 Pfennige, die machen 62½ Schillinge zu schulden verurteilt'. Nach Schmidt-Wiegand müsse man hier **hal(la)-thefatio* 'Hausanzündung' lesen, wobei *halla* als Variante für die Form *seli-* in den anderen Handschriften aufzufassen sei (1973: 506).[17] Die anderen Handschriften haben zu PLS XVI,1: A2: *mal. selane effefa*; C6: *malb. seolando et uas haldem pa* ; Herold: *malb. andebau*. Diese Formen müsse man als **seli-andeba* (A1 und C6) bzw. **halladempa* (C6)[18] und **andeba* (Herold) interpretieren. Die zweite Glosse lautet in den Handschriften: A2: *mal. leodi selane effa*; C6: *leode seolande fadisco landefa*; Herold: *per Malberg seu, landeueuas*. Hier ist wohl das außerdem in C6 in lateinischem Kontext erscheinende **seolandeva* 'Lebensgefährdung (durch Ersticken)' gemeint, das mit *leodi* 'Mann-, Wergeld' verbunden ist. Vermutlich haben die Kopisten der Handschriften die beiden Glossen - **seliandeua* und **seolandeua* - wegen der Ähnlichkeit durcheinander gebracht. Die letzte Glosse, die nur in A2 steht, lautet: *mal. anda dil*. Es ist anzunehmen, dass hier eine Verballhornung der Glosse vorliegt, wie sie in A1 erscheint, wenn auch die Form stark abweicht. Oder man muss **andeba* als Ausgangspunkt nehmen.

Die entsprechende Stelle in der 'Lex Salica' lautet: LS XX,1: *Si quis casa quamlibet super hominem dormientem incenderit, et cui casa est, mallobergo andeba, <sunt dinarii MMD qui faciunt> solidus LXII culpabilis iudicetur. Illi uero qui exinde euaserint, unusquisuqe ex ipsis mallare cum debent per mallobergum seolandoueua <sunt dinarii MMD qui faciunt> solidus LII semis, qui incendium misit eis, culpabilis iudicetur*. 'Wenn einer irgendwelche Behausung

[17] Allerdings fällt auf, dass man dann eher **challathifathia* erwarten würde, sodass man sich fragen kann, ob hier nicht wieder einfach **alach-thifathio* vorliegt, mit **alach* 'Wohnung'. Das kann leicht zu *althifathio* werden. Nur C6 *haldem pa* könnte eine Stütze für **halla* sein.

[18] Zu dieser Form vgl. Schmidt-Wiegand 1967: 288-89.

über einen schlafenden Mann anzündet - gerichtlich "Brand-stiftung" -, werde er (an den), dem die Behausung gehört, 2500 Pfennige, die machen 62½ Schillinge, zu schulden verurteilt. Diejenigen, die danach entkommen sind, jeder von ihnen soll, wenn sie [= die Geschädigten] (ihn) anklagen dürfen wegen gerichtliche seolandeva, verurteilt werden zur Bezahlung von 2500 Pfennigen, die machen machen 62½ Schillinge, (jeder von ihnen), die das Feuer für sie [die Geschädigten) verursacht hat. Dazu gehören die Glossen: D7: *mal. anteba* und *mal. seo lando ueua*; D8: *malb. andeba* und *mal. se eo lando ueua*; D9: *mal. andeba, mal* und *seolando ueua*. Die D-Handschriften haben offensichtlich die allgemeine Bezeichnung **andeva* 'Brandstiftung' und die Bezeichnung für die Lebensgefährdung **seolandeva* enthalten, vgl. die Form bei Herold.

Wenn die hier gegebenen Interpretationen stimmen, hätte man Belege für *-thefathio* und *(ant-)deva* 'Brandstiftung', wobei die A-Handschriften wiederum eine andere Ableitung enthielten als die sonstigen Handschriften.

(2) Auch die folgenden Glossierungen beschäftigen sich mit Brandstiftung: ***leodeva** und ***saldeva**. Sie finden sich in PLS XVI,3: *Si quis spicarium aut maufolum cum annona incenderit, mallobergo leodeua, sunt denarii MMD qui faciunt solidos LXII cum dimidio culpabilis iudicetur.* 'Wenn einer einen Speicher oder eine Scheune mit Getreide anzündet - gerichtlich 'Stallbrand' (A)/ 'Scheunenbrand' (C) genannt, werde er <dem es machgewiesen wird> 2500 Pfennige, die machen 621/2 Schillinge zu schulden verurteilt'. Die Glosse dazu lautet: C6: *malb. leodeua*; Herold: *malb. saldeban*. Die entsprechende Stelle in LS XXI,1 lautet: *Si quis spicario aut maflo cum annona incenderit, mallobergo deba, <sunt dinarii MMD qui faciunt> solidus LXII semis culpabilis iudicetur*. Dazu als Glosse: D7: *Mal. deba*; D8: *malb. deba*; D9: *mal. deba*.

Offensichtlich haben die D-Handschriften die Brandstiftung nicht näher spezifiziert. Es ist anzunehmen, dass man bei ihnen einfach *deva* 'Brand' lesen soll. In den anderen Texten sind offenbar zwei Wörter gebraucht: **leo-deva* und **sal-deva*. Van Helten (1900: 349f., § 71) sieht im ersten Wort ein salfrk. *leo* 'Obdach', vgl. ae. *hlēo*, afri. *hlî* und as. *hleo* 'Schutz'. Das fällt auf, da im Salfränkischen normalerweise *h-* vor Konsonanten im Anlaut erhalten bleibt, so dass man **chleo* erwarten würde. Dennoch dürfte diese Interpretation das richtige treffen. In die Überlieferung von C6 scheinen häufiger Formen aus anderen Mundarten oder von jüngeren Kopisten übernommen zu sein, vgl. oben Nr. 4 *radunia* statt *wredunia.* Schmidt-Wiegand denkt für dieses Wort an einen "Stall, der aus vier Ständern

mit einem darauf ruhenden Dach bestand, in dem das Vieh bei Unwetter Schutz finden konnte" (1973: 512). Bei Herold ist *leo* durch *sal* 'Scheune' ersetzt worden.

(3) Dieselben Bezeichnungen, ***leodeva** und ***saldeva**, finden sich auch in PLS XVI,4: *Si quis sutem cum porcus acuriam cum animalibus uel fenilem incenderit, mallobergo leodeva, sunt denarii MMD qui faciunt solidos LXII et dimidium culpabilis iudicetur*. 'Wenn einer <aber> eine Hürde mit Schweinen <oder> eine Scheune mit Rindern oder einen Heuschober anzündet und es ihm nachgewiesen wird - gerichtlich "Schweinebrand", "Stallbrand" genannt -, werde er 2500 Pfennige, die machen 62½ Schillinge außer Wert und Weigerungsgeld zu schulden verurteilt.' Als Glossen dazu finden sich: A1: *mal. sundela*; A2: *malb. leo deba*; C6: *malb. leodeba*; Herold: *malb. saldeba leosdeba*. In A2 steht weiter noch *leode cal. sunt* als Glosse in einer in den anderen Handschriften fehlenden Paragraphen, in dem eine ähnliche Bestimmung als in XVI,4 aufgenommen wurde, die sich jetzt aber auf Romanen untereinander bezieht. Die Glosse *sundela* in A1 wird wohl mit Recht als **saldeva* interpretiert.

Das oben genannte **seolandeva** 'Lebensgefährdung' kommt noch einmal vor und zwar an einer Stelle, wo der Zusammenhang mit Brandstiftung verschwunden ist:

(4) PLS XXVIII,1: *Si quis in furtum aliquem locare uoluerit, ut hominem interficiat et pretium ab hoc acciperit et non fecerit cui fuerit adprobatum, mallobergo seolandefa, sunt denarii IIIM qui faciunt solidos LXII et dimidium culpabilis iudicetur*. 'Wenn einer heimlich jemanden dingen will, dass er einen Mann umbringe, und (jener) den Preis deswegen empfängt <und es nicht tut> - gerichtlich "Mordtat", "Lebensgefährdung" genannt-, werde er, dem es nachgewiesen wird, 2500 Pfennige, die machen 62½ Schillinge zu schulden verurteilt'. Dazu die Glossen: A1: *mal. theolosina hoc est* (gehört zu XXVII,33); A2: *malb. morter*; C6: *malb. seulandefa*; Herold: *malb. auuena* + *malb. seu lando efa*. Weiter: PLS XXVIII,2: *Si quis in furtum elocatum pretium acceptum hominem occidere uoluerit et non fecerit, mallobergo seolandefa, MMD denarii qui faciunt solidos LXII et dimidium culpabilis iudicetur.* 'Wenn einer heimlich gedungen nach empfangenem Preis einen Mann töten will <und es nicht tut> und es ihm nachgewiesen wird - gerichtlich "Mordtat", "Lebensgefährdung" genannt -, werde er, dem es nachgewiesen wird, 2500 Pfennige, die machen 62½ Schillinge zu schulden verurteilt'. Dazu die Glossen: A2: *malb. mor ter*; C6: *malb. seulandefa*; Herold: *mal.*

seu lando efa. Deutlich ist hier, dass die A-Überlieferung eine Form *morther* 'Mord' hat, während C6 und Herold *seolandeva* 'Lebensgefährdung' in allgemeinem Sinne benutzen.[19]

(5) Die letzte Zusammensetzung mit *-deva* dürfte ***chreodeva** sein. Sie erscheint in den "Capitula legi Salicae addita" und zwar im Titel: LXX: A1: DE CREU BEBA; A2: DE CREO BEBAT und B10: De Chreodiba. Der Text dazu lautet: *Si quis hominem ingenuum seu iu sylua, seu in quolibet occiderit, & ad celandum igne combusserit, XXIIIIM. den. qui faciunt sol. DC. culpabilis iudicetur.* 'Wenn jemand einen freien Mann, sei es im Walde oder wo sonst, tötet und ihn verbrennt, um die Leiche zu verbergen, büße er 24000 Pfennige, die machen 600 Schillinge.' Es ist hier aus dem Kontext deutlich, dass **chreo-deva* 'Leichverbrennung' gemeint sein muss. Das erste Element salfrk. **chreo* entspricht ahd. *(h)rêo* 'Leiche'.

3. Abschluss

Hier wurden einige Interpretationen der Formen in den 'Malbergischen Glossen' aufgezählt, die deutlich machen, dass das Wortmaterial in dieser schwierigen Quelle manchmal sehr archaisch ist. Es scheint, dass hier Wörter belegt sind, die sonst in den germanischen Sprachen kaum vorkommen oder nur eine beschränkte Verbreitung kennen. Natürlich muss man vorsichtig sein, da die schlechte Überlieferung der Wörter ein großes Hindernis ist und leicht zu spekulativen Deutungen Anlass gibt, wie sich im Laufe der Zeit erwiesen hat. Man kan sich aber nicht dem Eindruck entziehen, dass ein genaues Studium des Materials interessante Einblicke in die Überlieferung des altgermanischen Wortschatzes bieten könnte.

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[19] Gysseling (1976: 107) nimmt an, dass der letzte Teil der Glosse mit dem Verb *weben* zu tun habe, und verweist auf die Nornen. Dies kann höchstens für *seolandeva* gelten. Bei den anderen Glossen handelt es sich eindeutig um Bezeichnungen für Brandstiftung.

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NOCHMALS ZUR AKZENTUIERUNG DER KIEVER BLÄTTER

JOS SCHAEKEN

1. Einleitung

Vor zweiunddreißig Jahren schrieb Frederik Kortlandt einen Aufsatz über die Funktion der Akzentzeichen in den Kiever Blättern. Vier Jahre später (1980) erschien dieser Artikel in *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie*. Kortlandt schließt sich in Bezug auf die Grundbedeutung der Akzentzeichen den Schlußfolgerungen Trubetzkoys an (1954: 43-50). Er zeigt weiter, daß die Quantitätsregeln mit dem Serbokroatischen übereinstimmen und daß in gewissen Fällen die Akzentstellen auf das slowakische Sprachgebiet hinweisen. Nach Kortlandt steht das Akzentsystem der ältesten überlieferten slavischen Handschrift im Einklang mit der bereits früher geäußerten Annahme, daß die Sprachform dieses Denkmals einen verlorengegangenen slowakisch-kroatischen Übergangsdialekt widerspiegele: „Die Hypothese, daß die Kiever Blätter im X. Jahrhundert am Plattensee entstanden sind, kommt mir sehr wahrscheinlich vor“ (1980: 2, Fn. 2).

Die ganze Forschungsgeschichte bezüglich der Funktion der Akzentzeichen und der Deutung ihrer einzigartigen Kombination von süd- und westslavischen Sprachmerkmalen habe ich ausführlich in meiner Dissertation aus dem Jahre 1987 dargestellt (siehe bes. 43-78, 104-121).[1] Meine eigenen Untersuchungen zu den supralinearen Zeichen bestätigten, mit einigen kleineren Modifikationen und weiteren Beobachtungen, die Ergebnisse Trubetzkoys und Kortlandts. In den Besprechungen meiner

[1] Nebenbei sei bemerkt, daß Trubetzkoy in seiner altkirchenslavischen Grammatik folgert, daß die mittels des nach oben offenen Bogens (˘) bezeichnete Länge „entweder sowohl durch das Tschechische als auch das Serbokroatische […] oder nur durch eine von diesen Sprachen […] bezeugt ist“ (1954: 45-46), während er im Jahre 1932 noch in einem Brief an Roman Jakobson schrieb: „Количественная система Киевских Листков – не чешская (вообще не западнославянская) а южнославянская, ибо в ней праславянский циркумфлекс представлен не краткостью, а долготой: пл҄ѣ̆нъ (= plā̆n) […]; тӑкъи (= tāky) […]; свѧ̆тъ̂і (= svēntyi) […]“ (Jakobson 1975: 263; vgl. auch 347-349).

Monographie haben die Akzentzeichen aber weiter kaum die Aufmerksamkeit der Rezensenten auf sich gelenkt.[2]

2. Die Kiever Blätter als spätmittelalterliche serbische Abschrift?

In einem Aufsatz von 1995 über die Akzentzeichen der Kiever Blätter gelangt Vjačeslav M. Zagrebin zu einer vorläufigen Hypothese über die Herkunft der Kiever Blätter, die nicht viel weniger revolutionär ist als diejenige Hamms (1979), laut welcher unsere Handschrift eine Fälschung aus dem 19. Jahrhundert sei.[3] Doch bekanntlich haben die Argumente Hamms sich längst als nicht stichhaltig erwiesen (vgl. Schaeken 1987: 175-200).

Zagrebin meint zwar, die Kiever Blätter seien ein mittelalterliches Sprachdenkmal, weist sie aber als älteste überlieferte altkirchenslavische Handschrift zurück. Es handle sich eher um eine sehr späte Abschrift eines älteren Originals, die frühestens aus der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts, vielleicht sogar erst aus dem 16. Jahrhundert stamme und deren Kopisten mit den damaligen serbischen (also kyrillischen) Schreibgepflogenheiten vertraut gewesen seien. Die Abschrift sei im St. Katharinenkloster auf dem Sinai angefertigt, wo sie dann wahrscheinlich im 19. Jahrhundert von Antonin Kapustin entdeckt wurde.[4]

Übrigens sei bemerkt, daß Zagrebin seine Hypothese schon früher skizzenhaft formuliert hat (1979: 77-80), obwohl er in seinem jüngeren Artikel keinen Hinweis darauf gibt. Aufgrund der neuen Beobachtungen Zagrebins meint jetzt Miklas, daß die Kiever Blätter „noch manches Rätsel aufgeben“ (2000: 127, Fn. 26). Es ist also höchste Zeit, um die wiederbelebte Hypothese kritisch unter die Lupe zu nehmen.

Bei seinen Schlußfolgerungen stützt Zagrebin sich ausschließlich auf eine Analyse des Akzentsystems der Kiever Blätter im Vergleich zum Gebrauch diakritischer Zeichen in altserbischen Handschriften des 12. bis 16. Jahrhunderts. Das Gesamtinventar dieser Zeichen in den untersuchten Sprachdenkmälern läßt sich wie folgt darstellen (1995: 470):

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[2] Vgl. Birnbaum (1987), Freydank (1988), MacRobert (1988), Večerka (1988), Veder (1988), Minčeva (1989), Šaur (1989), Ziffer (1990), Žigo (1990). Völlig unbegründet ist die Behauptung Lunts, daß die Akzentzeichen gar keine phonologischen Informationen böten und nichts über Alter und Herkunft des Sprachdenkmals aussagten: „these marks are merely a vague gesture toward some esthetic requirement determined by local scribal conventions. Or perhaps they are a guide to some sort of unexpected pronunciation here and there“ (1988: 611, Fn. 67).

[3] Zagrebin wiederholt seine Hypothese in einem Sammelband aus dem Jahre 2006.

[4] Zur Entdeckungsgeschichte der Kiever Blätter siehe Schaeken (1987: 193-199).

точка	˙	две точки	¨
псила	᾿	дасия	῾
оксия	´	вария	`
двойная оксия	˝	двойная вария	̏
кремаста	˘	периспомена	ˆ

Aufgrund des Vorkommens und der Funktion dieser zehn Zeichen unterscheidet Zagrebin weiter drei Perioden:

In der frühesten Periode, d.h. im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert, finden wir „как правило, точку, две точки или их графические варианты – черточки, штрихи, галочки, кавычки и крючки, имеющие вид коротких наклонных черточек, дужек выпуклостью вверх или вниз, вправо или влево" (ibidem). Es ist übrigens nicht ganz klar, wie diese Aufzählung sich zu den zehn genannten Zeichen verhält, oder wie die Umschreibungen vom Typ „черточки, штрихи, галочки …" mit den Zeichen im Schema auf S. 475 bei Zagrebin korrespondieren. Auf jeden Fall handele es sich um „оригинальные славянские надстрочные знаки, ведущие свою родословную, по всей вероятности, из надстрочных знаков глаголической письменности, не имеющих аналогий в письменностях соседних неславянских христианских стран" (idem: 474). Das Inventar und die Funktion der Zeichen aus der frühesten Periode sollen mit dem Sachverhalt in den glagolitischen und kyrillischen altkirchenslavischen Handschriften übereinstimmen: „в основном для обозначения йотации, в роли паерка [Apostrophzeichen zur Markierung ausgefallener reduzierter Vokale – JS] и палатализационного знака, а также над определенными гласными, преимущественно диграфами" (ibidem).

Für die zweite Periode, d.h. vom Ende des 13. bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts, soll gelten, daß *кремаста*, *вария*, *двойная вария* und seltener auch *двойная оксия* eingeführt und systematisch verwendet werden. Die mit den vier diakritischen Zeichen versehenen Vokalbuchstaben bezeichneten in der überwiegenden Mehrzahl der Fälle Langvokale, sowohl in betonter als auch in unbetonter Stellung. Laut Zagrebin handelt es sich also um Längezeichen – „квантиноты" (idem: 471) –, die wahrscheinlich aus dem griechischen Neumensystem übernommen sind: „из нескольких десятков невменных знаков лишь кремаста ˘ […], вария `, двойная вария ̏ и двойная оксия ˝ в этой нотации по длительности соответствовали целой или половинной ноте" (idem: 474).

Das System der diakritischen Zeichen aus der dritten Periode – von der Mitte des 14. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert – soll eine vollständige Nachbildung des griechischen prosodischen Systems sein. In diesem jüngsten Zeitabschnitt dominiere der Akut (*оксия*), der als Betonungszeichen, als

Längezeichen oder „без всякого фонетического значения" (idem: 473) verwendet werde. Der Gravis (*вария*) habe in dieser Periode erstens eine rein diakritische Funktion und dient dann als Markierung eines wortauslautenden Vokalbuchstabens. Zweitens könne das Zeichen in gewissen Fällen im Inlaut als Betonungszeichen dienen. Drittens finde es sich als Fortsetzung der zweiten Periode in der Funktion des Längezeichens. Vokallänge könne weiter noch mit dem Zeichen *периспомена* (ˆ) sowie auch dem aus der zweiten Periode überlieferten Zeichen *кремаста*, *двойная вария* und *двойная оксия* markiert werden. Außerdem habe ˆ mitunter eine rein diakritische Funktion, „объединяющая согласную и гласную буквы или две гласные […]. Возможно, это подражение особенностям знаков первого периода, ставившихся над диграфами" (ibidem). Schließlich kämen noch *псила* und *дасия* vor, die in Übereinstimmung mit den griechischen Spiritus-Zeichen über anlautende Vokalbuchstaben gesetzt würden. Ganz allgemein bemerkt Zagrebin zur dritten Periode, „что из трех знаков греческой просодики, призванных передавать место словесного ударения (акцента), фактически только оксия наиболее последовательно выполняет эти функции, а вария и периспомена на последних словах […] способ обозначения долготы" (idem: 474).

Der griechische Einfluß in dieser dritten sowie auch bereits in der zweiten Periode ist laut Zagrebin kein Zufall: „Причину их можно объяснить историческими условиями, сложившимися на Афоне, когда именно в последней трети XIII в. и в середине XIV в. активизировались сношения насельников Хиландарского монастыря ‘с просвещенным греческим монашеством'" (idem: 474-475).

Im zweiten Teil seines Aufsatzes beschäftigt Zagrebin sich mit den Akzentzeichen in den Kiever Blättern. Leider stützt er sich dabei lediglich auf die lückenhafte und ganz unbefriedigende Analyse von Nedeljković aus dem Jahre 1964 (siehe Schaeken 1987: 58). Andere Untersuchungen werden dagegen überhaupt nicht erwähnt.

Zagrebin (1995: 477) gelangt zu dem Schluß, daß das System der Akzentzeichen der Kiever Blätter durchaus mit demjenigen der *dritten* Periode des altserbischen Schrifttums übereinstimme. Statt einen Vergleich mit den Ergebnissen von Nedeljković anzustellen, wie Zagrebin es selbst macht (idem: 476-477), werden im folgenden meine eigenen Schlußfolgerungen über die Funktion der Akzentzeichen in den Kiever Blättern derjenigen der dritten altserbischen Periode gegenübergestellt. Dabei beschränke ich mich auf die Deutung der drei Tonzeichen (Gravis/*вария*, Akut/*оксия* und Zirkumflex/*периспомена*) sowie des Dauerzeichens (*кремаста*) und lasse die auch sonst weitverbreiteten Spiritus-

Zeichen (*псила*/Lenis und *дасия*/Asper) außer Betracht.[5] Das letzte gilt auch für den doppelten Gravis und Akut (*двойная вария* und *двойная оксия*), die bekanntlich nicht in den Kiever Blättern vorkommen, obwohl sie im Handschriftenkorpus Zagrebins auch in der dritten Periode noch als „квантиноты" verwendet werden.[6]

	Akzentzeichen in den Kiever Blätter (Trubetzkoy/Kortlandt/Schaeken)	*Akzentzeichen in den altserbischen Handschriften des 14.-16. Jh. (Zagrebin)*
`	– Zeichen der Tonlosigkeit einer Endsilbe	– Zeichen zur Markierung eines wortauslautenden Vokalbuchstabens – Zeichen der Betonung im Inlaut – Zeichen der Länge
´	– Zeichen der Betonung – Zeichen der unkontrahierten Zusammengehörigkeit mit dem folgenden Vokalbuchstaben	– Zeichen der Betonung – Zeichen der Länge – „без всякого фонетического значения"
ˆ/ˆ	– Zeichen der Zusammengehörigkeit zweier Buchstaben zu einer Silbe oder zu einem Worte – Zeichen, wodurch die Endung des G.Pl. von der gleichlautenden des N.Sg.m. unterschieden wird – Übernimmt die Funktion des Gravis – Mögliches Zeichen der Präjotierung des vorderen Nasalvokals[7]	– Zeichen der Zusammengehörigkeit zweier Buchstaben zu einer Silbe oder zu einem Worte – Zeichen der Länge
˘	– Zeichen der Länge	– Zeichen der Länge

[5] Schon muß bemerkt werden, daß die Distribution der Spiritus-Zeichen in der dritten altserbischen Periode nicht mit den Verhältnissen der Kiever Blätter übereinstimmt. Laut Zagrebin (1995: 473) kommen die Zeichen in den von ihm untersuchten Handschriften gewöhnlich auch im Wortinnern in postvokalischer Stellung vor. In den Kiever Blättern dagegen sind sie auf den Wortanlaut beschränkt (siehe Schaeken 1987: 46-51). Der von Zagrebin (idem: 476) angeführte Ausnahmefall достоінъи (3r 4-5) hat in diesem Zusammenhang wegen des unerwarteten Punktes im Wortinnern (also достo·інъи) gar keine Aussagekraft.

[6] Der Grund für das Fehlen der beiden Zeichen in den Kiever Blätter ist nach Zagrebin ziemlich einfach: „писцы и печатники не всегда употребляли весь набор знаков: в некоторых рукописях и старопечатных книгах они обходятся без одного-двух знаков. В КЛ писцы не стали использовать двойную варию (двойную оксию). Этим и объясняется ее отсутствие" (1995: 475).

[7] Bei den angeführten Funktionen des Zirkumflexes handelt es sich um meine eigenen Schlußfolgerungen (siehe 1987: 69-73, 77), die in einigen Punkten von denjenigen Trubetzkoys abweichen.

Dieser Vergleich macht m.E. ganz klar, daß von einem ausschließlichen Abhängigkeitsverhältnis zwischen den Akzentzeichen der Kiever Blätter und der von Zagrebin untersuchten serbischen Schreiberpraxis nicht im mindesten die Rede sein kann. Einzelne Beobachtungen seien noch hervorgehoben:

- In den von Zagrebin behandelten serbischen Handschriften können alle vier diakritischen Zeichen Vokallänge andeuten, während dies in den Kiever Blättern nur für den nach oben offenen Bogen gilt.
- Das einzige Zeichen der Betonung ist in den Kiever Blättern der Akut. In den serbischen Sprachdenkmälern könne laut Zagrebin auch der Gravis in dieser Funktion verwendet werden, und zwar regelmäßig im Wortinlaut. Im Auslaut ist dieselbe Funktion jedoch nicht ausgeschlossen: „вария […] в этом положении всегда совпадает с местом ударения окситонированных слов и определенных форм слов подвижной парадигмы […]. Трудно, однако, абсолютно уверенно такую маркировку интерпретировать как реальное акцентное состояние в живом языке" (idem: 473). In den Kiever Blättern ist der Gravis dagegen gerade das Zeichen der *Tonlosigkeit* einer Endsilbe.
- Zagrebin nimmt für Fälle wie вълитиѣ (2r 6-7), и҆збавлениѣ (4r 10), съдравиѥ (4r 11) u.a. auch eine ganze neue Funktion des Akuts in den Kiever Blättern an. Er soll nämlich eine „сербскую особенность мягкого произношения предшествующего согласного звука („посрбљавање")" (idem: 476) widerspiegeln. Eine solche Annahme kann natürlich erst dann ernsthaft in Erwägung gezogen werden, wenn auch vieles andere für eine serbische Herkunft der Handschrift sprechen würde. Außerdem hat Zagrebin diese vermeintliche Funktion des Akuts auch nicht in serbischen Handschriften der dritten Periode gefunden („[…] обнаружить пока не удалось").
- Nur im Falle der oben an erster Stelle genannten, rein diakritischen Funktion des Zirkumflexes/*периспомена* springt die Übereinstimmung zwischen den Kiever Blättern und den serbischen Handschriften des 14.-16. Jahrhunderts unmittelbar ins Auge. Zagrebin bemerkt aber selbst, daß gerade diese Funktion als Fortsetzung der ältesten serbischen Periode gelten könne: „Возможно, что это подражание особенностям знаков первого периода, ставившихся над диграфами" (idem: 473).

Zusammenfassend kann ich Zagrabin also nicht beistimmen, wenn er folgert: „Функции знаков КЛ […] находят почти полную аналогию в сербских рукописях и инкунабулах конца XIV-XVI вв." (idem: 476).

Die Akzentzeichen beweisen eben nicht, daß die Kiever Blätter eine spätmittelalterliche Abschrift innerhalb einer serbischen Schreibtradition sind.

3. Akzentzeichen und Text

Zagrebins Theorie einer serbischen Sprachschicht in den Kiever Blättern ist nicht neu. So meinte bereits Václav Vondrák (1904 und öfter), daß unsere Handschrift drei Schichten aufweise: die Urfassung sei bei den pannonischen Slovenen entstanden, woraufhin der Text von einem Tschechen auf serbokroatischem Boden kopiert worden sei, während die überlieferte Handschrift von zwei serbischen Schreibern herrühre. Der serbische Einfluß soll laut Vondrák aus den G.Pl.-Formen auf *-ъ̑* hervorgehen, wo der Zirkumflex die Vokallänge bezeichne und mit der Štokavischen G.Pl.-Endung *-ā* im Zusammenhang stehe.

Im Gegensatz zu Zagrebin stützte Vondrák sich nicht nur auf die Akzentzeichen, sondern auch auf weitere Sprachmerkmale, die für eine serbische Schicht in den Kiever Blättern sprechen sollten: G.Pl. *silaxъ* (zweimal) sowie die Pronominalformen N.Pl. *ny* (siebenmal; *my* ist nicht belegt) und N.A.Pl.f. *si* (zweimal). Daß keines der angeführten Argumente stichhaltig ist, habe ich schon andernorts ausführlich dargelegt (1987: 56, 116). Ich möchte in diesem Zusammenhang lediglich betonen, daß ich es für ausgeschlossen halte, daß die Akzentzeichen erst später – d.h. in einem ganz anderen Zeitalter – hinzugefügt worden seien.[8] Bekanntlich sind die Kiever Blätter von zwei verschiedenen Händen geschrieben,[9] und Unterschiede zwischen diesen beiden Händen im Bereich der Paläographie sowie der Verteilung und Funktion der supralinearen Zeichen zeigen eindeutig, daß die Zeichen von den beiden Schreibern selbst gesetzt worden sind. Die paläographischen Unterschiede finden sich vor allem in der Setzung des Akuts sowie des Zirkumflexes[10] und außerdem auch bei Titel, Spiritus asper und Spiritus

[8] Damit meine ich nicht die ganz vereinzelten Fälle, auf die bereits Matejka (1963: 160-161) hingewiesen hat und bei denen es sich wahrscheinlich tatsächlich um nachträgliche Akzentzeichen handelt (vgl. auch Zagrebin 2006: 189). Obwohl die Frage sich nur anhand des Originals entscheiden läßt, hat es den Anschein, daß einige Zeichen nicht mit schwarzer Tinte geschrieben, sondern mit einem scharfen Gegenstand eingeritzt sind. Aufgrund des Faksimiles bei Jagić (1890) und Mohlberg (1928) läßt sich dies vor allem bei einigen Akutzeichen am Anfang des Textes vermuten: лѣ́та (1v 2), кли́мента (1v 3), ἀпо́столоу (1v 20-21).

[9] Hand A: 1v 1 bis 2v 7 (173 Wörter); Hand B: 2v 8 bis 7v 23 (918 Wörter).

[10] Beim Zirkumflex muß auch die unterschiedliche Position des Zeichens über Buchstabenkomplexen miteinbezogen werden (siehe weiter Schaeken 1987: 69).

lenis (vgl. die graphischen Darstellungen bei Schaeken 1987: 29-30). Unterschiede bezüglich Distribution und Funktion der Zeichen gibt es mehrere:

- Kortlandts Akzentregel, laut welcher der Akzent von einer offenen Endsilbe zurückgezogen wurde, gilt in Bezug auf die Imperativformen auf *-i* nur für Hand B; bei Hand A finden wir in diesen Fällen Endbetonung (vgl. idem: 65, 77).
- Nur Hand B verwendet den Zirkumflex über *y* im Wortinneren als Zeichen der Zusammengehörigkeit zweier Buchstaben zu einer Silbe oder zu einem Wort (idem: 72).
- Bei Hand A werden Adjektive und Substantive verhältnismäßig viel öfter mit einem Akut zur Bezeichnung der Tonstelle versehen als bei Hand B (idem: 66).
- Auch der Akut als Zeichen der unkontrahierten Zusammengehörigkeit zweier Vokalbuchstaben kommt bei Hand A relativ oft vor (idem: 66-67).
- Dasselbe gilt für das Längezeichen, das Hand A verhältnismäßig oft verwendet (idem: 74).
- Die Pronominalform *ny* wird bei Hand B sowohl mit dem Zirkumflex als mit dem Gravis versehen; Hand A verwendet dagegen nur den Gravis (idem: 72).
- Bei Hand A kommt die Postposition *radi* zweimal vor und wird beide Male mit einem Zirkumflex über dem letzten Buchstaben versehen. Hand B schreibt die Form bis fol. 6r ohne Zirkumflex (sieben Belege) und fängt erst dann an, sie gelegentlich mit dem Akzentzeichen zu versehen: siebenmal mit und dreimal ohne Zirkumflex (idem: 73).

Aus diesen Beobachtungen geht m.E. ganz klar hervor, daß die Akzentzeichen der Kiever Blätter nicht unabhängig vom überlieferten Text gesehen werden können.

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ZU DER FREMDBEZEICHNUNG ARMENIENS ALTPERS. *ARMINA*-

RÜDIGER SCHMITT

Der Landesname *Armina-* ‘Armenien’ und das darauf fußende, nach geläufigem Muster gebildete Ethnikon *Arminiya-* ‘Armenier’[1] sind bekanntlich in diesen altpersischen Formen erstmals auf den Inschriften der Achaimenidenkönige bezeugt. Da die Armenier in ihren eigenen armenischsprachigen Texten sich aber selbst *Hay* (Plural *Hayk‘*) und ihr Land *Hayastan* nennen – hier ist umgekehrt der Name des Volkes primär –, muß es sich bei dem Namen *Armina-* klärlich um eine Fremdbezeichnung, bei *Arminiya-* folglich um ein “Alloethnonym” handeln. Diese Namen sollen hier noch einmal (vgl. früher schon Schmitt 1980: 7f.) betrachtet werden, und zwar zunächst mit Blick auf eine möglichst vollständige Erfassung der ältesten Zeugnisse und Belegstellen.

Im Altpersischen ist der Landesname *a-r-m*^{i}*-i-n-* /Armina-/ an folgenden Stellen[2] belegt: DB I 15, II 30, 32, 50, 52, DPe 12, DNa 27, XPh 20 (sowie, nach den Parallelversionen vollständig ergänzt, DSe 27, DSm 8). Als Bewohnername findet sich *a-r-m*^{i}*-i-n-i-y-* /Arminiya-/ in DB II 29, III 78f., IV 29, A^{3}Pb 20; nur in DNe 20 steht bemerkenswerterweise *a-r-*[*m*^{i}*-i-n*], also der Landesname anstelle des Bewohnernamens.[3] Sonderbar erscheint fürs erste dagegen der sechsmalige Lokativ *a-r-m*^{i}*-i-n-i-y-i-y* DB II 59, 63 bzw., mit defektiver Schreibung[4], *a-r-m*^{i}*-n-i-y-i-y* DB II 33f., 39, 44, 48, der scheinbar vom Bewohnernamen *Arminiya-* gebildet ist. Er ist auf die Passage DB II 33–63 beschränkt, wo er kurz nach dem ersten Beleg (DB II 29) des Bewohnernamens folgt. Die auffällige Form ist jedoch leicht als

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[1] Die tabellarische Übersicht bei Schmitt 1977: 96f. (in der übrigens unter anderem die Formen *Bāxtriya-* und **Sugdiya-* [in elam. hh.*Šu-ig-ti-ya-ip*, h.*Šu-ug-ti-ya-ip*] nachzutragen sind) zeigt, daß dieser Bildungstypus (Ableitung mittels Suffix *-iya-*) ebenso bei iranischen (*Asagarta-* → *Asagartiya-*, *Maka-* → *Mačiya-*) wie bei fremden Namen (*Kūša-* → *Kūšiya-*, *Sparda-* → *Spardiya-*) geläufig ist.

[2] Die Texte werden nach dem von Kent 1953 verwendeten Siglensystem, das bei Schmitt 2000 weitergeführt und variiert worden ist, zitiert.

[3] Zu diesem Problem vgl. Schmitt 1999: 9f. Die von Vallat 1993: 86 erwogene Ergänzung zu *a-r-*[*m*^{i}*-i-n-i-y*] kommt aus Platzgründen wohl nicht in Betracht.

[4] Hierzu vgl. Schmitt 1990: 25f.

das Ergebnis einer “Homographenflucht” zu erklären, da die regulär zu erwartende Lokativform /Arminai/ als *a-r-m*^{i}*-(i-)n-i-y* geschrieben werden müßte, ebenso wie die Nominativform /Arminiya/ des Ethnikons (vgl. Kent 1943: 223 Anm. 5; Schmitt 1977: 96 Anm. 16; 1980: 7; 1991: 58 ad 33f., 1999: 9 Anm. 23; Mayrhofer 1980: 135 Anm. 25 = 1996: 358 Anm. 25). Als einfacher Ausweg aus dem Dilemma bot sich die “Doppelung” der Lokativendung *-i-y* an, so daß die Form korrekt wohl als /Arminaiyai/ (und nicht als /Arminiyai/) zu normalisieren ist.[5]

In den elamischen Versionen der Königsinschriften wird offenbar durchwegs die altpersische Form des Ethnikons lautgetreu reflektiert. Es steht für den Landesnamen, wie auch sonst, öfters der Plural des Ethnikons: v.*Har-mi-nu-ya-ip* DB I 12, II 22, 24, 26, 38, 40, 48, h.*Har-mi-nu-ya-ip* DB II 29, 33 (etwa /Arminiya-p/). In DNa 22 und (ergänzt) DSe 22 findet sich bloßes v.*Har-mi-nu-ya*, und in Xerxes’ sog. Daiva-Inschrift entspricht h.*Har-mi-nu* XPh 16 sicher nur scheinbar altpers. *Armina-*. Entgegen Sims-Williams 1978: 98, der hierin “a contracted form of ... *Har-mi-nu-ya* ~ *Armin(i)ya*” sehen wollte[6], ist wohl eher an ein Versehen des Schreibers zu denken, den Cameron 1954–1959: 472 als des Elamischen wenig kundig charakterisiert und vieler graphischer Irrtümer geziehen hat.[7] Die einfachste Erklärung für diesen Gebrauch der suffixlosen Form des Bewohnernamens *Har-mi-nu-ya* als Landesname ist wohl die, sie als Analogiebildung nach jenen Fällen zu verstehen, bei denen im Elamischen das Ethnikon sich vom Landesnamen nur durch das angefügte Personalsuffix unterscheidet: v.*Har-mi-nu-ya* wurde zu v.*Har-mi-nu-ya-ip* ‘Armenier’ hinzugebildet, weil es etwa zu v.*Bar-tu-ma* ‘Parthien’ (altpers. *Parϑava-*) v.*Bar-tu-ma-ip* ‘Parther’ heißt. – Der Singular des Bewohnernamens findet sich (erwartungsgemäß) als v.*Har-mi-nu-ya-ir* DB II 22, III 36 bzw. v.*Har-mi-nu-ya-ra* DB III 58 (etwa /Arminiya-r/). In der (an der betreffenden Stelle beschädigten) Thronträger-Beischrift DNe 20 wäre diese Form ebenfalls zu erwarten, während in A^{3}Pb 20 v.*Har-mi-nu-ya* die Normalform des Ethnikons vorzuliegen scheint.[8] Außerhalb der Königsinschriften gibt es

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[5] Die für drei dieser sechs Lokativbelege bei Bartholomae 1904: 197 kodifizierte Form *Armaniya-* (mit *a* in der zweiten Silbe) ist jahrzehntelang weitergeschleppt worden, obwohl schon Weissbach–Bang 1908: XI sie berichtigt hatten.

[6] Daß der Schreiber *-ya* bewußt weggelassen habe, weil er an dieser Form als Ethnikon Anstoß nahm, wird man nicht unterstellen dürfen.

[7] Für die Annahme einer Haplographie, eines Homoioteleutons oder einer ähnlichen Vereinfachung sehe ich keinen Anhalt.

[8] Dieser Schein kann allerdings trügen, da in der Länderliste DNa 22 (vgl. oben) dieselbe Form als Landesname auftritt (vgl. Schmitt 1999: 20 mit Anm. 32).

bislang nur einen einzigen Beleg, mit leicht abweichender Schreibung, für die Wendung hh.*kur-taš Har-man-nu-ya-ip* 'armenische Arbeiter' (PF-NN 1344, 4).

Dagegen sind die babylonischen Versionen der Königsinschriften sowie die Reste des aramäischen Bīsutūn-Textes (DB) für die Betrachtung des hier diskutierten Namens ohne Relevanz. Im Babylonischen entsprechen altpers. *Armina*- und *Arminiya*- nämlich die für das Siedlungsgebiet der Armenier schon in urartäischer Zeit im Akkadischen eingebürgerten Namen KUR.*Ú-ra-áš-ṭu* 'Achaimenidisch-Armenien', eigentlich 'Urartu' (DB 6, 49ter, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57[9], DNa 16, DSe 19), *Ú-ra-áš-ṭa*.KI (DSaa 25), KUR.*Ur-áš-ṭu* (XPh 15) bzw. LÚ.*Ú-ra-áš-ṭa-a-a* 'Armenier' (DB 48, 85, 94, A^{3}Pb 20). Und den gleichen Sprachgebrauch zeigt auch die aramäische DB-Version, die sich ja überhaupt gewöhnlich an die babylonische Textfassung anschließt: der Landesname *ʾrrṭ* steht in DB 8bis, 9, 12, 16, 19, 20 und das Ethnikon *ʾ*[*rrṭy*] in DB 8 (für die Belege vgl. Porten–Lund 2002: 428ab bzw. 439a).

Für diese Überlieferungslücke treten dann aber überraschenderweise hieroglyphisch-ägyptische Zeugnisse ein: Auf zweien der Stelen vom Suez-Kanal Dareios' I. – denen von Tall al-Masḫūta (Nr. 8 bei Posener 1936: 54 und pl. IV) und von Kabrīt/Šalūf (Nr. 9 bei Posener 1936: 69f. und pl. V, frg. 6) – findet sich jeweils im 2. Register mit der Repräsentation der Reichsvölker in Kartusche 14 der Name ägypt. *ꜣ-rw-m*'*-jj-n-ꜣ*, vereinfacht *ꜣrmjnꜣ* /Armina/ 'Armenien'. Und ebenso erscheint unter den 24 Repräsentanten der Reichsvölker auf den Seitenflächen des Sockels der in Susa gefundenen Dareios-Statue – bei allen Unterschieden im Detail stimmt die Reihenfolge genau mit den Kanalstelen überein – wieder als Nr. 14 der Name *ꜣrmjnꜣ* 'Armenien' (vgl. Roaf 1974: 124f. mit fig. 30). Das Auftreten dieses Namens ist deshalb bemerkenswert, weil es der traditionellen Lehrmeinung, die iranischen Namen seien üblicherweise durch das Aramäische nach Ägypten und ins Ägyptische vermittelt worden, insofern widerspricht, als der Name *Armina* in den aramäischen Quellen aus dem achaimenidenzeitlichen Ägypten gerade nicht bezeugt ist, sondern dort vielmehr (vgl. oben) nur Belege für *ʾrrṭ* 'Urarṭu' nachgewiesen werden können. Allerdings begegnen diese Belege nur in einer einzigen Inschrift, der aramäischen Version des Bīsutūn-Textes. Es ist in diesem Zusammenhang aber auch zu bemerken, daß ein neuer, erst kürzlich aus

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9 Das Fragment eines zweiten Exemplars dieses Textes aus Babylon selbst hat den Namen an der entsprechenden Stelle (BE 3627, I, 6) ausgelassen (vgl. von Voigtlander 1978: 63 und 65, hier mit einer ungenauen Angabe zum Elamischen).

einem (noch unpublizierten) demotischen Dokument aus Saqqara[10] bekanntgewordener Beleg des Königsnamens Artaxerxes in der Form demot. [ꜣ*rtẖ*]*šst*, die nur in bibl.-aram., bibl.-hebr. *ʼrtḥššt*(ʼ), *ʼrtḥšst*, nicht aber im sog. Reichsaramäischen ihr genaues Gegenstück hat, dazu mahnt, bei der Betrachtung dieses Problems den Blick nicht auf die Sprache der offiziellen Verwaltungstexte zu beschränken.

Im Griechischen ist der Name der Ἀρμένιοι – und unter dieser griechischen Namensform sind sie dann allenthalben in Europa bekanntgeworden – zuerst bei Herodot 1, 180, 1; 1, 194, 2–5 usw., dann bei Xenophon (Kyr. 2, 1, 6 usw.) bezeugt; und ihr Land heißt Ἀρμενίη bei Herodot 5, 52, 3–5 bzw. von Xenophon an Ἀρμενίᾱ (Anab. 3, 5, 17 usw.; Kyr. 3, 2, 18 usw.). Da für den Landesnamen von altpers. *Armina*- auszugehen ist und weder der angebliche Lokativ "/Arminiyai/" noch der elamische Befund (zu beidem vgl. oben) zwingend einen Landesnamen altpers. **Arminiya*- voraussetzen, entbehrt die Form griech. Ἀρμενίη/-ίᾱ einer genauen iranischen Vorlage. Nach geläufigem griechischem Muster bildete man den Landesnamen als ursprünglich adjektivisches Attribut (auf -ίη/-ίᾱ) zu γῆ oder χώρᾱ 'Land', das seinerseits mit der Zeit entbehrlich wurde. Der Landesname geht folglich vom Bewohnernamen Ἀρμένιοι ← *Arminiya*- aus, der als primär zu betrachten ist und allein aus dem Altpersischen übernommen wurde.

Nach diesem Überblick über die ältesten Zeugnisse des Namens mag erneut seine Deutung ins Auge gefaßt werden. Bereits Hübschmann 1904: 205f. Anm. 6 hatte vor hundert Jahren das Fehlen einer überzeugenden etymologischen Erklärung beklagt, und an dieser Einschätzung der Dinge hat sich seitdem praktisch nichts geändert. Es hat zwar an diesbezüglichen Versuchen nicht gefehlt[11], aber sie alle sind über bloße Spekulationen ohne jegliche Fundierung nicht hinausgekommen. Und viele dieser Versuche scheitern schon daran, daß sie nicht von dem primären Landesnamen, sondern von dem eindeutig sekundär hieraus abgeleiteten Ethnonym ausgingen. Dies gilt zum Beispiel für die Ansicht von Brandenstein 1954: 81 (vgl. Brandenstein 1961: 693f.), der das Ethnonym auf idg. "**r̥mini̯os*" zurückführen und dieses mit ahd. *irmin*- 'groß' vergleichen wollte[12], wobei

[10] Ich verdanke die Kenntnis dieses "record of events occurring to various named Mother of Apis cows" der Freundlichkeit des Herausgebers Harry S. Smith (Brief vom 19. April 2004).

[11] Hinweise auf ältere Literatur, die aber bestenfalls noch von forschungsgeschichtlichem Interesse ist, sind bei Schmitt 1980: 8 gegeben.

[12] Es war wohl allein der etymologische Vergleich mit *irmin*-, der Eilers 1971: 45 Anm. 78 veranlaßt hat, dies als "abwegig" einzustufen.

die uns bekannte Form die für das Phrygische geltende Lautentwicklung aufweise, was zugleich Herodots Nachricht (7, 73) über die Abstammung der Armenier von den Phrygern bestätige.

Die Überlegungen früherer Forscher gingen in die unterschiedlichsten Richtungen. Aber sicher steht zunächst einmal nur das eine fest, daß der Name 'unarmenisch' (Hübschmann 1904: 234) und folglich auf keinen Fall aus dem Armenischen herzuleiten ist. Dies wird durch zwei Fakten über jeden Zweifel erhoben, dadurch daß zum einen die Armenier sich selbst *Hay*(*-k'*) nannten und daß im übrigen auch die anderen in der Bīsutūn-Inschrift mit *Armina-*/*Arminiya-* in Beziehung stehenden Personen- und geographischen Namen nicht aus dem Armenischen herzuleiten sind (vgl. Schmitt 1980).

Die Verknüpfung des Namens der Ἀρμένιοι mit verschiedenen geographischen Namen der Balkanhalbinsel und Kleinasiens – zu nennen sind insbesondere die Stadt Ἀρμένιον in Thessalien (Strabon 11, 4, 8; 11, 14, 12)[13] = Ὀρμένιον (so bei Homer B 734) = "jetzt" Ὀρμίνιον (nach Strabon 9, 5, 18), das Gebirge Ὀρμίνιον in Bithynien (Ptolemaios 5, 1, 10–11) und der Hafenplatz Ἀρμένη bei Sinope (zuerst Xenophon, Anab. 6, 1, 15 [dort aber Ἀρμήνη]) –, in denen man gar Spuren der prähistorischen Einwanderungswege der Armenier hat sehen wollen, die diesen ihren Namen bei der Landnahme von dorther mitgebracht hätten, geht letztlich auf antike Theorien zur Herkunft der Armenier zurück, die Strabon 11, 14, 12 referiert und die in der Moderne vor allem Kretschmer 1896: 209–211 (vgl. Kretschmer 1950: 175) aufgegriffen hat. Gegen diese These ist aber ganz entschieden einzuwenden, daß (altpers.) *Armina-*, die bei den südlichen, iranischen Nachbarn übliche Bezeichnung Armeniens, ganz offenkundig eine "unarmenische" (vgl. oben) Fremdbezeichnung ist, die die Armenier demnach nicht schon bei ihrer Einwanderung mitgebracht haben können.

Da die Armenier sich dort niedergelassen haben, wo zuvor das Reich der Urartäer bestanden hatte, und da zudem zwei der textlich mit *Armina-*/*Arminiya-* verbundenen Personennamen "mehr oder weniger wahrscheinlich urartäisch sind" (Schmitt 1980: 12f.), lag der Gedanke nahe, die Herkunft auch des Namens *Armina-* im Urartäischen zu suchen. So hat etwa Eilers 1954 (= 1988): 322f. Anm. 65 (vgl. Eilers 1971: 45) *Armina-* an Namen mit dem Anlaut *Aram-* in Urartu und dessen Umfeld anknüpfen wollen, speziell an den des legendären Stammvaters *Aram* der Armenier, der in dem urartäischen König (assyr.) ^{m}*A*(*r*)*-ra-mu*/*-me* (vgl. Radner 1998: 132f.),

13 An beiden Stellen nennt Strabon den von dort stammenden Ἄρμενος, der als Begleiter Iasons auch nach Armenien gekommen sein soll.

einem Gegenspieler Salmanassars III., sein historisches Vorbild hat. Eine genaue Analyse der Form ist dabei aber nicht gelungen, denn sie hat sich auf die Abtrennung des Pluralformans (hurrit.-)urart. *-ni*, akkadisiert *-inu* beschränkt (vgl. Eilers 1964: 193 Anm. 43; 1982: 28 Anm. 80), damit aber die formalen Unterschiede zu altpers. *Armina-* nicht erklärt. Im übrigen hat Eilers, a.a.O. (1964) den Namen, gewissermaßen 'die Leute des Aram', ausdrücklich als 'Stammesname nach männlichem Personennamen (ἥρως ἐπώνυμος)' verstanden, also die Priorität des Landesnamens vor dem Volksnamen nicht beachtet. Der gleiche Einwand gilt auch gegenüber der in neuerer Zeit insbesondere von D'jakonov 1981b: 126 Anm. 45 (vgl. D´jakonov 1981a: 55; D'jakonov–Kaškaj 1981: 11) vertretenen Auffassung, daß letztlich von dem Plural zu urart. **Arm-inə* 'Bewohner des Landes Armə' auszugehen sei, einer Bildung mit dem Zugehörigkeitssuffix *-ini* von dem in urart. KUR.*Ar-me-e* belegten Namen eines Landes am oberen Tigris. Da D'jakonov nun aber die Kluft zwischen diesem urartäischen Landesnamen und altpers. *Armina-* mittels eines Bewohnernamens, der im übrigen durch aramäische Vermittlung zu den Persern gelangt sein soll, überbrücken muß, ist also auch diese Theorie zum Scheitern verurteilt.

Bedenkt man, daß der Name *Armina-* zuerst in achaimenidischer Zeit auftritt und daß sämtliche Belege ganz offensichtlich von der altpersischen Form ausgehen, so ist es nur natürlich, auch zu überprüfen, ob es sich dabei nicht um eine genuin iranische Bildung handelt. Der einzige mir bekannte Vorschlag dieser Art ist der von Pirart 1999: 468 Anm. 15, der das Ethnonym *a-r-m^{i}-i-n-i-y-*, das er seiner Etymologie zuliebe als /Āriminiya-/ las, als 'descendants de héros' gedeutet hat, wozu er den etwas kryptischen Hinweis "de *ārmina-*, **armin-* 'qui a des bras (puissants)'" gab. Eine (unbezeugte) Vr̥ddhiableitung **ārmina-* 'zu den **armin-* gehörend, von ihnen abstammend o.ä." von **armin-* 'Held' (im Sinne von Thieme 1955: 191 = 1971: 670 eigentlich 'der durch die ihm eigentümlichen [scil.: starken] Arme Charakterisierte'), das seinerseits auf altiran. **arma-* 'Arm' (= avest. *ar*(*ə*)*ma-* = ved. *īrmá-*) beruht[14], wäre zwar völlig korrekt gebildet. Sie kommt aber als Landesname (wie Pirart die als Basis für das Ethnonym dienende, nicht mit Asterisk versehene Form offenbar versteht) aus semantischen Gründen nicht in Frage. Die von Pirart für den angeblich anfangs einem medischen Stamm beigelegten Namen angeführte Bedeutung 'descendants de héros' ist nämlich nicht der *-iya*-Ableitung, sondern bereits deren Grundlage zuzuordnen. So hat also auch Pirart,

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[14] Man vergleiche etwa die Reihe ved. *áśva-* 'Pferd' → *aśvín-* 'Pferde besitzend usw.; Aśvin' → *āśviná-* 'den Aśvin gehörend'.

dessen Erklärung die Annahme des Personen bezeichnenden *-*in*-Suffixes voraussetzt – während die weitere Ableitung mittels -*iya*- dann ganz unmotiviert und unnötig ist –, darüber hinweggesehen, daß die primär zu erklärende Form *Armina*- der Name eines Landes und nicht der von dessen Bevölkerung ist. Insofern sind die Einwände mutatis mutandis die gleichen wie die, die oben gegen die Urartäisch-Thesen von Eilers und D'jakonov vorzubringen waren.

Angesichts dieser Forschungssituation stellt sich die Frage, ob nicht die morphologische Analyse, die sich vom Iranischen her in erster Linie anbietet, sachlich (semasiologisch) hinreichend zu begründen ist, nämlich der Ansatz *Arm-ina*-. Ein Suffix indoiran. *-*ina*- (< idg. *-*ino*-) mit der Bedeutung 'versehen/behaftet mit etwas' ist zwar nicht gerade sehr gut belegt, aber als Ableger der ursprünglichen Stoffadjektive auf idg. *-*ino*- auch nicht völlig auszuschließen. Und dann ist ein substantiviertes Adjektiv dieser Art als Ortsbezeichnung 'mit **arma*-s versehene(r) Ort/Gegend' gleichfalls durchaus denkbar, sofern dem Derivatum nur ein semantisch passendes Grundwort (indo)iran. **arma*- zugrundegelegt werden kann. Ein solches Lexem liegt nun in indoiran. **árma*- (= ved. *árma*- = avest. *arma*-[15]) vor, dessen Bedeutungsansatz in jüngerer Zeit, beginnend mit Hoffmann 1960: 68 Anm. 2 = 1975: 124 Anm. 2, lebhaft diskutiert worden ist: Im Gefolge von Rau 1976: 44–48, der die vedischen Belegstellen von *árma*- und *armaká*-[16] im einzelnen besprochen hat, konnte Humbach 1985: 189 zusammenfassend resümieren, daß diese Wörter "denote some sort of localities" und daß die Bedeutung von *árma*- "must be close to that of *áraṇya*- 'wilderness'". Namentlich für diese letztgenannte Spezifizierung hat dann Hettrich 1993: 139 mit Anm. 27 aus der magischen Weltanschauung der spätvedischen Zeit heraus noch eine genauere Begründung gewonnen. Da Hettrich 1993: 137 auch überzeugend nachgewiesen hat, "daß es für eine Bedeutung 'Brunnen' keine positiven Argumente gibt" – eine solche hatte Schmidt 1987: 290-293 zur Stütze der von ihm angenommenen Gleichung mit westtochar. *ālme* 'Brunnen' (< idg. *h_2*elmo*-) erschlossen –, steht dem nichts im Wege, die Bedeutung von ved. *árma*- als 'verlassener, verödeter

[15] Gemeint ist hiermit avest. ²*arma*- (vgl. unten), das von ¹*ar(ə)ma*- „Arm" = ved. *īrmá*- (vgl. oben) verschieden ist.

[16] Dies ist schon in R̥S 1, 133, 3 cd belegt.

Siedlungsplatz (Siedlungshügel?)'[17] zu bestimmen.[18] Hiermit ist auch der Bedeutungsansatz 'a place apart' bestens zu vereinbaren, den Humbach 1985: 191f. aus den avestischen Belegstellen für ^{2}*arma-*[19] gewinnen konnte.

Aus diesem Befund für ved. *árma-* = avest. ^{2}*arma-* ist für einen Landesnamen (altpers.) *Arm-ina-* die Grundbedeutung 'mit verlassenen Siedlungsplätzen versehene Gegend' zu erschließen. Ist dies zur Charakterisierung einer Region, in der nach der Landnahme der Armenier zahlreiche der Verödung preisgegebene Anlagen urartäischer Festungen, Siedlungen und Heiligtümer zu sehen gewesen sein müssen, so gänzlich abwegig?

Laboe

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17 So, nach Früheren, insbesondere Rau 1976: 50 ('deserted resting places') und Hettrich 1993: 140.

18 Dabei soll hier nicht weiter darüber spekuliert werden, ob primär eine Zerstörung durch Feinde oder eine Aufgabe aus freien Stücken (wegen Weiterziehens) für die Verödung ausschlaggebend war.

19 Belegt ist dieser Stamm im Lok. *airime* (V. 9, 33; 16, 8) sowie in den Komposita *airime.aŋhad-* 'sitting in a place apart' (Yt. 13, 73), *armaē.šad-/armōi-žd-* 'dass.' (Y. 62, 8; N. 103) und *armaē-stā-* 'staying in a place apart' (Y. 68, 6; Yt. 5, 78 usw.).

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THE PROBLEM OF SPIRANTIZATION AND NASALIZATION IN BRITTONIC CELTIC

PATRICK SIMS-WILLIAMS

> The ancient Cornish language had also arrested his attention, and he had, I remember, conceived the idea that it was akin to the Chaldean, and had been largely derived from the Phoenician traders in tin. He had received a consignment of books upon philology and was settling down to develop this thesis when suddenly, to my sorrow and to his unfeigned delight, we found ourselves, even in that land of dreams, plunged into a problem . . . . (Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Adventure of the Devil's Foot*)

1. Introduction

In Welsh, Cornish, and Breton, etymological double voiceless stops appear as voiceless spirants, as in Welsh *cyff* 'chest' < Latin *cippus*, *cath* 'cat' < **kattos* (or Late Latin *cattus*), and *coch* 'red' < Latin *coccum* (or a cognate). The old consensus was that the Brittonic spirantization resulted in direct way from some sort of "strong" pronunciation of the double stops, although there are differences in the notation used by different linguists: for example, Rhys (1879: 61 and 75) wrote *ci*[*pp*]*hus*, Jackson's system (1967: 307) requires *KiPPus*, Koch's (1989) requires *Kip.pus*, and Isaac's (1993: 14) requires [k^hipp^{h}us].[1] On the other hand, Greene (1956: 289) proposed that once intervocalic *single* voiceless stops had been lenited (that is, voiced) — Celtic **katus* > Brittonic **kaduh* (> Welsh *cad* 'battle') would be an example — the *double* (or "strong") ones could be simplified, as in **kattos* (or **KaTos*) > Brittonic **katoh* (> Welsh *cath* 'cat'). According to Greene, these simplified voiceless stops subsequently underwent what would be termed "lenition" in Irish phonology although "spirantization" is the preferred term in Brittonic: /t/ > /θ/ in the case of **katoh* > *cath* 'cat'.

[1] The allophonic aspiration of stops in Celtic, as indicated here, was discussed by McCone (1996:82-84), who came to the conclusion that it is not relevant to the issue of lenition. For further discussion, without reference to McCone, see Isaac 2004. The latter's discussion of the borrowing of the name *Patricius* into Irish (pp. 71-74) lies beyond the scope of this article, but cf. some comments in Sims-Williams 2005.

Greene's insight (1956, 1966) was never accepted by Jackson (1960, 1967), but was accepted by many other scholars, including the recipient of this *Festschrift* (Kortlandt 1982: 82), and Harvey (1984) and Thomas (1990) developed it productively. Isaac (2004), however, has challenged what he calls the "revisionist" accounts of Brittonic spirantization by Harvey (1984), Thomas (1990), and myself (Sims-Williams 1990), and has attempted to reinstate a version of what he calls the "'standard' account" by Jackson which, as he says, "has been a minority view for some decades" (Isaac 2004: 49). According to Isaac, the "revisionist" schemes fall down on details but cannot be saved by minor permutations (2004: 60). As Isaac's main criticisms revolve round a minor problem with Welsh nasalization, which only featured in Thomas's paper, the inability of the other two "revisionists" to explain it is more of a prediction than a descriptive statement, and like any prediction it is open to falsification, which will be provided below. This is more than a debating point, because a cornerstone of Isaac's argument in favour of the older theory is the precept that "since it is apparent that the theory that the spirants are not the direct reflexes of the geminates is wrong, it follows of necessity that the theory that they are the direct reflexes of geminates is correct" (2004: 60).

2. The first three Spirantizations

According to the "revisionist" view the earliest relevant stage is Lenition. Lenition was treated by Harvey as a single stage, but was divided by Thomas and myself (working independently), and by most subsequent scholars (e.g. McCone 1996: 84), into two: (1) the First, or Voiced, Spirantization, e.g. /VdV/ > /VðV/ (also attested in Irish), followed by (2) Voicing, e.g. /VtV/ > /VdV/. These developments allowed old geminates to be simplified, perhaps also in two stages, e.g. (1b) /dd/ > /d/ and (2b) /tt/ > /t/, as in Harvey's examples **kredd-* 'believe' and **bratt-* 'cloak', where the dentals became new single consonants, respectively /d/ and /t/. The new single voiced consonants generally remained intact, as in Welsh *credaf* 'I believe', but in various environments the single voiceless consonants subsequently underwent the Second, or Voiceless, Spirantization, as in Welsh *brethyn.*

Whether the Second, or Voiceless, Spirantization occurred before or after the loss of final syllables (Apocope) is a moot point and contrary opinions have been expressed. On the one hand, Greene, Harvey, and others favoured a date after Apocope (e.g. **kat* > *cath* 'cat', **talk* > *talch* 'oatmeal'). On the other hand, Thomas (1990: 7 and 16) favoured a date after the loss of final consonants but before the completion of Apocope

(e.g. **kato* > **kaθo*, **talko* > **talxo*).[2] This was because Thomas saw Voiceless Spirantization as a typically intervocalic lenition process similar to the earlier Lenition (cf. Jackson 1960: 131-32; Russell 1995: 116 and 241). This attractive point of view has presumably not won approval because the spirantization after word-final *-r* and *-l* exemplified by Breton **p* in *an amzer Fask* 'Eastertime' and *Sul Fask* 'Easter Sunday' obviously occurred after the completion of Apocope.[3] The answer to this conundrum is to separate the intervocalic Second, or Voiceless, Spirantization from the spirantization after /r/ and /l/ and see the latter, with Russell (1995: 242), as a later and distinct process, a *Third* Spirantization. A strong point in favour of this is that this Third Spirantization after /r/ and /l/ affected *voiced* as well as voiceless stops, e.g. **kerd* > Welsh *cerdd* 'craft' (*dd* = /ð/) and **bolg* > Middle Welsh *boly* 'bag' (Russell 1985 and 1995: 116 and 241-42; cf. Thomas 1990: 33; McCone 1996: 93-95; Schrijver 1999: 1-3). My working hypothesis, therefore is that the Second Spirantization *preceded* Apocope and affected only intervocalic voiceless stops and that the Third Spirantization *followed* Apocope and affected both voiced and voiceless stops after /r/ and /l/.

2 Isaac (2004:74) objects that Latin *occasio/*accasio* was borrowed into Irish via British (cf. Welsh *achos*) after Brittonic Apocope (cf. Thurneysen 1946:192 and 568) and would have given ***achuis* rather than *accuis* 'cause' in Irish if Brittonic spirantization had occurred before Brittonic Apocope. This objection depends on what McManus (1984:157) has called 'the gratuitous assumption that [borrowing through British] is the only plausible explanation for the absence of the foreign inflectional endings'. The borrowing of *accuis* can be placed at a stage after that of *ortha* < *oratio* but before that of *oróit* < *oratio* (see McManus 1983:28-29 and 59). As McManus (1984:156-61) shows, words like *accuis* and *oróit* lack endings because they were borrowed into post-Apocope Irish, not because they had lost their endings in the source language. Indeed, the palatalization of the final consonant of *accuis* and the fact that it is partly declined as an n-stem (Thurneysen 1946:192; McManus 1984:155 n. 39; Breatnach 2005:149) indicate that it has come from Latin rather than post-Apocope British. In any case, one should not assume that Brittonic /x/ would have to be borrowed as Irish /x/, a type of argument of which Isaac himself is elsewhere wary (cf. 2004:73). Speakers of Irish and Old English seem to have been reluctant to identify the Brittonic /x/ with their own /x/ phonemes; see Jackson 1953:565-72; Sims-Williams 1990:219 and 248-50; 1996:40. Anyway, a stop pronunciation may have been maintained in the Latin through which *accuis* reached Irish. Other borrowings of various dates containing *cc* are *aiccend* < *accentus* (cf. Welsh *acen*), *óccáit* < ?*occasio* and *accidit* < *accidentia* (cf. McManus 1983:65 and 69 and 1984:143 and 148).

3 Notwithstanding Thomas's rather desperate suggestion that Breton expressions like *dour zomm* 'warm water' and *Sul Fask* derived from late 'quasi compounds' such as */duvrote:mmos/ < */dubros te:mmos/ and */so:lipaskas/ < */so:lis paskas/ (1990:33). Thomas himself rightly points out that this explanation will not work in the case of *war zu* 'towards', where the *-r* was never intervocalic.

3 Isaac's critique of Thomas

According to Thomas's convincing hypothesis, what I am calling the Second Spirantization followed the beginning of the gradual loss of some or most final consonants. The most notable of these lost consonants was *-s*: the words for 'her' < **esja:s* and 'three' < **tri:s* trigger Voiceless Spirantization (the so-called 'spirant mutation') of a following word in all Brittonic languages (e.g. Welsh *ei thad* 'her father', *tri thad* 'three fathers'). Thomas suggested a similarly early loss of *-k*, in Welsh only, to account for the fact that the word for 'and' < **ak* triggers the spirant mutation in Welsh (e.g. *a thad* 'and father'). The finer points about *-s* (better written *-h* by this stage) and *-k* are not relevant here, but the loss of *-n* is. Thomas placed final *-n* loss after Voiceless Spirantization in Welsh but before it in Breton in order to account for the fact that the word for 'my' < **min* triggers the spirant mutation only in Breton, with Welsh having the nasal mutation instead. His final stages (Thomas 1990: 40) were thus:

Proto-Welsh	**Proto-Breton**
Voiceless Spirantization	Final /n/ Loss
Final /n/ Loss in Polysyllables[4]	Voiceless Spirantization
Nasal Assimilation	Final /k/ Loss
Final Syllable Loss	Final Syllable Loss

In his critique Isaac (2004: 53) correctly points out that Thomas—who was alone in this—was mistaken in merging, under this single heading 'Nasal Assimilation', the distinct Welsh developments **nd* > **nn*, **mb* > **mm*, etc. (the source of the Welsh nasal mutation *Duw* 'God' ~ *fy Nuw* 'my God', etc.) and **nt* > **nh*, **mp* > **mh*, etc. (the source of the Welsh nasal mutation *tad* 'father' ~ *fy nhad* 'my father', etc.). It has long been known that the former sound change, involving voiced stops, which also happened in Cornish and Breton, was much earlier than the latter one, involving voiceless stops, which took place in the Old Welsh period, long after the Apocope (Jackson 1953: 695-97; Sims-Williams 2003: 73-83, 214-17, 283, and 288). This is Isaac's most telling criticism of Thomas. Thomas simply seems to have made a slip in lumping both types of 'Nasal Assimilation' together without any argument or discussion of the received view. It does not, however, follow that the whole 'revisionist' case is erroneous, especially

[4] For the restriction to polysyllables see Thomas 1990:37-38.

as the other 'revisionists' did not share Thomas's view of the matter, Sims-Williams (1990: 221) in fact stating that the '"nasal mutation" in Welsh (and in Irish) undoubtedly came into being by two widely separated stages in the cases of voiced and voiceless plosives'.

Isaac's second objection to Thomas revolves round Thomas's theory's failure to predict the difference between the mutation patterns after Welsh *eu* 'their' on the one hand and, on the other, after numerals like *saith* 'seven', *naw* 'nine', *deg* 'ten', and *cant* 'hundred'. In accordance with their etymologies (cf. Latin *septem*, *novem*, *decem*, *centum*), these numerals sometimes cause the nasal mutation of a following /b/, /d/, or /g/, as in Middle Welsh *seith mroder* 'seven brothers'; yet *eu* prefixes *h-* to vowels (this may be analogical, see below) but never mutates consonants, even though it is agreed to derive from IE **eso:m*, like Old Irish *a* 'their' which *is* followed by the nasal mutation. This discrepancy between the numerals and *eu* is a problem for any unified theory of spirantization and nasalization, not just for Thomas's. Greene (1966: 117) simply remarked on *eu ci* 'their dog' that 'the lack of mutation, on any showing, must be a later development'; Thomas (1990: 34 n. 1) thought of 'the final /n/ of */sextan, nawan, dekan/ having been retained in fossilized phrases which could therefore be affected by Nasal Assimilation'; Schrijver (1996: 6) rather similarly regarded the non-mutation after *eu* as regular and derived the *seith mroder* type from old compounds; and Isaac's own explanation (2004: 56) is that the *seith mroder* mutation is regular and that the lack of nasalization after *eu* is due to it having lost its final *-n* (a genitive plural ending) as part of the erosion of case endings in Late British.[5] Obviously linguists' reconstructions of the development of Brittonic consonants will vary according to their view of this *seith* versus *eu* problem, but it is not obvious that the existence of this problem invalidates the entire 'revisionist' enterprise. It is a problem for *any* theory.

4. A possible modification of Thomas's scheme

As noted above, there is no doubt that the Brittonic change of **nd* > **nn*, etc. occurred earlier than the Old Welsh change of **nt* > **nh*, etc. A further argument in favour of this conclusion was given by Morris-Jones (1913: 170):

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5 But Isaac (2004:80 n. 47) also suggests that sandhi *h-* in Welsh *eu harglwydd* 'their lord (*arglwydd*)' etc. derives from the /n/. If so, might we not also expect ***naw harglwydd* 'nine lords'?

"The nasal mutation of the tenues does not date from the Brit. period, for the nasal endings of **nouan* 'nine', **dekan* 'ten', etc., while they mutated the initial mediae, did not mutate initial *p, t, k*; thus *naw cant* '900', *deg pwys* '10 lbs.' The mutation of the tenues was caused by nasals which survived the loss of the Brit. endings . . . "[6]

If we accept this view of the situation and lightly revise Thomas's scheme so as to take account of Nasal Assimilation occurring in two stages, the following[7] would be the result, taking as examples the precursors of Welsh *fy nhad* 'my father', *naw tad* 'nine fathers', *fy niwrnod* 'my day', and *naw niwrnod* 'nine days' (obsolescent, now usually *naw diwrnod*):

1.	min t-	nawan t-	
	min d-	nawan d-	
2.	min t-	nawan t-	
	min n-	nawan n-	(First Nasal Assimilation: *nd* > *nn*)
	Loss of final consonants such as *-s* (i.e. *-h*) and *-k*.[8]		
	Spirantization of intervocalic voiceless stops.		
3.	min t-	nawa t-	(Final /n/ Loss in Polysyllables)
	min n-	nawa n-	(Final /n/ Loss in Polysyllables)
4.	min t-	naw t-	(Final Syllable Loss)
	min n-	naw n-	(Final Syllable Loss)
5.	mi nh-	naw t-	(Second Nasal Assimilation: *nt* > *nh*)
	mi n-	naw n-	
	fy nhad	*naw tad*	
	fy niwrnod	*naw niwrnod*	

[6] For nasalization after numerals see Morgan 1952:138-40; Watkins 1968:11 n. 1; Evans 1970:22. It might be objected that since the nasal mutation of *p t c/k* is not normally written in Old and Middle Welsh (see Watkins 1968), these may indeed have been mutated orally. However, while this might seem possible in a case like *naw kant* '900' (which could theoretically correspond to Mod.W. *naw cant* or ***naw nghant*), it is most unlikely that a case like *de6dec keynnya6c* '12 pennies' (MS BL Cotton Caligula A.iii in Isaac and Rodway 2002) corresponds to Mod.W. ***deudde(n)g ngheiniog*, because in manuscripts in which *dec* tends to be written *deg* (= Mod.W. *deng*) before a nasalized consonant (e.g. *dec deg weyth, de6deg myw, de6deg wyr, deg wyr*, ibid.), this never occurs before *c/k*, *t*, or *p* to my knowledge.

[7] I am not bothering to indicate the exact quality of the vowels which is irrelevant here.

[8] Hence **esja:(s)* > *ei* 'her' and **ak* > *a* 'and', both + spirant mutation. The loss of other

Stage 3 could be omitted if it were supposed that final syllables were lost in a single stage -VC > zero. Assuming with Thomas, however, that Stage 3 is left in, why would the *t-* after **nawa* not undergo Voiceless Spirantization at Stage 3, resulting in ***naw thad*? It is hardly likely that it *was* spirantized and that this was later reversed on account of a mutation system with ***naw thad* beside *naw niwrnod* being too anomalous, for in that case one would expect ***naw thad* to become ***naw nhad*, adopting the normal nasal mutation seen in *fy nhad*. A more likely possibility, shown above, would be that the stage of Voiceless Spirantization had occurred *before* Final /n/ Loss at Stage 3, as in Thomas's chronology. This model would seem neatly to link (a) the difference in nasal mutation between the originally monosyllabic *fy* 'my' and *yn* 'in', which mutate voiced and voiceless stops, and the originally polysyllabic numerals *saith*, *naw*, *deg*, *cant*, which mutate only the voiced stops, with (b) the plausibility that *-n* was lost earlier in polysyllables, whether we see this as the first stage in the loss of final syllables or as an independent sound-change affecting *-n* only.

In Breton the development of *ma* 'my' and *naw* 'nine' (which both spirantize) would be only slightly different:

1.	min t-	nawan t-	
	min d-	nawan d-	
2.	mi t-	nawa t-	(Final n-Loss)
	mi d-	nawa d-	(Final n-Loss)
	Loss of *-s* would be part of, or roughly contemporary with, this Stage 2.		
	Nasal Assimilation of voiced stops (/nd/ > /nn/ etc.).[9]		
3.	mi th-	nawa th-	(Voiceless Spirantization)
	mi d-	nawa d-	
	Loss of *-k*.		
4.	mi th-	naw th-	(Final Syllable Loss)
	mi d-	naw d-	(Final Syllable Loss)

consonants at this stage is suggested by the spirant mutation after *chwe* 'six' and perhaps *ni* 'not'; see Thomas 1990:28-29. On *chwe(ch)* see also Sims-Williams 2003:24 and 29.

[9] Thomas (1990:40) regarded its position in Breton as unestablished.

Apart from the absence from Breton of the peculiarly Welsh mutation of *nt* > *nh*, which occurred in Old Welsh long after the separation of the dialects, the main difference supposed here between the two diverging dialects lies in the fact that Breton loses *-n* before *nd* > *nn* occurs. This could perhaps be linked with Jackson's evidence that *mb nd* > *mm nn* was a long-drawn out process that was completed slower in Breton than in Welsh (1953: 508-13 and 695-97). A minor difference between Welsh and Breton is that Breton loses the *-n* from the monosyllable *min* while Welsh retains it. This may not be very significant, as the status of the final *-n* in monosyllables seems to vary in both languages. Breton tended to retain the *-n* in *e(n)* 'in' (which, presumably consequently, does not cause the spirant mutation) while Welsh conversely lost it in the Middle Welsh byform *y* besides the normal *yn* (Watkins 1957).[10] Again, standard literary Welsh *fy* 'my' is frequently *(f)yn* in the dialects, while Breton *ma*/*va*, Vannetais *me*, 'my' is *men*/*mem* in Vannetais before *g*/*d* and *b* (Thomas 1990: 37 n. 2; Schrijver 1999: 11, 15, and 18; Le Dû 2001: maps 579 and 584).

In Modern Welsh the regular nasal mutation is the type involving voiceless as well as voiced stops after old monosyllables (*fy nhad* ~ *fy niwrnod*, *yn Nhywyn* 'in Tywyn' ~ *yn Ninbych* 'in Dinbych') and the type involving only voiced stops after old polysyllabic numerals (*naw tad* ~ *naw niwrnod* 'nine days') is rare (*naw tad* ~ *naw duw* 'nine gods' being the norm). On the above model, a good reason can be suggested for this: the great frequency of the fully mutating words *fy* and *yn* meant that any other sort of nasal mutation seemed irregular, so that words like *naw* were under pressure either to fully mutate (which did not happen) or to generalise the non-mutation of voiceless stops (*naw tad*) to the voiced stops (*naw *nuw* → *naw duw*). This would offer a way, within the above model, to explain the non-mutation after *eu* 'their' (and after *i'm* 'to my', cf. below).

As discussed above, the lack of mutation after *eu* 'their' is a cornerstone of Isaac's objection to Thomas, Harvey, and myself (although neither Harvey nor I discussed *eu*!). While its exact preform and vocalic development has been debated, it is agreed on all sides that *eu* derives from a disyllable ending in a nasal (Jackson 1953: 357 and n. 2; Schrijver 1999: 11). Thomas and Isaac both write **eon*, which will serve. Assuming for the sake of argument that **eon* followed the same development as **nawan* above, the expected results on the above model are Welsh *eu t-* and ***eu n-*, and Breton *(h)o th-* and *(h)o d-*. Of these, only Welsh ***eu n-* fails to occur, *eu*

[10] See Schrijver 1999:11 and 13, but note that his reference to Old Welsh *i ois oisou* and *hi hestaur* is incorrect, as in the former there is a suspension mark over the *i*, indicating *in*, and in the latter the manuscript reading is *in hestaur.*

d- being the correct form. Within our current explanation, this would be due to generalizing non-mutation. Another instance of Welsh eliminating the anomalous nasal mutation would be the non-mutation after disyllabic combinations like **du-mmïn* 'to my' (cf. Schrijver 1999: 5). Following the pattern of **nawan* we would expect *i'm tad* 'to my father' without mutation (which is what occurs) and ***i'm Nuw* 'to my God', where in fact *i'm Duw*, without mutation, is correct.

The only difference between *eu* and *i'm* on the one hand and numerals like *naw* on the other is that after the latter the nasal mutation of voiced consonants occurs in a tiny number of set expressions involving a few Middle Welsh words such as *diwrnawt* 'day', *dieu* 'days', and *bu* 'cattle'. This discrepancy seems insufficient reason for Isaac to throw out Thomas's scheme. Non-mutation could merely have proliferated earlier after *eu* and *i'm* than after the numerals, where it was hardly regular in any case (cf. Jackson 1953: 641). It is of course true that there are cases of Welsh mutations spreading by analogy, as Isaac has to stress (2004: 53-54). Overall, however, recession was the norm, especially when mutations were anomalous and served no function as would be the case the case with a nasal mutation after *eu* and *i'm* confined to voiced consonants. The Celtic languages have always had a tendency to restore the radical. A case in point is the development of **nawandekan* 'nineteen' in Breton (Jackson 1967: 793 and n. 4). Here the assimilation /nd/ > /nn/ was inhibited by knowledge of the underlying radical, whence Middle Breton *nauntec* and Vannetais *nandek* (Cornish *nowndzhak*), and the numeral was already reformed without the medial /n/ in Old Breton *naudec* (cf. Modern dialectal *nauzek*, cited by Jackson, and further data in Le Dû 2001: map 72).

Thomas's model is thus not as unworkable as Isaac maintains, but can be adapted to take account of Nasal Assimilation occurring in two stages. There is, however, an even more regular alternative.

5. Schrijver's theory

For the sake of argument the above model assumes with Isaac that the original mutation system in external sandhi is preserved in the nasalization of words like *dieu* 'days' and *bu* 'cows' after numerals like *naw* < **nawan*. Thomas, however, regarded these as 'fossilized phrases' (1990: 34 n. 1) and Schrijver (1999: 6), rather similarly but independently, argued that 'the type *seith mlynedd* ['seven years' (*blynedd*)] closely resembles the O[ld] Ir[ish] type *nónbor* "nine men", *deichenbor* "ten men" etc., which reflect compounds of the type **nawan-wiron*, **dekan-wiron*, etc.'. Schrijver suggests that the Welsh nasalization after numerals originated in full compounds

of this type, where *-*an*- would of course be internal and not subject to Apocope. Isaac (2004: 78 n. 23) has two objections. The first, that Indo-European cardinal numerals did not form compounds originally, is beside the point, given that the Old Irish evidence (Thurneysen 1946: 146) shows this system to be a Celtic one. Isaac's second objection is that 'Early Welsh certainly has compound forms such as *trywyr* "three men" and *cannwr* "a hundred men", but as much as the compound nature of these forms is clearly identifiable in the records, so too the non-compound syntax and phonology of *tair blynedd* ["three years"] and *can mlynedd* ["hundred years"], etc., is equally clear'. This is a fair point. The MW numerals *seith*, *naw*, *deg*, *can(t)* happen not to be ones in which pretonic vowel reduction comparable with that of **tri-* > *try-* in *trywyr* is to be expected (cf. the shape of the MW ordinals *seithfed*, *nawfed*, *degfed*, *canfed*). However, if many close numeral + noun compounds had survived intact we might have expected to find forms showing /n/ before vowels such as ***naw-n-erw* 'nine acres (*erw*)' or nasal mutations of /p t k/ such as ***naw-nhir* 'nine lands (*tir*)' (cf. OW *Cerennhir* < **Carantori:x*). Yet Schrijver did not claim that every single example of numeral plus nasalization was an old close compound, only that the mutation pattern derives from such compounds. To give a parallel, Modern Welsh *henwr* 'old man' is a close compound while *hen ŵr* 'old man' is not (modern pronunciation and spelling help us here), yet there can be no doubt that the lenition of *gŵr* in *hen ŵr* goes back to the lenition pattern seen in the close compound *henwr* < **seno-wiros* (Morris-Jones 1913; 57 and 261; Morris-Jones et al. 1928: 5). It seems likely that the status of various types of close and loose compounds varied over time. For example, in the Brittonic teen-numerals like 'nineteen' (lit. 'nine-ten') we see not only full compounds like Middle Breton *nauntec*, Cornish *nowndzhak*, and Old Welsh *naunecant* [= **naunec-cant* 'nineteen-year cycle'], but also looser formations like Old Breton *naudec* and Modern Breton dialectal *nauzek* (Lewis 1930; Jackson 1967: 258 and 793 and n. 4; Lewis and Pedersen 1961: 191; cf. Schrijver 1993 and 1996: 98, 100-1 and 212). In many cases **nawan*- and the rest would seem to be 'quasi-proclitics' (Jackson 1953: 640-41), sufficiently closely tied to the following noun at the time of voiced nasal assimilation for this assimilation to occur (whence *naw mlynedd* etc.) but not so closely compounded as to prevent the subsequent loss of the *-*an* at the time of Apocope (with the result that *naw tir* etc. would never have been subject to the later voiceless nasal assimilation). By contrast, **eon* 'their' would be less closely connected with the following noun, with the result, posited by Schrijver, that it did not cause the nasal assimilation of a following /b d g/. Nor did **eon* prefix /n/ to nouns beginning with a vowel (unlike Old Irish *a* 'their'), but neither do we find any surviving trace

of such an /n/ after numerals like **nawan*, with the possible exception of the Cornish and Breton *war n-ugens*, *war n-ugent* construction mentioned below.

If this interpretation is right, *naw niwrnod* and the like are irrelevant to the chronology of the nasal mutation in external sandhi, and the relevant forms are rather ones like *naw*, *eu*, and *i'm* + radical. This is why Schrijver is able to place the voiced nasal assimilation **nd* > **nn* etc. much later than Thomas (whose work he does not mention). He puts it after **nawan*, **eon*, and other polysyllables had lost their **-n* (1999: 5). This seems plausible and neatly explains why they do not normally cause nasal mutation. Schrijver's continuation is less straightforward however:

"Since we may conclude that **-n* at the end of a final, unstressed syllable was lost by apocope, and since spirantization postdates apocope, as Greene has observed, it follows that words originally ending in **-n* could cause spirantization, in all British languages, if after apocope they ended in a vowel or a liquid. We must see now whether this expectation is borne out. At first sight the result is disappointing: *'m* 'my', *'y* 'him', *eu*, *'y* 'their' do not cause spirantization or any other mutation in Welsh. What they do cause is prefixing of a so-called 'sandhi-*h*' to a following word beginning with a vowel" (Schrijver 1999: 6).

"Schrijver's proposal is that such words originally did spirantize in Welsh, and that they therefore adopted the sandhi *h-* on the analogy of the word for 'her' (Mod.W. *ei* < **esja:s*) which was followed quite regularly by the spirant mutation in the case of the relevant consonants and by sandhi *h-* (< **s*) in the case of vowels (e.g. Mod.W. *ei thad* 'her father', *ei hafal* 'her apple'). Subsequently the spirant mutation would have been dropped by a further series of analogies, although the tell-tale analogical *h-* remained. For example, the infixed *'m* 'my' would have ceased to spirantize because the prefixed *fy* 'my' caused a different mutation, the nasal mutation.[11]

This ingenious explanation is uncomfortably complicated overall, and involves the particular difficulty of postulating that a final /m/ could cause the spirant mutation in the case of *'m* (Schrijver 1999: 9).[12] It is simpler to

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[11] Although Schrijver rejects this possibility, I would expect that in such circumstances the infixed possessive would adopt the nasal mutation, as in modern colloquial Welsh, *a'm mhlant* 'and my children' for *a'm plant*.

[12] Although differing in detail, Isaac (2004:80 n. 47) agrees with Schrijver that *h-* after *'m* may be ancient. In fact, however, *'m* still fails to cause sandhi *h-* in the mid-thirteenth century, e.g. Jarman 1982, poems 7.12 *i'm iruet*, 16.29 *a'm yscud*, 20.15 and 28.28 *i'm eneid*, 40.11 *i'm achuisson*; Llanstephan MS 1 (Isaac and Rodway 2002), pp. 127 *a'm ada6* and 169 *o'm anvod*. I suggest that the development of /h/ here was analogical, influenced by the

suppose that the peculiarly Welsh sandhi *h-*, which is still irregularly written in Middle Welsh,[13] spread analogically from the regular and pan-Brittonic *h-* after 'her': for example, because 'her' was followed by non-lenition of /b d g m/ and by /h/ before vowels, *eu* 'their', which was similarly followed by non-lenition of /b d g m/, may also have adopted /h/ before vowels.

Apart from the personal pronouns, the only other places where sandhi *h-* appears in Welsh is in *paham* 'why', which may be from *k^w*os ambi* (i.e. with the same development from **s* as in **esya:s* 'her') and in numerals like *un ar hugain* 'one-on-twenty, i.e. twenty-one' (cf. Schrijver 1999: 6-8). In the latter construction, Cornish and Breton have a sandhi *n-* (*war n-ugens*, *war n-ugent*) which has been regarded as a carry-over of the nasal when the 'nine-twenty' construction (cf. *nau-n-tec* 'nine-teen' above) was replaced by the 'nine-on-twenty' construction (cf. Lewis 1930; Jackson 1953: 641 and 1967: 357; Schrijver 1999: 7-8). If this is correct for Cornish and Breton, the Welsh sandhi *h-* could have spread in a comparable way from *tri/chwech ar hugain* 'three/six on twenty' replacing **tri/chwe hugain* 'three-/six-twenty', where the *h-* would be regular from **tri:s* and **sweks*. Cornish and Breton will have generalized /n/ while Welsh generalized /h/.

6. A new chronology

Valuable though his explanation of *naw* + nasalization is, it seems to me that Schrijver goes wrong in accepting that Greene had demonstrated that the spirantization followed Apocope. In fact the only spirantization which has to follow Apocope is that after /r/ and /l/ (as in *Sul Fask*, with which **talk* > *talch* etc. was presumably contemporary), and this can easily be regarded as a separate and later process, a Third Spirantization, which affected voiced as well as voiceless stops (see §2 above). In the case of the Second, or Voiceless, Spirantization, it is preferable to follow Thomas and see it as as an intervocalic lenition process that followed the loss of certain final consonants but preceded the completion of Apocope. If we make this

nasal mutation *t* ~ *nh, p* ~ *mh, c* ~ *ngh*, which acoustically involves the insertion of an /h/: on the basis of the patterns like *pen* 'head' ~ *fy mhen* 'my head' (which might equally well be written *pen* ~ *fym hen*), regular forms like *o'm anvod* 'against my wish' were liable to hypercorrection to *o'm hanvod.* The /h/ could then spread to the homophonous 1 sg. infixed object pronoun (*a'm hanfonodd* 'and sent me') and to the 1 pl. infixed possessive and object pronouns, e.g. *o'n hanvod* 'against our wish' (still without /h/ in Llanstephan MS 1, pp. 111 *a'n amdyffyn* and 115 *a'n anrydeda*).

[13] Lewis and Pedersen 1961:121; Morgan 1952:153-55; Evans 1970:22-23. On Breton see Jackson 1967:321-22.

assumption, the forms come out correctly as follows on my table. Significant sound changes are underlined, what I term the Four Spirantizations are numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, and the relative order of Apocope and /nd/ > /nn/ is left ambiguous. The Middle Welsh *ny chredis* is a dubious construction (negative particle plus absolute verb!) but is intended to illustrate a phonological point only.

esyo tatos	esyas tatos	eon kattos	dummen kantlon	men talkos	nit kreddi:sti
esyo de:wos	esyas de:wos	eon de:wos	dummen de:wos	men de:wos	nawandekon
ehyo tatoh	ehyah tatoh	eon kattoh	dummen kantlon	men talkoh	nit kreddi:si
1 ehyo ðe:woh	ehyah de:woh	eon de:woh	dummen de:woh	men de:woh	nawandekon
ehyo dadoh	ehyah tadoh	eon kattoh	dummen kantlon	men talkoh	nit kredi:si
ehyo ðe:woh	ehyah de:woh	eon de:woh	dummen de:woh	men de:woh	nawandegon
ehyo dadoh	ehyah tadoh	eon katoh	dummen kantlon	men talkoh	nit kredi:si
ehyo ðe:woh	ehyah de:woh	eon de:woh	dummen de:woh	men de:woh	nawandegon
ehyo dado	ehya tado	eo**n** kato	dumme**n** kantlo**n**	me**n** talko	ni kredi:si
ehyo ðe:wo	ehya de:wo	eo**n** de:wo	dumme**n** de:wo	me**n** de:wo	nawandego**n**
ehyo dado	**2** ehya θado	eo**n** kaθo	dumme**n** kantlo**n**	me**n** talko	ni xredi:si
ehyo ðe:wo	ehya de:wo	eo**n** de:wo	dumme**n** de:wo	me**n** de:wo	nawandego**n**
ehyo dado	ehya θado	eo kaθo	dumme kantlo	mï**n** talko	nï xredi:si
ehyo ðe:wo	ehya de:wo	eo de:wo	dumme de:wo	mï**n** de:wo	nawandego
ï dad	ï θad	ou θaq	dum kantl	mï**n** talk	nï xredi:s
ï ðe:w	ï de:w	ou de:w	dum de:w	mï**n** ne:w	nawanneg
ï dad	ï θad	ou kaθ	dum kantl	mï**n** nhalk	nï xredi:s
ï ðe:w	ï de:w	ou de:w	dum de:w	mï**n** ne:w	nawanneg
Modern forms					
ei dad	*ei thad*	*eu cath*	**4** *i'm cathl*	**3** *fy nhalch*	*ny chredis*
ei dduw	*ei duw*	*eu duw*	*i'm duw*	*fy nuw*	*naunec-* [OW]
his father	her father	their cat	to my song	my oatmeal	believed not
his god	her god	their god	to my god	my god	nineteen

In the period covered by the table Breton differs significantly only in losing final *-n* sooner (in monosyllables as well as polysyllables). The absence

from Breton of the /n/s shown in **bold type** above resulted in the voiceless spirantization of following voiceless consonants, e.g. *o c'hazh* 'their cat', *nav c'hazh* 'nine cats', *va c'hazh* 'my cat'. Thomas argues that Cornish is in an intermediate position, with spirantization occurring after **eon* as in Breton but, as in Welsh, not after **nawan* (Thomas 1990: 35, cf. Jackson 1967: 320).

The Third Spirantization (as in **talk* > *talch*) occurred after the period covered by the table. It had no effect on the mutation system of Welsh, but had a slight effect on external sandhi in Breton, as in *Sul Fask* (§ 2 above).

7. The Fourth Spirantization

There is no reason to suppose that /t/ in the combinations /ntl/ and /ntr/ was spirantized until the Old Welsh period (cf. Schrijver 1999: 4). Isaac (2004: 67-68) gives the telling example of Welsh *cythlwng* 'fast' < **kintu-longo-* 'first swallowing', where /ntl/ first arose after Syncope. Note also that **inter* 'between' probably did not lose its **e* until about the time of Apocope (cf. Latin *creator* > Welsh *creawdr*, *imperator* > *ymherawdr*; Sims-Williams 1999: 473; Isaac 2004: 81 n. 49). Subsequently **intr* gave Old Welsh *ithr*, in the same way as **cantl* gave *cathl* 'song' (*centh(i)liat* is still written with *n* in the Old Welsh Juvencus glosses, McKee 2000: 480; Isaac 2004: 78 n. 16).

This is a Fourth Spirantization. This Fourth Spirantization did not have any effect on the initial mutation system of Welsh; despite the peculiar internal change of **ntl* seen in words like *cathl* < **kantl*, we would hardly expect a mutation ***fy thlws* 'my treasure (*tlws*)' to survive rather than the analogical *fy nhlws* (*pace* Isaac 2004: 51-52), given that only a minority of Welsh words in *t-* began with *tl-* and *tr-*. Compare the way in which *gw-* < **w-* undergoes nasal mutation to *ngw-* on the analogy of words with *g-* < **g-*.

8. Conclusion

We may conclude then, that the so-called 'revisionist' explanation of Brittonic spirantization can in fact be made to work without difficulty. This invalidates Isaac's argument that 'since it is apparent that the theory that the spirants are not the direct reflexes of the geminates is wrong, it follows of necessity that the theory that they are the direct reflexes of geminates is correct' (2004: 60). This recalls the precept of Sherlock Holmes: 'when you have eliminated the impossible, whatever remains, *however improbable*, must be the truth' (*The Sign of Four*, ch. 6). That logic may apply in

detective work. In philology, however, the improbable solution is rarely the correct one.

> '. . . . And now, my dear Watson, I think we may dismiss the matter from our mind and go back with a clear conscience to the study of those Chaldean roots which are surely to be traced in the Cornish branch of the great Celtic speech.' (*The Adventure of the Devil's Foot*)

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THE MICROSTRUCTURE OF THE *RESIANICA* DICTIONARY

HAN STEENWIJK

1. Introduction

The *Resianica* dictionary has been online now for about three years. It serves the dual purpose of a dialect dictionary of the Slovene dialects traditionally spoken on the territory of the *Comune di Resia* (Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Italy) and of an orthographical dictionary presenting the corpus of standard Resian, a written norm *in statu nascendi*. As a consequence, it should serve the needs of a scholar of Slovene and Slavonic dialectlology in general and of a native speaker, well versed in his own local dialect and in Italian, less so in standard Slovene.[1] In this paper, it will be discussed how the microstructure of the dictionary was set up in order to achieve these aims.[2]

2. General overview

An entry can be reached by a two-step process. First, the user picks the language variety and initial letter he wants to use as search criteria. This presents him with a lookup list from which he can choose the entry of his interest.

The entry is opened by a (1) head, either a standard Resian lexeme or one or more dialectal Resian lexemes. As an alternative, a standard Slovene lexeme formally corresponding to the Resian lexeme(s) is also given, if such a standard Slovene lexeme exists. The head is followed by (2) grammatical and (3) morphological information, the first indicating part of speech and usage, the second consisting of inflected forms. Follows (4) the translation and, if dialectal Resian forms were not mentioned in the head, (5) they are adduced at this point. Optionally, the entry is closed by references (6) to other entries, by related entries (7) and/or by (8) acknowledgements to contributors:

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[1] For background information concerning the sociolinguistic situation in Resia, see Steenwijk 2003. For a short survey of the dialect geography of the territory, see Steenwijk 1999b.

[2] For a more technical discussion of the dictionary as a web application, see Steenwijk 2005b.

tärpët **trpeti**
ver if l-ptc fsg tärpala *prae3sg* tarpï
1. 'to endure (bear patiently)' 2. 'to suffer (feel pain, grief etc.)'
SG tyrpët [týrpët] *l-ptc fsg* tyrpala [týrpala], *G* ??, *O* tärpët *l-ptc msg* tärpul [tärpuw], *S* tyrpët [týrpët] *l-ptc fsg* tyrpala [týrpala]

Example 1

In the preceding example, all sections apart from the optional ones are present. The abbreviations *SG*, *G*, *O* and *S* indicate the four main dialects of the villages of San Giorgio/Bila, Gniva/Njiva, Oseacco/Osojane and Stolvizza/Solbica. The indication ?? for Gniva means that for this dialect no information can be given, as the lexeme does not occur in the Gniva material elaborated so far.

SG tradüžinat *prae3sg* tradüžina, *G* ??, *O* ??, *S* tradüǵinet *l-ptc fsg* tradüǵinala *prae3sg* tradüǵina
ver if
'to translate (render into another language)'

Example 2

In example (2), a Resian standard head is missing and Resian dialectal lexemes plus their inclined forms take its place. As the Resian lexeme, from the point of view of standard Slovene, is a loan typically occurring in the westernmost dialects, cf. Fri. *tradùsi*, a standard Slovene formal correspondence is not included in the head. In the following the sections that make up the entry, and especially the reasoning that stands behind them, will be presented in detail.

2.1 The head

2.1.1 Resian standard

The Resian standard lexeme is a construct based on dialectal material. It serves a twofold purpose. First and foremost, it is offered to the Resian community as an element of a supradialectal written norm that is supposed to standardize the formal aspect of Resian texts and to raise the status of the dialect in the eyes of the native speakers, thus slowing down or even

reverting the process of language loss.[3] Secondly, the Resian standard lexeme serves as a convenient heading by which the presentation of dialect material can be organized.

Establishing supradialectal forms for collections of alphabetically ordered Resian lexical material is not a novelty. Also in previous publications that present material originating from more than one local dialect this solution has been deemed necessary and useful. This procedure is followed in Tolstoj 1966, for instance, the edition of the letters A-D of Baudouin de Courtenay's archive materials for a Resian dictionary.

[belica] *s. f.* белая сосна: bylýca [БдК]; belýca R.

Tolstoj 1966: 201

Example 3

For many entries (but not for all) a head that is not necessarily identical with any of the attested dialect forms cited after the semicolon is to be found in the original archive materials, in Tolstoj 1966 indicated by a following [БдК]. Alas, as to the criteria used by Baudouin for arriving at these forms no information has been preserved. Therefore it cannot be determined whether the orthography of these heads is based on one specific local dialect or represents an abstraction of the dialect forms.

Tolstoj, as the editor of this material, decided to add heads for all entries, irrespective of the fact whether Baudouin had already done so. Placed between angular brackets they start every entry. In the introduction the editor states that his heads are reconstructions that either come close to the heads Baudouin proposed or to attested forms from the Prato/Ravanca dialect (Tolstoj 1966: 189-190).

Glancing through the letters A-D though, one gets the impression that Tolstoj is inclined towards reconstructions that in their orthography come close to standard Slovene, whereas Baudouin's heads reflect certain traits of Resian, cfr. the following list:

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[3] For more information on the ups and downs of this project, see Steenwijk 2000.

Tolstoj	**Baudouin**
anikoj	aniköj
avor	áwor
belica	bylýca
bol	bûl
botega	butéga
cel, a, o	cœl
cerkov	církou
čisto	čýstö, čístu
dutrina	dütrýna

Example 4

As a rule, Tolstoj's head forms do not contain representations of the Resian centralized vowels *ë, ï, ö, ü*, neither do they show the reflexes *i, u* of the raising of the long accented mid vowels and of the preaccentual mid vowels followed by a high accented vowel.

In Matičetov 1975, another alphabetically ordered collection of Resian lexemes, a mixed approach is preferred. Most head forms are attested dialect forms, only when a citation form was not present in the material or lacked important phonological information, a reconstruction is undertaken in order to arrive at a "dictionary form" (Matičetov 1975: 121). Further information about the criteria for establishing a reconstructed head form is not given. However, from the single cases it can be seen that they sometimes reflect specific Resian traits, e.g. *curüknot*, whereas in other cases they follow standard Slovene orthography, e.g. *groš*, and in other cases still represent a mixture of the two, e.g. *guant*.

As for the standard Resian head form in the *Resianica* dictionary, the criteria for establishing such forms are explained in detail in Steenwijk 1994. These criteria are meant to arrive at a common Resian form that contains as much diasystematic information as possible, i.e. with knowledge of the underlying phonological correspondences one can deduce the local dialect forms from this common form with a fair amount of precision. In the sense then that the head form reflects specific Resian traits, the dictionary follows the precedent set by Baudouin. This does not mean, however, that every entry is opened by such a constructed standard form. Opening head forms that are at the same time identical to attested dialect forms do occur. The first type of such entries is seen in example (2): the attested dialect forms are from two villages only, which is considered too

small a basis for establishing a standard form. On the other hand, when only phoneme correspondences as described in Steenwijk 1994 occur in the attested dialect forms, information from three villages is considered sufficient for the creation of a standard form, see example (1). In the future, the entry in example (2) could one day be completed with a standard Resian form, when material from the villages of Gniva and Oseacco will have been added.

The second type is seen in the following example, which represents a rather different situation:

SG --, *G* --, *O* --, *S* polzavec [pòlzavec] *Gsg* polzawca [pòlzawca]
sub mas
'slug (shell-less snail)'
→ lokäj

Example 5

The lexeme *polzavec* occurs only in the local dialect of Stolvizza, whereas the other dialects, and thus standard Resian, have *lokäj* for the corresponding concept. This is indicated by the sign -- for the remaining dialects, meaning that the lexeme *polzavec* or a similar dialectal form has been positively identified as not to occur in those dialects, and by the reference to *lokäj*. This type of entry will never be expanded to include a standard Resian form and is considered complete as it is.

The importance of consistently applied criteria for identifying the head of an entry has diminished somewhat with the advent of digital dictionaries. Whereas in print dictionaries the entries can only be alphabetically organized according to one type of head forms, digital dictionaries can be reorganized "on the fly" along several criteria. In the case of the *Resianica* dictionary this is done by presenting lookup lists for every language variety that occurs in the entries, standard as well as dialectal. In a print dictionary the same ease of use can be achieved by adding indexes for every single language variety, like is often done in etymological dictionaries.

2.1.2 Slovene standard

As outside the speech community itself and a restricted group of dialectologists knowledge about Resian forms is absent, the addition of a Slovene head that formally corresponds to the Resian lexeme(s) is considered necessary. In fact, ever since the publication of Tominec 1964 it is sound

practice in Slovene dialectal lexicography to start the entry with a standard Slovene head. For dialectal lexemes that lack a formal counterpart in the standard language a hypothetical standard form is set up, e.g.

**vandravec:* wândruc, -ạ popotnik

Tominec 1964: 228

Example 6

In dialectal dictionaries that are intended for a general public, however, standard Slovene forms are not used as an organizing element and instead the dialect form is taken as the head, e.g.

---

bóužati -an božati, gladiti

Novak 1985: 16

Example 7

In the *Resianica* dictionary, intended for dialectologists and general users alike, a solution is followed that tries to keep the best of both worlds. Standard Slovene forms are included, but only as a secondary head. Furthermore, hypothetical forms are only included in the standard Slovene lookup lists, whereas the entries themselves do not mention them. The decision to have the entries only contain "real" standard Slovene correspondences is motivated by considerations for general users of Resian origin, for whom the hypothetical Slovene forms do not represent useful information, whereas the "real" standard Slovene forms do. Indeed, including hypothetical Slovene forms in the entry would have been didactically harmful. The information that for a certain Resian lexeme a formal standard Slovene correspondence is lacking, implicitly indicated by a gap, should suffice. It is supposed that native speakers are not among the users that would consult the standard Slovene lookup lists when trying to find an entry in the dictionary.

The sources for "real" standard Slovene correspondences are the *SSKJ* and Pleteršnik for the general lexicon and the *Enciklopedija Slovenije* for toponyms. Among the hypothetical formal correspondences loans from Friulian and/or Italian are very frequent. These pose a special problem as to the rules to be applied in order to arrive at the hypothetical standard Slovene form. In Resian, they may have entered the language in a dialectal form, but for the hypothetical standard Slovene correspondences the standard Italian and Friulian forms are taken as a point of reference. For instance, for Resian *ažëjd* 'vinegar' the standard Slovene correspondence

***ažed* is constructed, where the Resian form goes back on the Carnic dialect of Friulian, *aseit*, and the hypothetical Slovene form on standard Friulian *aset*. The same example also shows that such hypothetical Slovene forms, although shunning Friulian dialectal traits, do reflect certain characteristics of the Resian form, in this case the voiced final consonant occurring in the oblique cases: Gsg *ažëjda*. In the same vein hypothetical **aver* reflects the fact that in Resian *awur* 'gold' the final vowel is treated as an inserted *shwa* that only appears before a zero desinence: Gsg *awra* etc. Here Friulian *aur* has not been considered as a point of reference for the hypothetical standard Slovene form at all.

2.1.3 Resian dialectal

The Resian dialectal forms are first and foremost intended as documentation of the material used to construct the standard Resian form. In this sense then the *Resianica* dictionary departs from the principles applicable to a dialectological dictionary, as it does not faithfully record every attested form. Instead, a certain predeliction for those dialect forms that comply well with the phonological correspondences decribed in Steenwijk 1994 is clearly present. However, frequent dialectal variant forms are not surpressed. The Stolvizza variant *poklö* 'hell', for instance, is mentioned alongside the "regular" – because fitting into the phonological correspondence schemes – Stolvizza variant *paklö*.

2.1.4 Pronunciation

Resian standard as well as dialect forms may be immediately followed by pronunciation information. This information is given in a very broad transcription intended for a general public and is only adequate when one is aware of several implicit rules. The first set of implicit rules regards the position of stress, the second set of implicit rules regards the dialectal pronunciation information in relation to information already given for the standard Resian form.

As regards stress, the following rules should be kept in mind:

a) if the form contains one of the centralized vowels *ä*, *ë*, *ï*, *ö* or *ü* this vowel is stressed. E.g., for SG *tradüžinat* no indication of stress is necessary, as the one centralized vowel will be stressed;

b) if the form contains two of the aforementioned centralized vowels, the first of the two will be stressed. E.g. in *tärpët* the *ä* will be stressed and no special indication of stress is necessary;

c) in all other cases the position of stress cannot be deduced from the written form and pronunciation information is added. E.g., *sidët* [*sídët*] 'to sit' is an exception to rule (a) as it has an unstressed centralized vowel. If the form contains no centralized vowel at all, pronunciation information is always necessary for plurisyllabic forms, e.g. *cirkuw* [*církuw*] 'church'.

For stressed mid-vowels the degree of openness must be explicitely indicated. This is done in Italian fashion with an acute for closed vowels and a grave for open vowels, e.g. *jetra* [*jétra*] 'liver' and S *polzavec* [*pòlzavec*]. Other explicitly indicated pronunciation features are the fricative or occlusive pronunciation of *g*, like in *butëga* [*butëγa*] 'shop' on the one hand and *amïginja* [*amïginja*] 'friend' on the other.

The main implicit rule that governs the pronuciation indications of dialectal forms affects their relation to the information already given for the standard Resian form. If a given dialectal form is, in terms of graphemes, identical with the standard form, it does not have any pronunciation information added and the pronunciation defaults to the standard one. The slightest orthographical difference between the dialect and standard forms entails an explicit indication for the dialect form:

---

sikira [sikíra] **sekira**

sub fem
'axe'
SG sikira, *G* sikira, *O* sikirä [sikírä], *S* sikira

Example 8

Here the pronunciation information, which concerns the position of stress only, defaults to the standard one for San Giorgio, Gniva and Stolvizza, whereas the Oseacco form, because of its different spelling, has an explicit indication added.

As said before, the indications are intended for a general public and show some didactically motivated redundancy. Indications of this type are:

a) the voiceless pronuciation of final consonants. This is made necessary by the tendency of young Resian speakers to pronounce them voiced, as happens in Italian. Therefore, although the final devoicing is automatic in Resian, a pronunciation indication is added, like in *dëd* [*dët*] 'grandfather';

b) the pronunciation of final or preconsonantal *l* as a bilabial glide in the local dialect of Oseacco. Speakers of this local dialect have on several occasions and accounts shown problems with the graphemic representation of their dialect and therefore the pronunciation indication has been added, e.g. O *bul* [*buw*] 'illness';

c) the dialectal pronunciation of the grapheme *h*. For standard Resian a guttural voiceless fricative is assumed, a pronunciation that as such is also present in the local dialect of Oseacco. In San Giorgio and Gniva, however, it is a pharyngeal fricative and in Stolvizza, where this phoneme is exceptionally rare, a postpalatal fricative. In the light of this diatopical variation is was judged better to indicate it at every occurrence, like in:

hej[χèj] **haj**
inter
'wait'
SG hej [hèj], *G* haj [haj], *O* hej, *S* ej [èj]

Example 9

No indication is given for Oseacco, as it defaults to the standard pronunciation. An example for the Stolvizza grapheme *h* is Nsgf *mihka* [*míśka*];

d) the dialectal pronunciation of the grapheme *g*. Here the following diatopical distribution obtains in forms of Slavonic origin: a guttural voiced fricative in the standard and the Oseacco dialect, and a guttural voiced stop in the San Giorgio dialect. Although predictable, this is indicated on every occasion, like in:

görjup [γörjup] **gorjup**
adj
'bitter (certain taste)'
SG görjup [görjup], *G* hörjup [hörjup], *O* görjup, *S* örip

Example 10

Again, the Oseacco pronunciation defaults to the standard one, whereas the pronunciation of the Stolvizza form is clear on the basis of the rules given for stress earlier on;

e) the Stolvizza pronunciation of the grapheme sequence *ar* in word final position. In fact, the vowel in this sequence is an archiphoneme as the opposition between final unstressed *a* and *i* is neutralized here. Its pronunciation is like any Stolvizza final unstressed *i*, with a phone that is best decribed as lying between [ə] and [ɛ], but for the sake of parallellism with the orthographies of standard Resian, San Giorgio and Gniva for the graphemic representation the sign *a* was chosen. In the pronunciation indication the sign *i* is used, e.g. S *bratar* [*brátir*], as this sign is for Stolvizza speakers regularly associated with the actual pronunciation in this context.

The latter case makes it clear that the phonetical transcription makes use of rather ideosyncratic relations between signs and phones. This is also the case for the Stolvizza grapheme *h* in Nsgf *mihka* [*míśka*], where the correct IPA sign would rather be [ç]. As this sign in some Resian writings has been associated with a prepalatal voiceless stop, an alternative sign has been preferred.

2.2 Grammatical information

The grammatical information is limited to part of speech and usage indication. In comparison to the classification applied in the lexicon in Steenwijk 1992 the adverbs have been split up in "real" adverbs and particles, in line with the criteria applied by Toporišič (1984: 384-385). The usage information marks, on the temporal axis, archaisms and neologisms and on the affectional axis pejoratives and melioratives. Whereas the archaisms can be found in spoken and written texts, the neologisms are generally only encountered in writing and represent consciously coined formations.

2.3 Morphological information

Inflected forms are given for standard as well as dialectal Resian. Their purpose is not to give an indication of the morphological class of the lexeme, but to present example forms that demonstrate the possible alternate stems the lexeme may have apart from the stem implicitly indicated by the head form. These examples, which relate directly to stem forms comprised in the lookup lists, are deemed necessary not so much for native speakers as for users not very well acquainted with the language. Native speakers with some general experience with dictionaries can be supposed to be able to reconstruct the "dictionary form" for most lexemes of their native lexicon, but any other user could be puzzled when confronted with

forms like *l*-ptc msg *rëkal*, *l*-ptc fsg *raklä*, prae3sg *račë*, imp2sg *riče*, all containing alternate stems to the stem *rić-* present in the "dictionary form" *rićet* 'to say'. For the sake of speedier orientation the alternate stems *rëka-*, *rak-*, *rač-* and *rič-* are all included in the lookup lists. As the first stem *rëka-* demonstrates, these stem forms are the result of a linear analysis of the inclined form and do not try to account for underlying stem forms.

Although all possible stem forms are included in the lookup lists for standard as well as dialectal Resian, the inclined forms that exemplify them for the local dialects are not given *in extenso*. Instead, in the presentation a defaulting system is used along similar lines as the one used for pronunciation information. The rules to be applied are the following:

a) if the inclined form for a local dialect is identical to the corresponding inclined form already mentioned for standard Resian, it is not cited in the entry. This may be disturbing for dialectologists, which are used to base themselves on explicitly cited attested forms. For their information: also these inclined dialect forms, although not cited, have been attested in the field. For instance, in example (1) the pre3sg form *tarpï* is only mentioned for standard Resian, but has been attested for San Giorgio, Oseacco and Stolvizza;

b) if the inclined form for a local dialect is different from the corresponding inclined form mentioned for standard Resian, it is cited. This difference can be a difference of stem form or a difference of etymological desinence. For instance, in example (1) San Giorgio and Stolvizza *l*-ptc fsg *tyrpala* and Oseacco *l*-ptc msg *tärpul* demonstrate stem forms (*tyrpa-*, *tärpu-*) that deviate from the standard ones (*tärpa*, *tärpë-*). Oseacco *l*-ptc fsg *tärpalä* is not cited, because its difference from cited standard *tärpala* resides only in a phonological correspondence of the desinence. An etymological difference, however, is present in:

---

lëtu **leto**

sub neu Npl lita [líta]
'year (twelve month period)'
SG lëtu *Npl* lite [líte], *G* lëtu, *O* lëtu, *S* lëto

Example 11

Here, we have the Npl desinences *-*a* in standard Resian *lita*, Gniva *lita*, Oseacco *litä* and Stolvizza *lita*, and *-*ę* in San Giorgio *lite*;

c) if a local dialect has alternate stems that do not occur in the standard, inclined forms exemplifying those stems are cited. This can be seen in example (13) below, where inclined forms for the local dialects of Gniva and Oseacco are cited, although no such form was mentioned for the standard.

2.4 Translation

Although the online application allows access to one out of three target languages for translation, English, Italian and Slovene, here the discussion will be limited to English as the target language. The translations are meant to give the semantic equivalent of the Resian meaning in the shortest form possible. In order to avoid confusion with other meanings the lexeme used for translation may have in the target language, between parentheses any information useful to distinguish the intended meaning from these other meanings is added. For instance, in example (10) the information '(certain taste)' is added to the semantic equivalent 'bitter' in order to distinguish from figurative meanings the lexeme *bitter* may have in English, but not attested for Resian *görjup* so far. The extra information may consist of (near) synonyms, collocations, definitions, references to superclasses, in short, anything deemed constrasting enough with other possible readings of the translation. For diminutives and particples, instead of a translation a reference to the lexeme they are derived from is offered.

The dictionary contains a fair amount of proper names (referring to persons and places) for most of which no English equivalent exists. Here, the translation section holds an Italian translation, if available, or a simple repetition of the Resian lexeme, possibly with some extra information.

2.5 References

The need for a reference section arose primarily out of the normative intention of the dictionary. Although in many cases normalizing the written language boils down to indicating the standard form of a lexeme present in all local dialects, in some cases one among several diatopically distributed lexemes has to be picked as the standard lexeme. This has already been demonstrated by example (5), where reference is made to

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lokäj
sub mas Gsg lokaja [lokája]
'slug (shell-les snail)'
SG lokäj, G lokaj [lokáj], *O* lokej [lokèj] *Gsg* lokjä, *S* --
→ *S* polzavec

Example 12

Whereas for a substandard lexeme only reference is made to the standard lexeme, like in the case of Stolvizza *polzavec* referring to standard *lokäj*, in the entry for a standard lexeme all substandard lexemes are referred to, e.g.

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jablin [jáblin] **jablan**
sub mas
'apple-tree'
SG --, *G* jablin/jablën [jáblën] *Gsg* jablana [jáblana], *O* able [áble] *Gsg* ablinä [áblinä], *S* --
→ *SG* jablanä, *S* jabla

Example 13

The above system of references deals with substandard synonyms for standard lexemes. Less systematically applied are synonymy references among standard lexemes. Some do occur, like *beštja/beštija* and *braw* 'animal, beast', for instance. Typically, these synonymic pairs involve a Romance loan and an indigenous lexeme. Although some native speakers tend to regard such pairs as full synonyms (and may express normative preference for the indigenous lexeme), it is at this juncture of the research into the Resian lexicon difficult to decide whether these pairs contain full synonyms or not and which of the two members of each pair is the most frequent one. Therefore, statements on synonymy are generally refrained from.[4]

2.6 Related entries

Some entries are not inserted into the dictionary separately, but as a subsection of another entry. The main reason for doing this is economy of

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[4] For an example of the intricacies involved, see the discussion on the "synonym" pair *jošt* and *rawnu* in Steenwijk 1999a: 225-226.

morphological and/or semantic description. Inserting reflexive verbs in the same entry as their non-reflexive counterpart avoids a certain amount of repetitive formal information. Repetition of semantic information is avoided when inserting diminutives in the entry for the lexeme they are derived from. However, when the semantics of the derived lexeme are not regularly "inherited" from the base form, a separate entry is set up. The main categories that are treated as subentries are, apart from diminutives and reflexive verbs, proper names derived from appellatives (*Gözd*), comparatives (*liwči*) and superlatives (*najliwči*), adverbs derived from adjectives (*slabu*), passive participles (*kupjën*) and deverbal adjectives (*sadoć*).

A separate category are lexical phrases. Traditionally, such phrases are not treated as entries in their own right but are inserted into another entry. The criteria for choosing the "right" entry for including a given lexical phrase are mostly based on the notion of the "main" lexeme in the phrase, a criterium not always accessible to the average user. As a compromise, sometimes the same lexical phrase is repeated in more than one entry. Therefore, in the *Resianica* dictionary a purely formal criterion is applied for inserting lexical phrases. Not taking into account any initial definite or indefinite article, the phrase is inserted with the first lexeme contained within it. Thus, *mët radë* 'to love, to be fond of' is inserted into the entry *mët*, whereas the *SSKJ* has the corresponding phrase *imeti rad* inserted into the entry *imeti* as well as into the entry *rad*. In order to make access to lexical phrases still easier, all phrases in the *Resianica* dictionary are included in the lookup lists, a luxury print dictionaries generally do not afford themselves.

2.7 Acknowledgements

The acknowledgement section mentions persons other than the editor who where requested by him to contribute or check information. That is, these are not the native speakers used as informants, but persons who carried out a part of the editor's tasks by interviewing native speakers. The information they handed in has been checked again by the editor, however. So far, the following persons have contributed: Sergio Chinese, leader of the Resian male choir and author of a Resian dictionary, Angela Di Lenardo, teacher of the Resian course for adults, Vittorio Di Lenardo, member of the cultural association *Rozajanski Dum*, Antonio Longhino, author of several books in Italian on local history, and Luigia Negro, head of the cultural association *Rozajanski Dum* and author of many books and articles in Resian.

3. Conclusion: looking ahead

The split character of the dictionary, intended as a dialect dictionary for a scholarly audience and a normative dictionary for a general audience, entails some compromise with established practice. The scholar would be better served by a narrower phonetic transcription and a more explicit citing of attested forms, for instance. The general user, on the other hand, may be overwhelmed by the amount of morphological and dialect information. In fact, in a print version based on the same material as the online dictionary is based upon (Steenwijk 2005a), the morphological information has been suppressed. A way to obviate this dichotomy would be the introduction of different view modes in the online application, one for scholars and one for the general public.

The general user also has to cope with another typical characteristic of dialect dictionaries, to wit the fact that they may contain incomplete entries. In some entries, material for one or more local dialects is lacking or it is the standard Resian material that cannot be given. As a consequence, none of the lookup lists for the Resian language varieties gives full access to the entries. Full acces is only gained by choosing the target language for translations or standard Slovene as a point of departure for searching.

As with many online publications, also the contents of *Resianica* are not stable, meaning that as well the number of entries as the exact format of the microstructure are subject to change. However, updates are not frequent and rather wholesale. For reliable reference to the material it would be useful to preserve older states of the entries, distinguished by date of publication.

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SANSKRIT *TRÍDHĀ* AND *TREDHÁ̄*

MICHIEL DE VAAN

1. A common way to form multiplicative adverbs in Vedic Sanskrit is by suffixing *-dhā* / *-dhā́* to numerals and to pronominal stems.[1] In the Rigveda, the following forms are attested: *dvídhā* (1x) 'twofold', *trídhā* (4x) 'threefold' and *tredhā́* (11x) 'threefold; thrice', *caturdhā́* (2x) 'fourfold', *ṣoḷhā́* 'sixfold'[2] (1x), *sahasradhā́* (2x) 'thousandfold' and *katidhā́* (2x) 'how many times'. We furthermore find *bahudhā́* (9x) 'manifold, often', which is probably a creation of the later Maṇḍalas (Lubotsky 1995a: 132), and *śaśvadhā́* (RV 3.33.7) 'again and again', which Lubotsky explains as a nonce formation. This multiplicative formation is not found in Iranian, nor in any other branch of Indo-European; it may safely be regarded as an innovation of Indo-Aryan (Emmerick 1992: 187).
In this paper, I will address three problematic aspects of this formation: the etymology of the suffix, the initial accent of *dvídhā* and *trídhā*, and the trisyllabic reading of *tredhā́* in most of its Rigveda attestations.

2. The meaning of the adverbs in *-dhā*, *-dhā́* is best understood in comparison with *dvís* 'twice' and *trís* 'thrice', which are inherited from PIE. The latter indicate that the action to which they refer takes place two or three 'times'. In contradistinction to this, the adverbs in *-dhā* usually indicate that the action has taken place 'in so many ways' or 'in so many parts' (cf. Delbrück 1888: 201):

RV 10.56.6ab
dvídhā sūnávó 'suraṃ svarvídam
ā́sthāpayanta tr̥tī́yena kármaṇā
'By means of their third work, the sons have made the sun-finding Asura enduring in two ways.'

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[1] I am grateful to Arlo Griffiths, Leonid Kulikov and Alexander Lubotsky for comments on an earlier version of this paper.
[2] See Lubotsky 2000: 257 for the explanation of *o* in this form.

RV 2.3.10cd
trídhā sámaktaṃ nayatu prajānán
devébhyo daívyaḥ śamitópa havyám
'The divine preparer, who knows in advance, must hand over to the gods the oblation, which has been adorned in three ways.'

RV 1.34.8a-d
trír aśvinā síndhubhiḥ saptámātr̥bhis
tráya āhāvā́s tredhā́ havíṣ kr̥tám
tisráḥ pr̥thivī́r upári pravā́ divó
nā́kam rakṣethe dyúbhir aktúbhir hitám
'Three times, o you two Aśvins, (come) with the rivers, the seven mothers; (there are) three troughs, in three parts the oblation has been prepared. Hovering over the three earths, you protect the fixed vault of heaven day and night.'

RV 10.87.10a-d
nr̥cákṣā rákṣaḥ pári paśya vikṣú
tásya trī́ṇi práti śr̥ṇīhy ágrā
tásyāgne pr̥ṣṭī́r hárasā śr̥ṇīhi
tredhā́ mū́laṃ yātudhā́nasya vr̥śca
'Watching over men, beware of the demon in the settlements, break off its three tops! Agni, break its ribs with your flame, cut down the root of the sorcerer in three parts!'

RV 4.35.2cd
sukr̥tyáyā yát svapasyáyā cam̐
ékaṃ vicakrá camasáṃ caturdhā́
'Since you have changed the one vessel in four ways with cleverness and skill.'

RV 4.35.3ab
vyàkr̥ṇota camasáṃ caturdhā́
sákhe ví śikṣéty abravīta
'You changed the vessel in four ways. "Friend, try it!", you spoke.'

At four occasions, Geldner translates *tredhā́* as 'thrice'. Two of these passages refer to Viṣṇu's three strides through the world. As Kuiper has argued (1962: 139f., 148f.), these steps only acquire their full cosmogonical meaning by being three. Therefore, the poets may well have envisaged Viṣṇu's steps as a single cosmogonical act, consisting in three parts. If we

understand it in this way, the meaning of *tredhā́* is comparable to that of the preceding passages:[3]

RV 1.22.17ab
idáṃ víṣṇur ví cakrame
tredhā́ ní dadhe padám
'Viṣṇu has walked out this [world], three times he has left behind his footstep.'

RV 1.154.1cd
yó áskabhāyad úttaraṃ sadhásthaṃ
vicakramāṇás tredhórugāyáḥ
'Who propped the upper abode, after he had walked out three times, the wide-striding one.'

In RV 10.75.1, the seven rivers have proceeded simultaneously, and this has happened 'three times' or maybe rather 'in three ways'. Note the use of the same perfect *cakram-* as in the two preceding passages:

RV 10.75.1cd
prá saptá-sapta tredhā́ hí cakramúḥ
prá sŕ̥tvarīṇām áti síndhur ójasā
'For they have proceeded three times seven in each case (= 21), the Sindhu ahead of the [other] streams on account of its strength.'

The meaning 'in how many ways' can also be expressed by adjectives in *-aya-*, such as RV *dvayá-* (6x) 'twofold', *trayá-* (1x) 'threefold', *cáturvaya-*[4] (2x) 'fourfold' and *dáśataya-* (2x) 'tenfold'. This formation is probably inherited from PIE, at least in the case of 'two' and 'three': PIE **duoi-o-* > Gr. δοιός 'double', OCS *dъvojь* 'twofold', Lith. *dvejì* 'two (at a time)', PIE **troi-o-* > OCS *troji* (m.), *troje* (n.) 'three together', Lith. *trejì* 'three (at a time)'. The preservation of *t* in *dáśataya-* < PIE **déḱm̥t* 'ten' (cf. Emmerick

[3] This does not preclude the use of *trís*; we find it in nearly the same context in RV 7.100.3ab: *trír deváḥ pr̥thivī́m eṣá etā́m / ví cakrame śatárcasam mahitvā́.*

[4] The presence of *-v-* in this formation is surprising. The first option which springs to mind is analogy to *dvayá-* 'twofold', but we cannot formulate an exact proportion which would have led to the adoption of *v*. Since the initial accent would match that of a possessive compound, Wackernagel-Debrunner 1930: 422 hesitantly compare Ved. *vayā́-* 'branch'; *cátur-vaya-* would then mean 'with four branches'. Alternatively, in view of the context of the passages containing *cáturvaya-*, one might suggest that it contains *váyas-* 'sacrificial meal' (but with a different suffix).

1992: 189) suggests a relatively early date for this adjective too. An example of *dvayá-* is:

RV 6.27.8abc
dvayā́m̐ agne rathíno viṃśatíṃ gā́ḥ
vadhū́mato maghávā máhyaṃ samrā́ṭ
abhyāvartī́ cāyamānó dadāti
'Agni! The bountiful sovereign Abhyāvartín Cāyamāná gives to me [horses] of two kinds, with a chariot, twenty bulls with wives.'

The only example of *trayá-* occurs in RV 10.45.2, together with another instance of *tredhā́*. Geldner translates *tredhā́ trayā́ṇi* as 'dreimal dreierlei (Formen)':

RV 10.45.2ab
vidmā́ te agne tredhā́ trayā́ṇi
vidmā́ te dhā́ma víbhr̥tā purutrā́
'We know your thrice threefold (forms), o Agni; we know your forms, which have been distributed in many ways.'

Skt. *cáturvaya-* determines *camasá-* 'vessel' in both its attestations, and can therefore be nicely compared with RV 4.35.2 *vyàkr̥ṇota camasáṃ caturdhā́* (see above):

RV 1.110.3cd
tyáṃ cic camasám ásurasya bhákṣaṇam
ékaṃ sántam akr̥ṇutā cáturvayam
'You have even made fourfold that vessel, the drinking vessel of Asura, which was one.'

RV 4.36.4ab
ékaṃ ví cakra camasáṃ cáturvayaṃ
níś cármaṇo gā́m ariṇīta dhītíbhiḥ
'You have made the one vessel into a fourfold one, with your thoughts you have caused the cow to run out of the hide.'

3. There is no known adverbial suffix in Sanskrit which might have served as the derivational basis for numeral adverbs in *-dhā*. Emmerick (1992: 187) argues that *dvídhā* and *trídhā* were formed analogically on the model of *viśvádhā̆* 'in all ways', which Old Persian *vispadā* shows to be inherited from IIr. **uićua-d*^{h}*a*. This will not work, however, because of the original short quantity of the final vowel in the adverbial suffix *-dha*, which is only

realized with a long vowel in front of a following single consonant in the Rigveda; see Lubotsky 1995a: 130-133 on this issue.

It is more likely that *dvídhā* represents an original compound. The scholars who have opted for this solution seem to agree on the derivation of *-dhā* from the root *dhā-* 'to put, make'; compare, for instance, Burrow 1973: 280 and Thumb-Hauschild 1959 II: 182. On the semantic side, this etymology can be supported by the occurrence in the Rigveda of possessive compounds in *-dhā́tu* 'layer, constituent element', a derivative of *dhā-* 'to put': *tridhā́tu-* (25x) 'consisting of three parts', *saptádhātu-* (3x) 'consisting of seven parts'; compare also *sudhā́tu-* (1x) 'well-founded'. These compounds convey nearly the same semantics as the type *dvídhā*. Compare the following attestations:

RV 1.34.6cd:
omā́naṃ śaṃyór mámakāya sūnáve
tridhā́tu śárma vahataṃ śubhas patī
'O you two lords of splendour, convey help, happiness and welfare, [and] threefold protection to my son.'

RV 10.32.4a-d:
tád ít sadhástham abhí cā́ru dīdhaya
gā́vo yác chā́san vahatúṃ ná dhenávaḥ
mātā́ yán mántur yūthásya pūrvyā́
abhí vāṇásya saptádhātur íj jánaḥ
'I have regarded that dear seat to which the milch cows would point like to a wedding procession, and the first mother of the herd, the adviser, and the music group consisting of seven parts.'

Since there is no evidence in Old Iranian that *d^haH-* was used for numeral derivatives at the Indo-Iranian stage, it must have developed this usage in Indo-Aryan. The model probably was the root *kr̥t-* 'to cut, prepare', the finite verb forms of which sometimes have a similar meaning as those of *dhā-*. There is evidence to the effect that **kr̥t-* could already be used for numerical purposes in Indo-Iranian: compare Skt. *sakŕ̥t* and Av. *hakərət* 'once' < IIr. **sa-kr̥t* < PIE **sm̥-kr̥t* 'having one cutting, carving' (Scarlata 1999: 80). In fact, it is possible that this usage of **kr̥t-* goes back to PIE, if the comparison with Lithuanian *kar̃tas* 'time' is correct, cf. Wackernagel-Debrunner 1930: 424. A derivative of this root, Skt. *kŕ̥tvaḥ*[5], was used in RV in combination with other quantifiers to convey the meaning 'times': *bhū́ri*

[5] For the etymology of this word, see Emmerick 1992: 188.

kṛ́tvaḥ (3.18.4) 'many times' and *śáśvat kṛ́tvaḥ* (3.54.1) 'time and again', AV *dáśa kṛ́tvaḥ* 'ten times'.

Morphologically, the element *-dhā* must represent the IIr. root noun *d^haH-* 'the putting, making', which is attested in many compounds in Vedic and Old Iranian. In Avestan, they still inflect as root nouns: *mazdā-* 'wisdom' (m.), *yaoždā-* 'purifying', *zrazdā-* 'believing', and others. In Vedic, such compounds are mostly feminine *ā*-stems: *medhā́-* 'wisdom', *śraddhā́-* 'confidence', *nidhā́-* 'net, snare', *svadhā́-* 'own accord, custom'. Scarlata 1999: 266 has proposed to derive *-dhā* in the numeral compounds from the ins.sg. *-d^hH-áH* of the IIr. root noun, and I adopt his proposal. The meaning of, for instance, *dui-d^hH-áH* can then be reconstructed as 'by means of putting twice'.

In fact, the original root noun ins.sg. ending is preserved in the relic forms *apadhā́* 'by removing', *svadhā́* 'of one's own accord' in RV 6.2.8 and 8.32.6 (as opposed to usual ins.sg. *svadháyā*) and in the ins.sg. RV 8.77.4 *pratidhā́* 'with a draught', the only occurrence of this compound in the RV:

ékayā pratidhā́pibat
sākáṃ sárāṃsi triṃśátam
índraḥ sómasya kāṇukā́
'With a single draught Indra drank up thirty kāṇuka-lakes of soma in one go.'

4. The final accentuation of *tredhā́*, *caturdhā́* is regular for determinative compounds, and agrees with that of the other compounds in *-dhā*, such as *medhā́-*, *śraddhā́-*, etc. The initial accentuation of *dvídhā* and *trídhā*, however, is in striking contrast with the numeral adverbs in *-dhā́*. In determinative compounds in *dvi-* and *tri-*, we would expect the second member to be stressed. There are no good examples of this type in the Rigveda, since *tri-divá-* 'the third heaven' and *tri-nāká-* 'id' (both in RV 9.113.9)[6] may well be nonce formations; note the meaning 'third', not 'three'. The only form with accented *trí-* is *tríkadruka-* (pl.t.) 'the three kadruka vessels' (7x in RV). It differs from the other compounds in *tri-* in its clearly non-possessive meaning, and this may be the reason why it has accented *trí-*. Because it is the name of a specific vessel, and because of its semantic deviation from the usual type of compounds, *tríkadruka-* gives the impression of being a recent formation.

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[6] RV 9.112-114, the Paṅkti songs, are a later addition to the text according to Oldenberg 1888: 202.

Possessive compounds in *dvi-* or *tri-* also usually stress the second member in the Rigveda: *dvi-bárhas-* 'having double strength', *dvi-pád-* 'having two feet', *tri-cakrá-* 'having three wheels', *tri-vṛ́t-* 'consisting of three parts'. There are three exceptions in the RV, according to Wackernagel 1905: 295, but at least two of them do not count as counter evidence. RV 7.59.12 *tryàmbaka-* 'having three mothers' is a personal name, and names sometimes have a deviant accentuation. In RV 5.27.5,[7] we find *tryā̀śir-* 'mixed with three products of milk' = 'containing three mixings', used as an epithet of *soma-*. The second member *āśir-* 'mixing' contains the preverb *ā* 'to', which makes *tryā̀śir-* a recent type of compound, in which the second member itself is a compound too: **trí* + *ā-śir-*. The third exception, and the only one to remain, is *dví-śavas-* 'having twofold power' in RV 9.104.2. Note, however, that the semantically close *dvi-bárhas-* 'having double strength', with expected stress on the second member, occurs 15 times throughout the RV.

It may be suggested, then, that *dvídhā* and *trídhā* acquired initial stress in order to set them apart from possessive compounds containing 'two' and 'three', and to indicate that they contain the multiplicative meaning of *dvís* and *trís*. Their new accentuation agrees with that of the determinative *tríkadruka-*. This is not to say that the latter must have acted as a model for the two numerals; on the contrary, *dvídhā* and *trídhā* seem to be older formations than *tríkadruka-*.

5. The form *tredhā́* must be read trisyllabically in most of its attestations in the Rigveda. This point has been addressed by Lubotsky 1995b: 218, but the solution may still be improved on.

In nine of its eleven attestations, *tredhā́* is scanned as a trisyllable. This scansion is found once at the beginning of a gāyatrī verse (1.22.17), and the other times in the middle part of triṣṭubh and jagatī verses. Both disyllabic scansions occur at the beginning of a triṣṭubh verse (6.69.8 and 10.87.10). Scholars have expressed different opinions about the sequence underlying trisyllabic *tredhā́*. Grassmann 1873: 559 interprets it as /*trayadhā́*/, and the same is surmised by Wackernagel–Debrunner 1930: 347, and accepted by EWAia I: 676. Van Nooten & Holland 1994, however, interpret the form as /*trayidhā́*/, and Lubotsky 1995b: 218 simply remarks in a footnote that "contraction of **trayadhā*, proposed in AiGr. III, 347, is improbable." The improbability lies in the fact that the sequence *-aya-* is usually retained as such in Vedic. Original *-*ayi-*, however, is regularly contracted to *-e-*, unless

[7] The hymns 5.27-28 are also suspect of being later additions, cf. Oldenberg 1888: 198: "tṛca oder Anhang?"

a stem form in *-ay-* was restored analogically; the evidence is discussed in detail by Lubotsky 1995b: 214-222. There is only one Rigvedic form in *-e-* for which original **-aya-* must probably be accepted, viz. the noun *śréṇi-* f. 'row', which has disyllabic *-e-* in all of its nine occurrences, also usually in the middle part of the verse. Whereas Grassmann interprets it as */śrayiṇi/*, Lubotsky now conversely proposes, with some hesitation, original **śrayáṇi*, assuming an irregular, post-Vedic contraction due to the following *i*. At an intermediate stage, Lubotsky (personal communication) considers *i*-mutation of the second *a* to have taken place, i.e. **śrayáṇi* > **śrayíṇi* > *śréṇi-*. The contraction, and probably also the mutation, would have taken place in the post-Vedic period of text transmission.

For *tredhā́,* Lubotsky suggests that the stem *tray-* from the nom.pl.m. *tráyas* 'three' was introduced into *trídhā* because of a reanalysis of *dvídhā* 'twofold' as *dv-i-dhā* (1995b: 218). This proposal seems unlikely to me, since *dvi-* and *tri-* are perfectly recognizable entities in Skt. In fact, Vedic *tri-* occurs more frequently than *dvi-*, and some words in *dvi-* can be regarded as rhyme-words to words in *tri-* (cf. Gonda 1953: 41-44). There would have been no model to replace the very frequent and normal *tri-* by an aberrant form *trayi-*. Furthermore, instead of the nom.pl.m. *tráyas*, a much more obvious model for the introduction of *tray-* into the numeral compound would have been *trayá-* 'threefold': this contains the exact meaning we are looking for.

Instead of the alleged introduction of **tray-* into *tridhā́*, I propose a different scenario. Since the output form *tredhā́* shows the regular accentuation of the determinative compounds of the type *svadhā́-* (see above), a compound consisting of *traya-* + *dhā́-* 'putting a threefold one' may already have existed side by side – or rather, in competition with – *trídhā*. We may then assume that, at a certain point, **traya-dhā́* simply ousted *trídhā*. The reason why the speakers were not content with **trídhā* is difficult to ascertain – but this is often the case with analogical replacements. At a subsequent stage, the form **traya-dhā́* was changed into **trayi-dhā́*, and this can only have been on the example of *dvídhā* and/or *trídhā*. Finally, **trayi-dhā́* contracted and resulted in *tredhā́*. This yields the following scenario: **trídhā // *traya-dhā́* >> **trayi-dhā́* > *tredhā́*.

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NON SECUNDUM SCIENTIAM: READING WHAT IS NOT THERE

WILLIAM R. VEDER

The change from a primary to a secondary state, in historical linguistics as in archæology, is the sole source of data on development. If the relative chronology of archæological strata is rarely open to debate, that of linguistic strata is so only in the most evident of cases. The difficulty of answering the question *utrum in alterum abiturum erat?* which already vexed Erasmus, is exacerbated in a language not of people, but of books, like Slavonic, which does not develop and in which texts are transmitted on the tacit assumption that they are maximally faithful to their orginal. In Slavonic, change is erratic and usually hails to either an early period, when the concept of fidelity had yet to be established, or to attempts since the late 14th century to impose fidelity by arbitrary rules, varying by area. As a result, texts diverge, and their original state becomes obscured to the point of appearing irretrievable. Yet if the textual critic of the 21st century, like the archæologist, were to pay attention to disturbances in the record, he might be in a position to glean a great deal more information about the primary state of the text than if he were to confine himself to the positive data, both provided by the witnesses and by previous scholarship.

To the man who has done more than any other to accurately establish the sequence of states in development of the Slavic languages *de l'unité à la pluralité*, I should like to offer a concrete specimen of such an approach to seemingly irreconcilable conflicts among witnesses. It is in part triggered by the presentation of the records of Slovenian prior to the printed book, elaborated under his direction (Mikhailov 1998): Its author notes with some surprise that none of the records attests any form of the dual. Yet everywhere the dual should stand, there are conflicts of syntactic agreement, and not only between different writers, but even in records of one and the same writer: Here, the very fact of disturbance in the record acquires meaning. My specimen takes us back to the initial phase of writing in Slavonic, the last years of the mission to Morava. I trust that our friend and colleague will if not validate the conclusions of my considerations, then at least enjoy the edification of a

story about the woeful consequences when integrity is sacrificed to competition in the name of whichever pre-ordained goal.

The story is contained in the 5th century Greek collection of monastic sayings and anecdotes known as *Apophthegmata patrum*, which exists in two forms, viz. an alphabetico-anonymous collection (*CPG* 5560-61[1]) and a systematic collection (*CPG* 5562[2]). The latter has a Latin translation, made before ca. AD 560, and a Slavonic translation, made before AD 885 and known as the *Scete Patericon*. Of all the translations that can be attributed to St Methodius, this one lends itself best to the task of establishing his language and style: Its identification with the отьчьскъıа кънигъı of *Vita Methodii* xv leaves little, if any room for doubt,[3] and its witnesses have not undergone the erratic recollation with Greek manuscripts, which so mars the tradition of Biblical and liturgical translations. Below, I present *Scete Patericon 15:111b*[4] in a lineated collation of its Greek text (Nau 1912[5]), a Cyrillic reconstruction[6] of its Slavonic transla-

[1] The alphabetic part (apophthegms *1-1001*) is edited by Cotelier 1677 (*1-948*) and Guy 1962 (*949-1001*), the anonymous part (apophthegms *1002-1765*) by Nau 1905-1913 (incomplete, complements in French translation by Régnault 1970, 1976). Its Slavonic translation (*Azbučno-ierusalimskij paterik*) is differential, hence posterior, to the translation of the *Scete Patericon*; its inventory is established in detail by van Wijk 1936-37 and Capaldo 1984, its alphabetic part edited by Caldarelli 1996.

[2] This collection, compiled after the Council of Chalcedon (AD 451), reorders the contents of the earlier alphabetico-anonymous collection in 22 thematic chapters, of which *1-9* are edited by Guy 1993. The Latin translation is edited by Rosweyde 1628; for an inventory of the Slavonic translation, see Veder 2005.

[3] On the отьчьскъıа кънигъı and the attribution to St Methodius, see Nikolova 1995, Veder 2005.

[4] The inventory of the chapters is numbered by Guy 1962 according to the most developed state of the text. Cod. Moskva GIM Sin.gr. 452 (Russian translation: Vissarion 1874, Bulgarian: Stefanov 1994) has this story in the 106th place, the Slavonic translation has it in the 93rd place, the Latin in the 88th.

[5] In Nau's edition, the story is identified as nr. *334* (*b* forms its central part) of the anonymous collection. The modern standard (Régnault 1976) is to identify it as *1334*, by its place in the entire alphabetico-anonymous collection. Note that in the alphabetico-anonymous collection our story is embedded in *1334a* and *1334c*, while in the systematic collection it is preceded by *1319a* and followed by *1319b*.

[6] I introduce a uniform verse numbering (emulating Erasmus), leave aside all abbreviations and standardise all spellings to maximal discreteness. The reconstruction should ideally be written in Glagolitic script, but over a millenium of dictatorship of Cyrillic has so moulded the research tradition of Slavonic that a text printed in Glagolitic would fail to be read even if it were noticed.

tion (bold superscript letters mark items to be commented), and its Latin translation (Rosweyde 1628[7]).

11 Ἦσαν [8]τινὲς κοσμικοὶ εὐλαβεῖς, καὶ συμφωνήσαντες ἐξῆλθον καὶ γεγονασι μοναχοί,
дъва ина**[a]** бѣсте**[b]** проста людина**[c]** говѣина· и съвѣщавъша**[d]**· изидете**[e]**· и бъіcте мънихa·
Duo quidam erant sæculares religiosi, et colloquentes secum egressi sunt, et facti sunt monachi.

12 καὶ ζήλῳ φερόμενοι κατὰ τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν φωνήν, ἀγνοοῦντες δέ, εὐνουχίσαν ἑαυτοὺς
и рьвьноуѭща по еванъгельскоу гласоу· не вѣдѫща же· скописте сѧ·
Æmulationem autem habentes vocis evangelicæ, sed non secundum scientiam, castraverunt se

13 διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. (Mt 19:12)
сирѣчь *цѣсарьствиꙗ ради небесьнаѥго·*
quasi[9] *propter regna*[10] *cœlorum.*

14 Καὶ ἀκούσας ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, ἐχώρησεν αὐτούς.
слъішавъ же аръхиепископъ· отълѫчи ꙗ отъ црькъве·
Audiens autem archiepiscopus excommunicavit eos.

15 Ἐκεῖνοι δὲ δοκοῦντες ὅτι καλῶς ἐποίησαν, ἠγανάκτησαν κατ᾿ αὐτοῦ λέγοντες·
она же мьнѧща· ꙗко добро сътвористе· ръпътасте на нь· глаголѭща·
Illi autem putantes quia bene fecissent indignati sunt contra eum dicentes:

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[7] I introduce a uniform verse numbering (emulating Erasmus), leave aside all abbreviations and standardise all spellings to maximal discreteness. The reconstruction should ideally be written in Glagolitic script, but over a millenium of dictatorship of Cyrillic has so moulded the research tradition of Slavonic that a text printed in Glagolitic would fail to be read even if it were noticed.

[8] I suspect that the single cod. Paris BN Coislin 126, published by Nau 1912, simply skipped δύο.

[9] The Latin *quasi* and its Slavonic parallel сирѣчь indicate that they have a common Greek source, which distanced itself from the all too direct appeal to the authority of the Gospel.

[10] Why did the Latin translators here and in *16* prefer the *pl*, when St Jerome in the *Vulgate* already used the *sg*?

16 Ἡμεῖς εὐνουχίσαμεν ἑαυτοὺς *διὰ τὴν βασιλεῖαν τῶν οὐρανῶν*, καὶ οὗτος ἐχώρησεν ἡμᾶς.
вѣ скописвѣ сѧ *ꙁа цѣсарьствиѥ божиѥ*· и сь отълѫчилъ на[f] ѥстъ·
Nos *propter regna cœlorum* castravimus nos, et hic excommunicavit nos.

17 Ἄγωμεν, ἐντύχωμεν κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Ἱεροσολύμων.
нъ идѣвѣ· да поимѣвѣ[g] на нь аръхиепископоу ієроусалимьскоу[h]·
Eamus et interpellemus adversus eum Hierosolymitanorum archiepiscopum.

18 Καὶ ἀπελθόντες, ἀνήγγειλαν αὐτῷ πάντα, καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος·
шьдъша же· възвѣстисте ѥмоу вьсꙗ· и рече има аръхиепископъ·
Abeuntes ergo indicaverunt ei omnia. Et dixit archiepiscopus Hierosolymitanus:

19 Κἀγὼ ὑμᾶς χωρίζω.
и аꙁъ отълѫчаѭ ва·
Et ego vos excommunico.

20 Καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο λυπηθέντες, ἀπῆλθον ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ τὰ καθ᾽ ἑαυτούς, κἀκεῖνος ἐχώρισεν ἑαυτούς.
и на се[i] же пакꙑ печаль приимъша· идете въ анътиохиѭ къ аръхиепископоу·
и рѣсте ѥмоу ꙗже о себѣ· и онъ же отълѫчи ꙗ·
Ex quo iterum contristati abierunt in Antiochiam ad archiepiscopum, et dixerunt ei omnia quæ facta fuerunt. Et ille similiter excommunicavit eos.

21 Λέγουσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους·
и глаголасте къ себѣ·
Et dixerunt ad seipsos:

22 Ἄγωμεν εἰς Ῥώμην, πρὸς τὸν πάπαν, κἀκεῖνος ἐκδικεῖ ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάντων τούτων.
поидѣвѣ въ римъ къ патриаръхоу· и тъ мьстить наю отъ вьсѣхъ сихъ·
Eamus Romam ad patriarcham,[11] et ipse nos vindicabit de omnibus istis.

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[11] The Constantinopolitan version published by Nau reduces the titles of the pope, preserved in full in the Latin and Slavonic *patriarch* and *great archbishop*, again an indication that the two translations have a common Greek source of different provenance.

23 Ἀπελθόντες οὖν πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Ῥώμης, ἀνήγγειλαν αὐτῷ ἃ ἐποίησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ ἀρχιεπίσκοποι·
шьдъша же къ великоуѥмоу аръхиепископоу римьскоу· възвѣстисте ѥмоу· ꙗже сътворишѧ има аръхиепископи·
Abierunt ergo ad summum archiepiscopum[11] Romanæ civitatis, et suggesserunt ei quæ fecerant eis memorati archiepiscopi,

24 Ἤλθομεν δὲ πρὸς σέ, ὅτι σὺ εἶ κεφαλὴ πάντων.
приидовѣ же къ тебѣ· сѧте[j]· ꙗко ты ѥси глава въсѣмъ·
dicentes: Venimus ad te, quia tu es caput omnium.

25- Εἶπεν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ αὐτός· Κἀγὼ χωρίζω ὑμᾶς, καὶ κεχωρισμένοι ἐστέ.
26 рече же има и тъ· и аꙁъ ва отълѫчаѭ· и отълѫчена ѥста·
Dicit autem eis et ipse: Ego vos excommunico, et segregati estis.

27 Ἀπορούμενοι δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἶπον ὅτι·
тогда сътѧꙁаѭща сѧ· рѣсте къ себѣ ·
Tunc defecerunt excommunicati totius rationis, et dixerunt ad semetipsos:

28 Εἷς τῷ ἑνὶ χαρίζεται, διὰ τὸ ἐν συνόδῳ ἀνάγεσθαι,
си по себѣ сѫтъ ѥдинъ по ѥдиномь· ꙁане въ съньмѣхъ събираѭтъ сѧ·
Isti episcopi sibi invicem deferunt et consentiunt, propter quod in synodis congregantur.

29 ἀλλ’ ἄγωμεν εἰς τὸν ἅγιον τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐπιφάνιον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς Κύπρου, ὅτι προφήτης ἐστὶν καὶ οὐ λαμβάνει πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπου.
нъ идѣвѣ къ свѧтоуѥмоу епифанию аръхиепскопоу кѵпрьскоу· ꙗко пророкъ ѥстъ· и не обиноуѥтъ сѧ лица чьловѣкоу·
Sed eamus ad illum virum Dei sanctum Epiphanium episcopum de Cypro, quia propheta est, et personam hominis non accipit.

30 Ὡς δὲ ἤγγισαν τῇ πόλει αὐτοῦ, ἀπεκαλύφθη αὐτῷ περὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ πέμψας εἰς ἀπάντησιν αὐτῶν εἶπεν·
вънегда же приближисте сѧ градѣ[k] ѥго· ꙗви сѧ ѥмоу о нею· и посълавъ въ сърѣтениѥ има· рече·
Cum autem appropinquarent civitati ejus, revelatum est ei de ipsis, et mittens in occursum eorum dixit:

31- Μηδὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ταύτην εἰσελθέτωσαν. Τότε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς γενόμενοι εἶπον·
32 ни въ градъ сь въходита· тогда въ себѣ бывъша· рѣсте·
Ne intretis civitatem istam. Tunc illi in se reversi, dixerunt:

33 Ἐπ' ἀληθείας ἡμεῖς ἐσφάλημεν·
въ рѣснотѫ[l] вѣ съгрѣшиховѣ· чьто оубо себе оправьдаѥвѣ·
Pro veritate nos culpabiles sumus, ut quid ergo nos ipsos justificamus?

34 ἔστω ἐκεῖνοι ἀδίκως ἡμᾶς ἐχώρησαν, μὴ καὶ οὗτος ὁ προφητής; ἰδοὺ ὁ Θεὸς ἀπεκάλυψεν αὐτῷ περὶ ἡμῶν.
бѫди ꙗко они бес правьдꙑ на отълѫчиша· ѥда оубо и сь пророкъ· се бо богъ ꙗви ѥмоу о наю·
Fac etiam quia illi injuste nos excommunicaverunt, nunquid et iste propheta? Ecce enim Deus revelavit ei de nobis.

35 Καὶ κατέγνωσαν ἑαυτῶν σφόδρα περὶ τοῦ πράγματος οὗ ἐποίησαν.
и ꙁаꙁьрѣсте себѣ[m] о грѣсѣ· иже сътвористе·
Et reprehenderunt semetipsos valde de culpa quam fecerunt.

36 Τότε ἰδὼν ὁ καρδιογνώστης Θεὸς, ὅτι ἐν ἀληθείᾳ κατέγνωσαν ἑαυτῶν, ἐπληροφόρησεν Ἐπιφάνιον ἐπίσκοπον Κύπρου
тогда видѣвъ срьдьцевѣдьць богъ· ꙗко въ рѣснотѫ ꙁаꙁьрѣсте себѣ· съкаꙁа епископоу епифанию о нею·
Tunc videns qui corda novit quia pro veritate se culpabiles fecerant, revelavit episcopo Epiphanio,

37 καὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ πέμψας ἤνεγκεν αὐτοὺς, καὶ παρακαλέσας ἐδέξατο εἰς κοινωνίαν,
посълавъ же· приведе ꙗ· и оутѣшь· приѧтъ ꙗ въ обьщениѥ[n]·
et ultro misit et adduxit eos, et consolatus eos suscepit in communionem.

38 καὶ ἔγραψε τῷ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Ἀλεξανδρείας·
и написа аръхиепископоу алеѯанъдрьскоу· глаголѧ·
Scripsit itaque de his archiepiscopo Alexandriæ, dicens:

39 Δέξαι τὰ τέκνα σου, μετενόησαν γὰρ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ.
приими чѧдѣ твои· покаꙗсте бо сѧ въ рѣснотѫ·
Suscipe filios tuos, quoniam in veritate pœnitentiam egerunt.

Before discussing the problems of establishing *Scete Patericon 15:111b*, let me present the 20 witnesses and their stemma (Fig. 1):

			a	A^1	Dečani 93 (12c UA)
	α		a'	A^2 A^3	Moskva GIM Sin. 3 (15c RU); SPb RNB Pog. 267 (14c RU)
	γ		b	B^1	Moskva GIM Uvar. 483 (1542 UA)
			b'	B^2 B^4	Moskva RGB F.178 8240 (1472 RU); RGB F.310 219 (16c UA)
			b"	B^5	L'viv BAN ASP 56 (16c UA)
	ε		i	I^1	SPb RNB Tixan. 552 (16c RU)
ω			i'	I^2	Moskva RGB F.113 601 (15c RU)
	ζ		o	O	Moskva GIM Cµud. 318A (15-16c RU)
			c	C^1 C^2 C^4	Moskva GIM Cµud. 18 (14c RU); RGB F.304 703 (14c RU); NBMGU 1310 (15c RU)
			k	K^2	SPb BAN Belokr. 2 (16c BG)
	η		w	W^1 W^2 W^3	Sinai Slav 33 (14c SR); Pec′ 86 (13c SR); Moskva RGB Popov 93 (14c BG)
		θ	w'	W^4	SPb RNB Hilf. 90 (14c SR)
			w"	W^6 W^8	Krka 4 (1345-46 BG); Paris BN Slav. 10 (14c SR)[12]

Fig. 1: *Stemma codicum of the Scete Patericon 15:111b*[13]

The Cyrillic hyparchetypes **a**-**o** are of East Slavic origin, probably made, like **i**-**i**', at Kiev in in the second half of the 11th century; **k**-**w**" are of South Slavic origin, and **c** may have the same provenance. The Glagolitic hyparchetypes **α**-**ε** originated around the turn of the 9-10th centuries in the Pliska-Preslav area, to judge by their individual Hunno-Bulgarisms (e.g. **αγ** отънѫдь → бъхъма *passim*, **ε** зьрьцало → тикъръ *2:29*[14]), **ζη** are of later origin and may stem from a different environment.[15] The reconstruction of **ω**, presented above, is based on the following considerations of the variation the witnesses exhibit:

(**a**) All occurrences of the indefinite article τις are occasions of deep disturbance in the witnesses (are there any Cyrillo-Methodian translations where they are not?): In *15:111b*, the conflict is **αγ** ø : **εocθ**W^3 етеръ : **k** нѣкъи : W^{12} дроугъ. Elsewhere in the *Scete Patericon* it usually is **a** ѥдинъ : **εcθ**W^3 етеръ : **k** нѣкъи/нѣкъто : W^{12} дроугъ, with **g** vaccillating between ѥдинъ and етеръ, and **o** between етеръ and нѣкъи/нѣкъто, but any of these readings, including ø, can occasionally appear in any of the hyparche-

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[12] On W^6, cf. Pileva 2003; W^8 is edited by van Wijk 1975.

[13] Greek sigla: Glagolitic hyparchetypes; bold Latin sigla: Cyrillic hyparchetypes; non-bold sigla: witnesses; shaded: South Slavic; BG = Bulgarian, RU = Russian, SR = Serbian, UA = Ruthenian.

[14] The Glagolitic hyparchetype ε, a compilation also known as the *Tixanov Patericon*, is described in some detail in Veder 2005.

[15] The Glagolitic hyparchetypes **ζ** and **η** show notable loss of text, perhaps as the result of transport damage to **ω** or a Glagolitic copy of it; they also exhibit a morphological conservatism unknown to **α**-**ε**, cf. Veder 2005.

types; in addition, we find isolated instances of инъ, most notably in **k** (8 times), but also in **α** (4, in one case altered → кдинъ) by A[3], in another by **a**'), γ (3), ε (2), **o** (1), **η** (1) and **w**' (1). This begs the question, which are variants and which is the original reading of the archetype **ω**?

Van Wijk 1975: 77-78, 81, knowing the readings only of **w**" and relying in part on the findings of Jagić, appointed етеръ to archetypal rank, which implies that it should provide a satisfactory explanation for all the variants. But can етеръ 'a' explain a variant дроугъ 'other' or, *a fortiori*, инъ 'different, other'? I think that is only when we take инъ 'one' as the archetypal form (best preserved in the second half of the *Scete Patericon*, where the urge to change unfamiliar items gave way to the urge to finish the copy) that all pieces fall into place: инъ → кдинъ (which resolves the quandaries of Vasmer 1967: 134), → нѣкъıи/нѣкъто, дроугъ and even тоуждь (W[1] *19:12*), as well as инъ → гнь (**w**' *16:2*), иного → никого (**k** *16:14*) and ини → кии (**c** *20:3*). Its reading in the more recent meaning 'other' eventually led to the reinterpretation of інъ етеръ (for τις ἄλλος) as 'other' + 'one' and thence to the endowment of the marginal етеръ with the meaning 'one', whence its participation in the variation outlined above.

(**b**) For ἦσαν, all witnesses read бѣста, but the agreement is no reason to raise this reading to archetypal rank. The -а desinence conflicts with the *3du* -е desinences listed by van Wijk 1975: 83-84 for the witness W[5] (which does not contain this apophthegm) and which are generally best preserved in the Glagolitic hyparchetype **η**. As in the case of инъ above, the -е desinence is a *recessive* form, i.e. one of those vulnerable forms in the translator's text, which had little currency beyond the area of the original mission and were therefore most widely affected by the interference of the earliest copyists: Under the pressure of both the desinence -а of the subject and the syncretism of *aor23sg* , **αγ** fully levelled *3du* -е → -а, and **εζ** did so somewhat less consistently; **η** presumably did not, and the -а desinence must have intruded there at the level of younger hyparchetypes (**w**'**w**") or manuscripts. So we do well to restore бѣсте, изидете and бъıсте (*11*), as well as скописте (*13*), сътвористе (*15 35*), бъзвѣстисте (*18 23*), идете (*20*), рѣсте (*20 27 32*), глаголасте (*21*), сате (*24*), приближисте (*30*), зазьрѣсте (*35 36*) and покаıасте (*39*).

(**c**) For κοσμικός, the conflicting readings are **αγ** простъ людинъ : **εζη** простъ мѫжь (простъ omitted by **c**W[2]). In seven other cases, the unanimous reading is простъ людинъ (save that **k** five and **o** three times replace людинъ → чьловѣкъ, and that **k** twice introduces the innovation мирıанинъ), but in five more cases the unanimous reading is козъмикъ. Conventional wisdom has it that untranslated grecisms are primary to Slavonic ex-

pressions, but the complementary distribution of коꙁъмикъ (chapters *A-1* and *O*) and простъ людинъ (*5-20*) prevents us from generalising one at the expense of the other. It rather appears that the translator's lexicon contained both the grecism and its Slavonic calque, and that the makers of the hyparchetypes had no inkling that they referred to the same concept.

(**d**) For συμφονεῖν, the witnesses read съвѣщати : **b**''ζW^{13} съвѣщати сѧ. The reflexive reading is absent in *1:51* (twice), minimally present in *2:29* (W^{13}) and maximally in *20:4* (**αγζ**). The pattern of increase suggests that съвѣщати is a translator's grecism, and that the addition of сѧ in Slavonic, like that of *secum* in Latin, is in response to a requirement of the target language.

(**e**) The pattern of variation of the aorist stems is similar to that in **b** above: Dominant forms in -(о)х- massively displace the recessive root- and -с- forms: for ἐξῆλθον (*11*), the witnesses read иꙁидоста (**a** replaces иꙁ- → въꙁ-, **ε** → ø) : **w**' иꙁидета, for ἀπῆλθον (*20*) all read идоста, for ἤλθομεν (*24*) приидоховѣ : **w**'' приидосвѣ; for εὐνουχισαμεν (*16*) скопиховѣ (**ε**W^{12} replace с- → ис-) : **k** скопивѣ, **w**' скописвѣ; for εἶπον (*20*) рекоста : **ε**W^3 съповѣдаста : **okθw**''W^2 рѣста : **c** съкаꙁаста : W^1 глаˁта, for εἶπον (*27*) рекоста : **εζw**''W^{12} рѣста, for εἶπον (*32*) рекоста : **αγεζw**''W^{12} рѣста (i.e. repetition in the end favours preservation). Like in **b** above, the archetypal forms are best preserved in **η** (cf. van Wijk 1975: 84-85 for W^{58}). We do well to restore иꙁидете (*11*), идете (*20*), приидовѣ (*24*), скописвѣ (*20*) and рѣсте (*20 27 32*).

(**f**) Of the 16 dual forms of pronouns in *15:111b*, two show no variation, viz. *3du* ꙗ (*14*) and има (*18*), and ten show one mistake each of **b** and **i**' plus the attempts of **k** and W^3 to level them to *pl* forms, viz. *1du* вѣ (*16*) : **b** мꙑ, W^3 нию, вѣ (*33*) : W^3 нию; наю (*22*) : W^3 насъ, наю (*34*) : **k** наˁ; and *3du* она (*15*) : **k** они; ꙗ (*20*) : **k**W^3 ихъ; ꙗ (*37*[1]) : **k** иˣ, W^3 ниˣ, ꙗ (*37*[2]) : **i'k**W^3 иˣ; има (*30*) : **k** имъ; нею (*29*) : **k** нихъ. Serious conflict affects four forms, viz. *1duA* на (*16*) : **εζθ**W^{23} нꙑ; на (*34*) : **b** наˁ, **b**''**ε** наю, **ζw**'W^{23} нꙑ; and *2duA* ва (*19*) : **γk**W^3 ваˁ : **o** вꙑ; ва (*26*) : **εokw**'W^{23} вꙑ. The fact that witnesses of **η** very frequently vary in these forms led van Wijk 1975: 83 to doubt whether the *Adu* forms на and ва were archetypal, but the fact that in all four cases precisely these readings are preserved by at least **α** should dispel any doubt, for it is implausible that archetypal *нꙑ and *вꙑ should have been replaced → на and → ва.

(**g**) For ἐντύχωμεν, the witnesses give the following readings: **θ** поимевѣ : **o** поемлевѣ : **αc**W^2 повѣвѣ : **γε**W^1 повѣдаевѣ : W^3 исповѣдаевѣ : **k** г҃ливѣ. This is the first of five times ἐντυγχάνειν κατά + *G* is translated as поꙗти/поимати на + *A*, and it must have baffled the makers of the Glagoli-

tic hyparchetypes **αγε** (or the maker of the copy of **ω** they worked from), who replaced -ѧти → -вѣдѣти/вѣдати (W^{123} independently reacted in a similar way). The other occurrences show no significant variation (*19:8* ø **k**W^1, *22:9* a mistake in **a**'), save the replacements *22:9* → бесѣдовати на **k**, *22:17* → молити сѧ на **c**, or no variation at all (*O:13*). As to the Slavonic verbal aspect, either is possible: *SSS* and Miklosich record in this sense only the imperfective, but the fact that the extremes of the hyparchetypes agree on the perfective makes that more likely.

(**h**) Where the translator used definite forms of Slavonic adjectives, there is no variation, only contraction of the compound desinences (in *15:111b*, a not fully contracted desinence is preserved in **a** -оумоу *29*), but the archetype must have contained the full double desinences, as only they can account for the appearance in the witnesses of unwarranted anaphoric pronouns in the vicinity of adjectives which should be definite. So we do well to restore небесьнаѥго (*13*), великоуѥмоу (*23*), свѧтоуѥмоу (*29*).

Where the translator used indefinite forms, variation is absent only in adjectives which lack compound desinences, e.g. божиѥ (*16*). In all other cases, there is conflict: еванъгельскоу (*12*) : **γεkw**'W^3 *def*, ѥроусалимьскоу (*17*) : **αγεζ**W^{13} *def*, римьскоу (*23*) : **a**'**γεθ** *def*, кvпрьскоу (*29*) : **εk**W^{13} *def*, алеѯанъдрьскоу (*38*) : **ck**W^{13} *def*. Here, as in **e** above, repetition (i.c. of desinences) in the end favours preservation. The clear-cut oppositions show that the variation already affected the Glagolitic hyparchetypes.

(**i**) For ἐπὶ τοῦτο, the witnesses read **ε** на того (**ε** in general exhibits a clear preference for тъ above сь) : **ocθ** на сего : **αγk**W^{23} ѿ сего : W^1 тако. The translator nowhere uses *G* forms for the *A*, so the shift in connection from the verdict to the judge cannot be imputed to him; neither can the replacement of the preposition на → отъ. I suspect the translator's grecism на се was either written so that *n* се could be read as *m* сь (which is more than likely in Glagolitic), or that the desinence was damaged, or that a hendiadys note то (written so that it could be read as го) was added: Any of these cases would have called for conjecture already by the makers of the Glagolitic hyparchetypes, and it is interesting to note that this conjecture is rooted in non-Methodian morphology, viz. *mAanim* = *mG*.

(**j**) The Greek text lacks a *verbum dicendi*[16] to motivate the direct speech in *24*, but the Latin and the Slavonic attest its original presence. The witnesses read **αγε** рѣста : **c** рѣша : **w**"W[123] ø : **w**' сета. The latter is the only hitherto known *3du* form of this recessive verb. Following **b** above, we do well to restore its explicit spelling сѧте.

(**k**) For ἐγγίζειν + *D*, the witnesses unanimously read приближити сѧ къ + *D*. Yet it is beyond doubt that in the archetype the prefix при- in this verb (as elsewhere) governed the *L*: First, in six out of 16 cases *L* readings are preserved, viz. *10:38* τα πάθη **γζ**W[3] похоти : **α**W[2] похотьмъ, *11:59* ἐκείνῳ **ε** w томь : **αγζ**W[123] томоу/кемоу (cf. also immediately preceding **αγζ**W[3] κολλήθητι ἀνθρώπῳ прилѣпи сѧ чьловѣцѣ : W[12] чьловѣкоу), *11:95* μοί **αc**W[3] мьнѣ : **γokw**'W[2] ми and ὑμῖν **c**W[2] васъ : **αγokw**'W[3] вамъ (**αγow**' add къ), *20:13* αὐτῷ **αow**" кемь : **εk**W[2] кемоу : **γc** ø and *O:14* (Greek untraced) all богѣ; secondly, four of the remaining cases exhibit conflicts similar to the preceding, viz. *5:2* σώμασι all инѣмъ[17] тѣломъ (**αkw**'B[2]W[3] add къ), *11:117* σοί **aoc** ти : **a'γk** ø, *14:27* τῇ κώμῃ **αγiokw**'W[3] къ вьси : **i'c** до вьси, *15:41* τῷ Θεῷ all богоу (**αγεoc**W[23] add къ). It appears that the replacement при- + *L* → [къ +] *D* started already in the Glagolitic hyparchetypes and that we do well to restore приближити сѧ + *L*.

(**l**) For ἀληθεία, the witnesses in *33 36* read unanimously истина, but in *39* W[8] reads рѣснота. This word, like all recessive items, is preserved rather by chance than by design in eight more places: *10:160* W[58], *13:12* **o**, *15:4* **o**, *18:4* **b'b"o**, *18:7* **o**, *20:16* **c** and *J:2-3* W[8] (six adjectival forms are preserved as well in the range of chapters *10-18*). It is likely that the cases where conflicting readings истина : правьда (e.g. *13:12 20:16* and elsewhere) or : ø (e.g. *18:7 J:2-3* and elsewhere) are present, also betray an archetypal reading рѣснота, which we do well to restore.

(**m**) For καταγινώσκειν + *G* the witnesses read зазьрѣти *35* **a'γc**W[23] + *L* : **aεokθ**W[1] + *A*, *36* **γcw**'A[2]W[123] + *L* : **aεokw**"A[3] + *A*. It could be argued that with the pronoun себе the distinction *L* ~ *A* is not as remarkable as with other pronouns or nouns, but consider the fact that the distribution of both readings remains fairly stable in зазьрѣти себѣ for μέμφεσθαι σεαυτόν: *3:87* **bb"i'w"**A[2]W[3] + *L* : **aiζ**A[3]B[2]W[2] + *A*, *10:64* **γoc**A[3]W[2] + *L* : **a**A[2]W[3] + *A*, *15:31* **γoc**W[23] + *L* : **αk** + *A*. With other pronouns or nouns we find зазьрѣти (for both καταιγνώσκειν and μέμφεσθαι) in *3:69* all своки немощи, *10:3* W[3] имь : **αγεζθc**W[2] ø, *15:31* **αγ** чьловѣче (*V*!): **ζ**W[3] чьловѣкоу :

[16] Was φασάν or ἔφησαν omitted accidentally, or was it obscure to the 10-11th century copyist of cod. Paris BN Coislin 126?

[17] This, of course, is another instance of инъ as indefinite article (cf. **a** above).

w' чьловѣкомъ : W³ чьловѣчьсцѣи, *15:111a* **αγοθ** братѣ : **ck**W¹³ братоу : **ε**W² ø, *18:26* all вьсѣхъ. In all instances, at least part of the witnesses preserve the *L*, and in *15:31* the *V* and the adjective point precisely to the *L* чьловѣцѣ as the source of the disturbance. As in **k** above, the *L* rection must be considered archetypal, and the variation shows that this type of rection was unfamiliar already to the makers of the Glagolitic hyparchetypes (we may safely assume that, for them, the *L* had lost its autonomy).

(**n**) For κοινωνία in *15:111b*, the witnesses read **αγεζw**"W¹²³ причастиѥ : **w**' обьщениѥ. The latter word is unanimously used in *18:42*; it occurs also for προσφορά (*20:3* : **c** ст҃оѥ тѣло и кровь х҃а б҃а нашего) and as a translator's explication implying προσφορά (*18:4* unanimous, *18:46* : **c** тѣло х҃во), which is normally rendered as приношениѥ (9 times in chapters *4-20*, four unanimous, two with **c** replacing → комъканиѥ, three **c** → ø). It appears that the translator distinguished обьщениѥ 'the act of dispensing or partaking of the Eucharistic elements' (to which *20:3* pertains) and приношениѥ 'the consecration of the elements', 'the consecrated elements'. Both причастиѥ and комъканиѥ are foreign intrusions, the former not originally endowed with a liturgical meaning (cf. *Scete Patericon J:98-100* μέτοχος причастьница), the latter, like its Alpine Latin fellow traveler въсжждъ (Schaeken 1988), kept out of the translation.[18]

Our effort to restore the initial state of this translation by St Methodius, i.e. to close the circle *de la pluralité à l'unité*, has led us six times to read what is not there. In doing so, we found that the scribes of the extant witnesses rarely read what was not in their exemplar, while those of the Cyrillic hyparchetypes did so more often (especially **c**, the only purposeful edition of the text *secundum scientiam*, and **k**). But the fundamental variation from the exemplar belongs to the makers of the Glagolitic hyparchetypes: We see **αγ** most noticeably and **εζ** to a lesser degree reading what is not in **ω**, and even **ηθ** in some cases vary from their exemplar. The variation in the Cyrillic renderings of Glagolitic exemplars need not surprise us: The differences between W¹, W² and W³, who in

[18] The translator took great care not to burden his translation with specific liturgical terms, cf. Guergova 2003. Whether комъканиѥ (the standard translation for κοινωνία and προσφορά in the *Egyptian Patericon*, translated in the Pliska-Preslav area at the turn of the 9-10th centuries from a conflation of the *Historia monachorum in Ægypto CPG* 6063 and the *Historia Lausiaca CPG* 6038 with the *De Bragmanibus CPG* 5820) and/or въсжждъ belonged to his lexicon, but were suppressed owing to this design, requires further research.

the 14th century independently read **η**, speak eloquently of the difficulties in deciphering the message of a text written in Glagolitic. What should exercise us, is the reception of a text known to be if not of St Methodius himself, at least of venerable provenance, by the scribes **α-ε** in the Pliska-Preslav area and **ζ-η** at some remove from them: They were conversant with Glagolitic, both receptively and productively. Aleksandr V. Bondarko has aptly called their attitude toward the text *свойское*, 'as if they owned it'. Was it because the translator's language was theirs? The problems discussed above should discourage such an explanation.[19] We should, I venture to suggest, rather consider these men of letters as recent converts to that rank, not encumbered with either prior generations of skill and scholarship or any pre-ordained concept of fidelity, but ingenuously inspired by the task to assimilate and accomplish what the ill-fated mission to Morava (AD 863-885) aimed to do.

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[19] A differential study of the grammars of the translator and his first close readers will become possible when J.G. van der Tak and W.R. Veder produce their edition of the Greek text, its early Latin translations and the reconstruction of the Slavonic translation in the Bollandists' *Subsidia hagiographica* (Brussels). The machine-readable copies of the Slavonic witnesses to the *Scete Patericon* and the full collation of their text (copies of which are in possession of many departments of Slavic Studies, including that of the University of Leiden) will provide all the source data required.

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MÜNZE, *MINT*, AND *MONEY*
AN ETYMOLOGY FOR LATIN *MONETA*

With appendices on Carthaginian *Tanit* and the Indo-European *month* word[1]

THEO VENNEMANN GEN. NIERFELD



Moneta[2]

1. *Mint, Münze, money*

The etymology of E *mint* (both in the obsolete sense 'a piece of money, a coin, money' and in the current senses such as 'a place where money is coined', 'a set of machines for coining', and 'a vast sum of money') is seemingly straightforward. The *OED* writes s.v. *mint* n.1:

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[1] I am grateful to Philip Baldi (Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania), Peter Schrijver (University of Munich), Lutz Edzard (University of Oslo), and Stephen Laker (Leiden University) for reading drafts of this paper, and for encouragement and valuable suggestions. They must not be blamed for any errors, whether remaining or subsequently introduced. — As in previous publications I mark reconstructed forms by a raised cross ($^+$) and incorrect forms by an asterisk (*). In cited material I respect the practice of the authors.

[2] The picture shows a silver denar of the Carisia family (3.72 g., 46 B.C.) with the head of Moneta and her name on the obverse and the coining implements (anvil die with garlanded punch die — or cap of Vulcan? — above, between tongs and hammer, all within a partially visible laurel wreath) and the name T[itus] Carisius on the reverse (www.wildwinds.com/coins/sear5/s0447.html, 5-5-2005). My attention was drawn to the Carisius coins by Fig. 5107 in Lenormant and Babelon 1877-1919: 1963 and Fig. 2 in Babelon 1914: 266.

"OE. *mynet* neut., repr. (with change of gender) WGer. **munita* fem., a[doption of] L[at]. *moneta*: see money. Cf. OFris. *menote*, *munte* fem., OS. *munita* fem. (MDu. *munte*, Du. *munt* fem.), OHG. *munizza* fem., *muniz* masc. and neut. (MHG. *münze*, mod.G. *münze* fem.). From LG. the word passed into the Scandinavian langs.: ON., Sw., Da. *mynt*."

The etymology of G *Münze* is essentially the same, as can be learned from the above. Kluge/Seebold (2002: s.v.) write:

"Wie ae. *mynet* n., anord. *mynt* entlehnt aus l[at]. *monēta* 'Münze, Prägestätte'. Die Bezeichnung stammt daher, daß die römische Münzprägestätte im Tempel der *Iūnō Monēta* war (die Herkunft des Namens ist umstritten)."

The etymology given for *money* leads to the same Latin etymon, cf. the *OED*: s.v.:

"a[doption of] OF. *moneie*, *mon(n)oie* (mod.F. *monnaie*) = Pr., Sp. *moneda*, Pg. *moeda*, It. *moneta* [regular phonetic descendants of] L[at]. *moneta* ..."

2. *Moneta*: the problem

The problems begin in Latin, as may be guessed by the Kluge/Seebold quotation above. The *OED* continues:

"L[at]. *moneta* (? f[orm of] *monere* to warn, remind): orig. the name of a goddess (in classical times regarded as identical with Juno), in whose temple at Rome money was coined, hence, a mint, money. Cf. mint *n.*1"

The question mark prefixed to the derivation of *Monēta*, glossed as 'Mutter der Musen' and 'Beiname der Juno' in Walde/Hofmann 1982: s.v., from the verb *monēre*, advocated again and again from the time of Cicero down to our own days, is in my view fully justified. Walde/Hofmann (1982: s.v.) reject it for grammatical reasons, as did Assmann (1906: 478). They favor two hypotheses without making it clear which one is to be preferred: (1) "[*Monēta* ist] Sondergöttin einer etruskischen *gēns Monēta* ..., u[nd] zw[ar] eine Bildung vom Namensstamme, der in *Monnius*, *Monniānius* usw. vorliegt", (2) "*Monēta* als 'Musenmutter' ist ... Übersetzung von *Μνημοσύνη* auf Grund nachträglicher Anlehnung an *monēre*".[3]

[3] The former etymology is in my view mere speculation. Reasons for rejecting the latter are given in Assmann 1906: 488.

Etymologies for *Monēta* from antiquity to the present are summarized and found insufficient in Haudry 2002. Haudry himself proposes an interpretation of *Monēta* as 'la déesse au collier', and thus of *Iūnō Monēta* as 'Junon au collier' (Haudry 2002: 9-16); he attempts to derive the name from Proto-Lat. **monē-* 'collier, pendentif', itself derived, together with **moni-* 'cou', from the base **mon-* ascertained by Lat. *monīle* 'collier' and *monēdula* 'choucas', the latter analysed as a compound **monē-ēdula* 'mangeur de collier, de pendentifs' (but as **monē*[*tē*]*dula* < **monēta* + *ēdula* 'Münzenfresserin' by Walde/Hofmann 1982: s.v.).[4] The concept of a 'déesse au collier' is backed up in Haudry's book by many cultural parallels, but the Latin derivation of the name remains highly speculative linguistically. Brachet (2004), who praises Haudry's book as "un parcours intellectuel captivant, cohérent, séduisant", makes it quite clear that he finds the linguistics of Haudry's attempt inacceptable:

"Difficulté formelle: le *ē* de *monēta* s'explique mal; il est vrai qu'on ne sait pas quel était le thème exact du nom du ‹collier› qui a précédé *monīle*: **moni-*, **monē-*? En outre, *monēta* s'intègre mal aux schémas morphophonologiques connus en latin: un coup d'œil dans le Gradenwitz [1904] permet de vérifier qu'il n'existe pas d'adjectifs possessifs en *-*ētus* en latin" (Brachet 2004: 181f.).

Brachet continues in a footnote: "Quant aux participes en *-ētus*, ils existent, mais le *ē* est alors radical (*suētus*, *quiētus*); il ne s'agit en aucun cas de verbes en *-ēre* suffixēs, comme *monēre* ou *albēre*."

Peter Schrijver, in a letter of 17 May 2005, confirms the conclusion that no satisfactory etymology is available for *Monēta*, despite recent efforts (of which I had not been aware):

"Die entscheidende Schwäche einer idg. Etymologie ist die in jenem Fall problematische Wortbildung. Eine Möglichkeit, die Sie nicht erwähnen, die jedoch in letzter Zeit unter Indogermanisten häufiger zu finden ist, ist, dass *monēta* eine Adjektivbildung ist, die abgeleitet ist von einem Instrumental eines konsonantischen Stammes. Also: Instr. **mon-eh*$_1$ 'mit ??' + adj. *-to/ā-* (vgl. *rubēta* 'rötliche Kröte', aus *h*$_1$*rud*^{h}*-eh*$_1$ 'mit Röte' + adj. *to/tā*). Solange aber kein plausibles Grundwort zu finden ist (**mon-* 'Hand'?, **d*^{h}*g*^{h}*mon-* 'Mensch'?), führt auch dieser Weg ins Nichts."

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[4] The connection of Moneta with Lat. *monīle* 'collier' can be found, as one of several, in Lenormant 1850: 78 and again in Palmer 1974: 29f., which Haudry (2002: 9, 15) acknowledges.

3. A Phoenician 'money' root: *m-n-y*, *m-n-h*

3.1. Phoenician *m-n-h* → Greek μνᾶ, Latin *mina*

My interest in money as an etymological topic derives from my theory that the West Indo-European languages were heavily influenced in late prehistoric and early historic times by Northwest Semitic cultures and languages, especially by the Phoenician culture and language. For Greece this influence is described in Burkert 1992. The Romans experienced centuries of contact with the culturally superior Phoenicians on the Italian coasts and islands; that they recognized this superiority — at least in what they themselves called *cultūra* and what we call *agriculture* — can be inferred from the fact that the Senate decreed a translation of the Carthaginian compendium on agriculture in 28 books known under the name of Mago into Latin when the work was sequestered from the libraries upon the conquest of Carthage in 146 B.C. (cf. Will Richter's "Nachwort" in Columella 1983: 576). For Semitic influence upon Britannia cf. Vennemann 2004a and the references to more than a century of earlier work given there. For Germania cf. Vennemann 2000, 2004b. My interest in the origin of the names of coins in particular is evident in Vennemann 2006a., Ms.

In my view the most notable semantic aspect of a goddess named *Monēta* is her association with the Monētae aedēs and the officīna Monētae, whence shortened *Monēta* 'Münzstätte, mint'. The German word *Münze*, which means both 'mint' and 'coin', has provided a bridge.[5] It was the name of a specific coin that made me think of the *money* word, the Greek μνᾶ 'Mine (Gewicht und Münze = 100 Drachmen)' (Frisk 1991: s.v.), < $^{+}$μνέα, cf. Ion. nom. plur. μνέαι, acc. plur. μνέας (Chantraine 1984: s.v. μνᾶ), Latin *mina* 'ein griech. Gewicht, Münze', "aus griech. μνᾶ 'Mine'" (Walde/Hofmann 1982: s.v.). Greek μνᾶ in its turn is a word, "das aus dem Semit[ischen] (hebr. *māne* [i.e. *mānæh*], babyl.-assyr. *manû*) stammt wie auch a[lt]-i[ndisch] ... *manā́* 'ein bestimmtes Goldgewicht' (Walde/Hofmann 1982: s.v. *mina*). The Hebrew word is *mānæh* n[omen] m[asculinum] 'maneh, mina, a weight': "The weight of the mina was 1/60 of talent; i.e., acc[ording] to older (Bab[ylonian]) standard, 982.2 grammes (= 60 shekels at c. 16.37 g.) = c. 2 lbs."[6] It is derived from the Hebrew verb *månåh* 'to count, number, reckon, assign', also 'to count money'. In Phoenician, the corresponding root is *m-n-y* 'to count out, offer (money)' (Krahmalkov 2000: s.v. *M-N-Y* II).[7]

5 Assmann (1906: 480-482) too emphasizes this aspect of the goddess.

6 Cf. Trapp 2001 for the history of weighing and measuring from prehistoric times to the present. According to Trapp (2001: 17), the royal Babylonian mina weighed 1010 g.

3.2. Phoenician *m-n-h* → Latin *Monēta*?

Reading up on the etymology of *Monēta*, I learned that I was not the first to intuit a connection with Semitic *månåh*. The first was apparently Lenormant (1850: 77-78). He wrote:

"Dans les langues sémitiques, *maneh*, la *mine*, en grec μνᾶ, qui désigne un poids monétaire, dérive de la racine *manah*, dont le sens est celui de *partition*, d'*attribution*, de *numération*. *Numus*, chez les Latins, νόμισμα chez les Grecs, synonymes de *moneta*, proviennent de la racine νέμω, qui veut dire aussi *partager*, *diviser*, *attribuer*, et qui présente dans un autre ordre les mêmes éléments que ceux de la racine *manah*. Il est bien difficile qu'on ne rattache pas le mot de *moneta* à la même origine. D'un autre côté, Junon peut être à la fois la déesse des bons conseils et celle de la monnaie. Le grec μένω, qui est le même que le latin *moneo*, et auquel se rattachent aussi μένος et *mens*, la pensée, l'intelligence, a une analogie étroite avec νέμω, duquel dérivent νόμος aussi bien que *numus* et νόμισμα. L'institution légale et souverainement intelligente de la monnaie peut donc avoir été mise sous la protection de la déesse qui préside aux bonnes pensées."

Babelon (1914: 258), to whom I owe this reference[8], gently moves from Lenormant's attempt to connect *monēta* to Greek and the Semitic languages "par de pareilles subtilités" directly to Assmann's proposal (cf. section 6 below) to which he devotes seven pages. But even though I too have to admit that Lenormant did not succeed in establishing the intuited connection between the Semitic verbal root *m-n-y* and Lat. *monēta* in linguistic terms, he in my view was the one — the only one as far as I can see — to look in the right direction.

4. Meni, Maniyyât, Manât, Menūtum, Manūtu

Further words derived from the verbal root *m-n-h* in Hebrew are the following: *mānoh* n[omen] f[emininum] 'part, portion', *m*^{e}*nāt* n.f. 'portion', *mōnæh* 'counted number, time (as in ten times)' (Brown et al. 1979: s.vv.). However, the most interesting item derived from this root in Hebrew is the divine name *M*^{e}*nî*:

"N[omen] pr[oprium] div[initatis] *M*^{e}*nî*, god of fate (*award*, *apportionment*; cf. Ar[abic] n[omen] pr[oprium] div[initatis] *Maniyyât*, and perh[aps] *Manât*' ...; in Nab[atæan] *mnwtw* ...)" (Brown et al. 1979: s.v.).

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7 Burkert (1992: 34, 37) includes μνᾶ in his chapter on Semitic loan-words in Greek.

8 The same passage may be found there with a few copying errors.

Sperling (1999: 567) cites the passage from the Bible (Is. 65.11) with the one and only occurrence of M^{e}nî, in close connection with the god Gad:

"*wʾtm ʿzby yhwh hškḥym ʾt hr qdšy hʿrkym lgd šlḥn whmmlʾym lmny* 'But you who forsake Yahweh, who ignore my holy mountain, who set a table for Luck (Gad), and fill the drink ... for Fortune (Meni).' The wording of the verse makes it clear that divine rivals to Yahweh are involved."

Sperling also cites identifications of M^{e}nî with Tyche, the Greek goddess of fate and chance, which is explained as follows:

"In biblical Hebrew one's 'portion' in life was a *mānâ* ..., while the Arabic cognate *manīya* means 'fate' or 'destiny', and especially 'death' (as one's ultimate destiny). ... There are close analogies in Akk[adian] *isqu* 'lot', 'destiny', related to *ussuqu* 'to apportion' ... and in Greek *moira* 'fate', which is connected with *meros* 'portion'. ...

It has been suggested (Fahd 1991: 373) to relate Meni to Menītum[9], an epithet of Ishtar found in a Mesopotamian god-list."

Sperling (1999: 567f.) also compares the name of a Nabatæan goddess Manūtu[10] occurring in inscriptions and as part of personal names:

"There can be little doubt that Nabatean Manūtu is identical to the classical Arabic goddess Manāt mentioned in the Qurʾan (Surah 53:20): 'What do you think of Allat, and Al-Uzzah and Manāt that other third goddess?'. It appears that in the pre-Islamic period Manāt had been worshipped throughout Arabia. Originally represented by a simple rock, Manāt ultimately was sculpted with the face of the Asiatic Venus, i.e. Fortune, who according to Pausanias was worshipped by the Syrians on the banks of the Euphrates (Fahd 1991: 374). The Qurʾanic passage mentioned above seems to imply that Mohammed at first was willing to mitigate his somewhat dour monotheism and recognize Manāt as one of the three 'exalted ladies' who might intercede for the faithful, but then relented. ... Theophoric names compounded with the element Manāt are attested in medieval Arabic sources. ... In Greco-Roman sources, Manāt is identified with the Fortunae. In a Mosaic from Palmyra she is seated with a sceptre in her hand in the manner of Nemesis, goddess of destiny (Fahd 1991: 373). The body of evidence makes probable the extension of the equation of Manāt and Manūtu to include Meni."

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9 Fahd (1991: 373) actually writes "Menūtum".

10 Cf. *mnwtw* in the quotation from Brown et al. 1979 above.

I think the body of evidence makes it certain, especially when we also include the epithet of Ishtar, *Menūtum*, as Canaanite $^{+}$*M^e^nīt*.[11] Sperling (1999: 567) says, "From the single biblical attestation we cannot determine whether Meni was male or female." However that may be, the regular feminine form would be *M^{e}nīt*. Lipiński (1997: §§ 29.46, 29.49) writes:

"Noun stems with suffixes *-at* / *-ut* / *-it* have often an abstract or collective meaning and, when attached to masculine root morphemes, they produce feminine nouns. ... The suffix *-it* was most likely added originally to root morphemes ending in *-ī* (e.g. Palaeosyrian *'à-rí-tum* /harītum/, 'pregnant'; Hebrew *bəkīt*, 'crying') and to gentilitials in *-iy* > *-ī* ... in order to form their feminine (e.g. *Mōʾābīt*, 'Moabite')."

The verbal nouns Hebr. *b^{e}kīt* fem. 'crying' and *b^{e}kî* masc. 'crying' are derived from the root *b-k-h* 'to cry'. By analogy we can derive, from the root *m-n-h* 'to count [etc.]', the verbal nouns *m^{e}nî* masc. and *m^{e}nīt* fem., both meaning 'counting, assigning, apportioning'.

The account given in Fahd 1991: 373f. in particular leaves no room for doubt that Manât, Menūtum, Manūtu, and M^{e}nî are ultimately the same deity:

"MANĀT[12], name of the most ancient deities of the Semitic pantheon, who appears in the Pre-Sargonic period in the form Menūtum and constitutes one of the names of Ishtar ...; the Ḳurʾānic *scriptio* of her name preserves the primitive *w*, which also appears in the Nabatean *mnwtw*. ... The *w* changed to *i* in the Bible (Isa. lxv, 11), as in the Sallier IV papyrus, *verso*, i, 5-6 ..., where Meni is presented as a Semitic deity forming part of 'the Ennead which is in the house of Ptaḫ'. The difference of gender poses no obstacle to this identification, due to the fact that the *t* is not radical in the two forms and that the Arabic sources regard it as a feminine termination referring to *ṣakhra*, the stone or rock embodying the deity (... Ibn al-Kalbī speaks of Manāt in the masculine ...). Originally, the two names had the root *mnw/y* which is to be found in all Semitic languages with the meaning of 'to count', 'to apportion', being applied in particular to the idea of 'to count the days of life', hence death (*maniyya*), and 'to assign to each his share', hence, lot, destiny. ...

The Greco-Roman equivalents given to Manāt testify to this meaning, since she is identified with Τύχαι or the Fortunae, the dual reflecting the

[11] With change of *w* to *y*, see directly.

[12] Fahd here uses the most common form of the name. Several treatises and dictionaries use *Manāh*.

form Manawāt (a false plural used for the dual *manawān* ...), as in Talmudic, where she is called *sl slm* 'the Lady of Peace' ..., and in Nabatean. ...

Like al-Lāt ... and al-ʿUzzā ... who form with her the Arab triad (Ḳurʾān, LIII, 19-20), Manāt was worshipped by all the Arabs."

The identification of Manât and the related deities with Tyche/Fortuna indirectly relates them once again to Ishtar/Astarte and Juno, namely in their role as city goddesses[13], but also to money: In the Hellenistic period Tyche was venerated as a protectress of states and of cities, and her cult statue in Thebes showed her with a child in her arms representing Pluto, the god of riches (Andresen et al 1990: s.v. *Tyche*).

5. Latin *Monēta* ← Phoenician ⁺*M^e^nīt*?

Does the Phoenician-Latin loan phonology and grammar permit the assumption that Lat. *Monēta* is modeled on Phoen. ⁺*M^e^nīt*? I think it does.

(1) Since both languages possess exactly two contrasting nasal consonants, *m* and *n*, the mapping is what one expects.

(2) For Phoen. *ə* → Lat. *o* I have not found a supporting parallel case. However, the rounding effect of nasal, especially labio-nasal environments (as here posited for the adaptation of ⁺*Mən-* as *Mon-*) is known from other languages; e.g. West Gmc. ⁺*a*, ⁺*ā* > OE *æ*, *ǣ* but > *o*, *ō* before nasals, e.g. in G *Land* but OE *lond* 'land'; G *Mann* but OE *man*, *mon* 'man'; G *getan* (MHG *getān*) but OE *gedōn* 'done'; West Gmc. *mānō but OE *mōna* 'moon'. In the latter example the bi-lateral labio-nasal environment exceptionally caused rounding even in German: MHG *māne* > *mōne* > *mōn* > G *Mond*. Therefore, the assumption that Phoen. *ə* was, in the absence of an exactly matching sound in the target language, adopted as Lat. *o* in the environment of *m-* and *-n* is not unlikely.[14]

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13 For Astarte cf. Andresen et al 1990: s.v. *Ištar*, for Juno see Appendix 1 below.

14 Since schwa is perceived by speakers of some languages as phonetically close to *e* (e.g. in the history of German, as evidenced by the spelling), Philip Baldi suggests (e-letter of 22 April 2005) that we might disregard specific Phoenician sound developments and operate directly with a source form ⁺*Menīt*, as in Mesopotamian *Menūtum*, specifically: that ⁺*M^e^nīt* was adopted as ⁺*Menēt-* and subsequently changed to ⁺*Monēt-* just like OLat. *hemō* > Lat. *homō* 'human being' and Lat. ⁺*vemō* > *vomō* 'I vomit'. Peter Schrijver (letter of 17 May 2005) on the contrary believes that a rounding analysis would not work: "In meiner Dissertation [Schrijver 1991: 466-469] habe ich das einschlägige Material zu dieser Rundung im Frühlatein besprochen und bin zum Schluss gekommen, dass die

(3) The pronunciation of Phoen. *ī* seems to have tended in the direction of *ē*; at least this is what the Latin spellings **i**, **e**, **y** for Phoen. *ī* in Plautus' (254 B.C. - 184 B.C.) comedy *Poenulus* suggest: **ce** for *kī* 'because', **mythem** for *mītīm* 'deceased persons', the latter plural form alongside **alonim** for *'allōnīm* 'gods' (Krahmalkov 2001: 31), **sydy Lybem** alongside **sady Lybim** for *ŠD LBM*, *s*^{i}*di/sadi*[15] *Lūbīm* 'land of the Libyans, Libya' (Krahmalkov 2001: 35).[16]

(4) The aspirated Phoenician *t*, [th], of $^{+}$*M*^{e}*nīt* (cf. above **mythem** for *mītīm*) was adopted as a plain Latin *t* by way of normal sound substitution, Latin lacking aspirated plosives.

(5) Since Latin nouns cannot end in *-t*, assigning the Phoenician feminine noun $^{+}$*M*^{e}*nīt* (as $^{+}$*Monēt-*) to the dominant Latin class of feminine nouns ending in *-a*, *-ae* etc. optimally marks the gender while preserving the final *-t* as medial *-t-* in all case forms. It also preserves the accent of the Semitic name throughout the paradigm. By contrast, integration as a consonantal stem, i.e. by adding *-s*, *-is*, etc., would both efface the stem-final *-t* and change the accent in the nominative, yielding **'Mo.nēs*. Clearly the integration as *Mo.'nē.ta* was the better solution.[17]

Rundung regelmäßig nur nach labialem Konsonant und vor altem (d.h. vor der lat. Vokalschwächung in Mittelsilben) Hintervokal auftrat (wie *vomere* < **wema-*). *homō* ist aber hochproblematisch wegen oskisch **humuns**, das auf altes **hom-* hinzuweisen scheint. Die (Mit-)Bedingung durch die Qualität des folgenden Vokals scheint mir jedoch insgesamt nicht kontrovers. Somit könnte **Menētā* im Lateinischen nie zu *Monēta* werden." Schrijver goes on to support my own labialization analysis when he says, "Dies beeinträchtigt die Gültigkeit Ihrer Etymologie aber wohl nicht entscheidend: man müsste bloß annehmen, dass der phönizische Name von den Römern mit *-o-* gehört wurde." But he relativizes his consent instantly by adding, "Irritierend bleibt dabei, dass ein Schwa im Latein eher als *i* wahrgenommen wurde. Das geht nicht nur aus dem Ergebnis der lateinischen Vokalschwächung hervor (alle Kurzvokale > *i* in offener unbetonter Silbe), sondern auch aus dem Lehnwort gr. μνᾶ > lat. *mina*." He goes on to propose a solution of his own: "Alternativ hat eine volksetymologische Angleichung an *monere* stattgefunden." This may indeed hit the nail on the head, because a folk-etymological connection that has been the dominant lore for more than twenty centuries may just as well have been at the very root of the integration process.

15 Possibly simply [sədi].

16 All words were most likely stressed on the final syllable in Phoenician (Krahmalkov 2001: 33).

17 The above indirect proof of the possibility of a conversion of a foreign noun ending in a dental plosive into a vocalic stem was prompted partly by a corresponding question raised by Philip Baldi, partly by the fact that I had not been able to produce clear parallels.

Thus, the two by-names, Phoen. $^{+}$*M^{e}nīt* (with Babylonian *Menūtum*) and Lat. *Monēta*, may be safely equated on loan-phonological and loan-grammatical grounds. Add to this the fact that the two bearers of those by-names, Ishtar and Juno, share a number of properties which in time led to their identification, e.g. in the Dea Syria (cf. Cancik and Schneider [eds.] XI 2001: s.v. *Syria Dea* [sic]), and there is little room left for doubting that we are dealing with an ordinary case of religious borrowing.[18]

6. Excursus: Latin *Monēta* ← Punic *machanath* '(military) camp'?

The proposal that Lat. *Monēta* is of Phoenician origin has been made before (cf. Walde/Hofmann 1982, Ernout/Meillet 1985, both s.v.).[19] The reference is to Assmann's (1906) suggestion that the name is related to Pun. *machanath* 'Lager', i.e. '(military) camp'[20]. This word does occur as an imprint on several editions of Carthaginian coins, probably because they were issued to pay the army in the field (the *mḥnt bšd*). This etymology is dubbed "abzulehnen" in Walde/Hofmann, without a reason. I think it is indeed to be rejected. My reasons are the following: (1) The phonological correspondence is far from direct, even considering the fact that the laryngeals in Phoenician were indeed unstable. Assmann's examples (p. 484) actually suggest that traces of the intervocalic laryngeals were still preserved at the presumed time of the borrowing process, because even later Greek loan correspondences show two vowels that were separated by a laryngeal, e.g.

Indeed, the closest case I have been able to find is that of Lat. *antae*, *-ārum* fem. 'square pilasters', "die freiendigenden und vorn etwas verstärkten viereckigen Wandpfeiler, die den Pronaos eines Tempels (*templum in antis* = Tempel mit offenem Pronaos vor der Cella und zwei Säulen zwischen den Anten desselben) oder die Prostas eines Hauses einschließen" (Szemerényi 1989: 170f., Walde/Hofmann 1982: s.v.) — if Lat. *antae* reflects borrowed Phoenic./Pun. *ʿmd* (cf. Hebr. *ʿammūd*, *ʿammŭd* 'Zeltstütze, Ständer, Säule, Pfeiler eines Gebäudes, die zwei ehernen Säulen vor dem Tempel (1 Kgs. 7, 15-22)', Arab. *ʿamud* 'Zeltstütze, Pfeiler'), rather than from Aram. *ʿamm(u)d-ā*, with suffixed definite article, which is Szemerényi's preferred solution (1989: 170). Indirect support comes from Elitzur's (2004: 384) general statement that "addition of final *a* [is] common in transmission of [Semitic] place names by Greek and Latin sources; compare [**piḥl* → ∏*έλλα*, today Faḥl], *yḥm* > Yemma in the Sharon Plain."

[18] Assmann (1906: 487f.) too stresses the functional correspondence of Ishtar/Astarte and Juno.

[19] The dictionaries make no reference to Lenormant 1850: 77f., the earliest attempt to make this connection.

[20] The meaning given for the Phoenician feminine noun *mḥnt* in Krahmalkov 2000: s.v. is 'army' (with *mḥnt bšd* 'field army, army in the field'). In Hebrew the masculine noun *mḥnh* (*maḥ^{a}neh*) means 'camp' (Gesenius 1915: s.v.), cf. Mod. Hebr. *mḥnh ṣbʾ* (*maḥaneh ṣaḇa* ʾ) 'army camp' (Baltsan 1992: s.vv.).

in Ῥεούμ for *Rechum*, in Ῥαάβ for *Rachab*, and even in Assmann's very word *machanath*, namely in the plural Μαανναίμ ← *Machanaïm* (1 Chron. 6:65, Vulgate [!] *Manaim*). For that reason I cannot accept Costanzi's (1907: 340) conclusion, "Pertanto di tutto l'edificio dell'Assmann rimane a nostro avviso consistente soltanto la base: la derivazione di 'Moneta' da 'machanat', mediante il greco 'monêta'." The Greek connection, which is needed to account for the change of the accented *a* into *e,* is quite tenuous, too. (2) On the semantic side, I see no basis for Assmann's (1906: 484) claim, "Mit *moneta* bezeichnete man um die Mitte des 4. Jahrhunderts eine bestimmte Art punisch-sicilischen Silbergeldes und nichts anderes." The Phoenician dictionaries offer no basis for this assumption. That Camillus, who vowed to build a temple for Juno Moneta in 345 B.C. (it was dedicated in 344), "erhielt bei Befriedung der latinischen Küste karthagische Subsidien" would not support Assmann's specific etymology, even if it were proved. In short, I think that Assmann's looking toward the Punic world was a good idea. It does not, however, *per se* solve the etymological problem, even if his reconstruction of this part of Roman history were correct.

A careful refutation of Assmann's proposal was published shortly after its appearance, viz. Babelon 1914: 258-265. Babelon 1914 is a very important article in its own right, expounding all historical aspects of [Juno] Moneta in the greatest detail.[21] In view of Babelon's critique I agree with Haudry (2002: 8) who questions the wisdom of presenting Assmann's proposal as a genuine possibility in a dictionary such as Ernout/Meillet 1985: s.v. *Monēta*.

7. The proposal

In short, what I would like to propose is that Lat. *Monēta* is borrowed from Canaanite, most probably Phoenician $^{+}$*M*^{e}*nīt* ($^{+}$M^{e}nīt being the same deity as the Biblical M^{e}nî, the Babylonian Menūtum, the Nabatæan Manūtu, and the Arabic Manât) and is thus related to the monetary term Lat. *mina* ← Greek μνᾶ ← Phoen. $^{+}$*məne*[22] (= Hebr. *mānæh*), both $^{+}$*M*^{e}*nīt* and $^{+}$*məne* ultimately deriving from the same Semitic root, *m-n-y* / *m-n-h* (Proto-Semitic $^{+}$*m-n-w*), attested in Phoenician with the meaning 'to count out, offer (money)' and in Hebrew with meanings including 'to count, number, reckon, assign, count money'. If this interpretation is correct, we have

[21] This valuable treatise, of the length of a short monograph, seems to be based on the academy address summarized in Babelon 1912.

[22] With a tense *e*, possibly long. Szemerényi (1968: 197) writes *mənē*.

pushed back the etymologies of *Münze*, *mint* and *money* — all of them loan etymologies to begin with — by an additional level of borrowing.[23]

Appendix 1.
Is Juno Moneta the Carthaginian Tanit?

The goddess whose name (in its probable Phoenician form ⁺*M*ᵉ*nīt*, more basically *M*ᵉ*nī*) I consider the etymon of that of the Roman (Juno) Moneta, namely the Mesopotamian (Ishtar) Menūtum, the Arabic Maniyyât / Manât, the Nabatæan Manūtu, and the Biblical Mᵉnî, seems to be limited to the Eastern Semitic area. At least she does not appear to be attested in the Western Mediterranean world. This is astonishing, because the powerful empire of Carthage was just as much concerned with money and in need of protection by Fortuna as the Eastern city states and kingdoms. Could it be the case that our explanation of Moneta also accounts for the remarkable fact that Ishtar/Astarte is in Carthage superseded by Tanit (in Punic *TNT*, rarely *TYNT*, *TNYT*, *TNNT*, in Greek letters once Θινιθ and once Θεννειθ, whence *Tinnit* in many recent publications), seemingly a new goddess that plays hardly any role in the east and for whose name no satisfactory etymology exists?[24]

The Carthaginian Tanit is the consort of Baʿal Ḥammōn, just as the Roman Juno is the consort of Jupiter. But Tanit is also, like Juno Moneta, the goddess of money, as is made likely by the fact that her face — she is regularly by-named Face-of-Baʿal — is shown on just about every Carthaginian coin (cf. Acquaro 1988, Jenkins and Lewis 1963: 11 and plates, Vennemann 2006a, all with references and pictures). The identity is also observed quite independently of the monetary aspect: Just as Juno is identified with Moneta by the very juxtaposition of the two names, so Juno is explicitly identified with Tanit/Tinnit in mythological comparisons:

"In der Lit[eratur] setzt I[uno] weitestgehend die Rolle der griech[ischen] Hera fort; Gegnerin des Aeneas in Vergils *Aeneis* wird sie aber auch durch die Identifikation mit der punischen Tinnit (Caelestis), der Hauptgöttin

[23] Lutz Edzard points out the connection between Greek δραχμή and Arabic *dirham*, owed to a borrowing process in the opposite direction, from an Indo-European to a Semitic language (cf. Frisk 1973: s.v.).

[24] I have dealt with Tanit and her name at some length in Vennemann 2006b.

von Karthago.[25] Dabei verschwindet ihre polit[ische] Funktion völlig gegenüber derjenigen als Gemahlin des Götterkönigs und Göttin der Ehe" (Cancik and Schneider [eds.] VI 1999: s.v. *Iuno* I.D. Identifikation).

Juno was in several cities venerated as the city's protectress, the city-goddess (Cancik and Schneider [eds.] VI 1999: s.v. *Iuno* I.B. Kult), exactly as Tanit was the city-goddess of Carthage[26], ranking even higher than her consort Baʿal Ḥammōn, Baʿal himself being equated with Jupiter in the *interpretatio Romana*.[27]

In section 4 above I cited the biblical passage (Isaiah 65:11) where M^{e}nî occurs in close connection with Gad. Interestingly, in the Punic world there occur two inscriptions juxtaposing Gad with Tanit rather than with M^{e}nî: *lrbt ltnt pn bʾl wgd* 'For the Lady, for Tanit Face-of-Baal, and Gad' (*RES* 1222 from Nora, Sardinia, 4th-3rd century B.C.), and *lrbt ltnt ʿdrt whgd* 'For the Lady, for Mighty Tanit, and the Gad' (*KAI* 72 from Ibiza, Spain, about 180 B.C.), cf. Ribichini 1999: 340.[28] This seems to me to be rather direct evidence for a functional identification of Tanit with M^{e}nî/$^{+}$M^{e}nīt, and thus with Moneta.

Thus, my equation clearly makes sense in cultural terms. But does it linguistically? I think it does. Prefixation of *t-* (*t-*, *ta-*, *ti-*, *tu-*) with a range of meanings, including the designation of persons doing what the verbal base expresses and also a mere confirmation of the meaning of the base, is wide-spread in the Semitic languages (cf. Lipiński 1997: §§ 29.28-31,

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[25] Vgl. entsprechend Cancik and Schneider [eds.] XII/1 2002: s.v. *Tinnit*: "Im Unterschied zu Baʿl Ḥammōn, der *ʾdn*, 'Herr', genannt wird, heißt sie [Tinnit bzw. Tanit] *rbt*, etwa in *rb(b)tn*, 'Notre Dame'. Sie gilt als 'Mutter' sowie durch Identifikationen als *kurotróphos* ('Jungmännerernährerin'), *Nutrix Saturni* (= Baʿl Ḥammōn?), als Urania, Dea oder Virgo Caelestis mit lunarem und/oder solarem Attribut und wird mit Iuno Caelestis identifiziert." Similarly Andresen et al. 1990: s.v. *Tanit*: "Tanit, Schutzgöttin von Karthago, ..., von den Römern vielfach mit Juno verglichen. Unter dem Namen Caelestis, 'Himmlische Göttin', ist sie die große Schutzgöttin der zur röm[ischen] Provinz gewordenen Stadt."

[26] Jenkins and Lewis (1963: 11, n. 2) mention a depiction of "Tanit wearing the mural crown of a city-goddess" in Cook 1914–40: I, plate xxvi, 3. [N.v.]

[27] E.g. the city-god Baʿal of Dolichē in Syria as Iuppiter Dolichenus (Cancik and Schneider [eds.] VI 1999: s.v. *Iuno* II. Ikonographie); cf. also Cancik and Schneider [eds.] II 1997 s.v. *Baal*. Also Andresen et al. 1990: s.v. *Baal*: "[Einzelne Baale] wurden von den Griechen und Römern ihrem höchsten Gott gleichgesetzt, und ihr Kult wurde seit dem Vordringen der syr[ischen] Götter bes[onders] im Heer gepflegt (B[aal] von Doliche, von Emesa u.a.), neben dem des seit dem 10. J[ahr]h[undert] v. Chr. bezeugten Himmelsgottes B[aal] Šamēn (Zeus Uranios, Caelus, Juppiter summus exsuperantissimus)."

[28] Ribichini translates *gd* as 'Fortune'. I left it untranslated in order to underline the equation, Hebrew M^{e}nî and Gad ≈ Punic Tanit and Gad.

Kienast 2001: § 107), and femininization by means of the suffixation of *-t* (*-at*, *-it*, *-ut*) is not thereby barred (Kienast 2001: § 107.4).

There has been speculation that the two *t*'s of the name of Tanit result from the femininization of the name of Anat (*Ana-t*) in the indigenous Libyan language of the area of Carthage, this being the femininization technique in that branch of Hamito-Semitic, e.g. Libyco-Berber *ta-mġar-t* 'elderly woman', *t-uššən-t* 'she-jackal', *t-iləf-t* 'wild sow' (Lipiński 1997: § 30.1), Tuareg *te-kahi-t* 'hen' from *e-kahi* 'rooster' (ibid., § 29.46). In the case of the name of Tanit this particular derivation from *Ana(-t)* seems to have been shown to be untenable on philological grounds (Lipiński [ed.] 1992: s.v. *Tanit*), but it underlines the general possibility of twofold, circumfixing *t*-femininization, considering the substratal and adstratal role of Libyan in and around Carthage.

Looked at in these terms — whether with a Semitic or, additionally, a Libyan background would not make much difference — the names of Tanit and Moneta (and of M^enî) turn out near-identical, namely differing only by the number of *t*-affixes: *Monēta* reflects an etymon derived from *M^enî* by just adding the suffixal *-t* or *-it*, as described above; Tanit's name derives from *M^enî* by adding the same suffix but also the *t*-prefix in one of its four shapes (*t-*, *ta-*, *ti-*, *tu-*), or directly from *M^enīt* merely by adding the *t*-prefix: Depending on whether the name of Tanit is taken to be phonologically closer to *Tənīt*, *Tanīt*, *Tannīt*, or *Tinnīt* (cf. the discussion in Vennemann 2006b), we can easily derive the name from *M^enī(t)* within the phonological frame of Punic, where syncope and total regressive consonant assimilation at syllable boundaries (-$VC_1\$C_2V$- > -$VC_2\$C_2V$-) are the rule[29]; e.g.:

$^+$*Mənī(t)* → $^+$*Ta-Mənī(t)* > $^+$*Tam^{ə}nīt* > $^+$*Tamnīt* > $^+$*Tannīt*
and perhaps > $^+$*Tanīt*[30] > $^+$*Tənīt*

[29] Cf. Lipiński (1997: § 27.3) who describes the most common conditioned sound change of the Semitic languages as "total regressive assimilation, perhaps better termed 'anticipatory', since the vocal organs 'anticipate' the position of the next sound." Note in particular Segert 1976: § 35.32: "Partial assimilation of a nasal to a following — or less frequently to a preceding — consonant resulted in a labial /m/ next to another labial, a dental /n/ next to another dental. ..." This assimilation very likely also applies to nasals among themselves.

[30] Geminates are not written in Phoenician spelling. But the pronunciation of consonantal length too seems to have been attenuated in Punic: "Während die griechischen und lateinischen geminierten Konsonanten deutlich als wirklich 'verdoppelte' Konsonanten (mit Silbengrenze innerhalb der Geminata wie in italien. *fratel-lo*) gesprochen wurden, scheint bei den phönizisch-punischen Geminaten die Verdoppelung nicht so augenfällig

If both Latinists and Semitologists find the above suggestions compatible with the reconstructive methods of their disciplines, two of the hardest problems of the cultural development of the Mediterranean West could be seen in new light, namely as being intimately related and having their origin and solution in the Near East.



Tanit[31]

Appendix 2
The Indo-European *month* word and PSemit. $^+$*m-n-w* 'to count'

The Proto-Semitic root $^+$*m-n-w* with the basic meaning 'to count', which has been presented above as the basis of the names of the Roman Moneta (as well as the Carthaginian Tanit), may have found its way into Indo-European once before, along a different path (cf. Vennemann 1994: § 7.22 [2003: § 7.7.22]). PIE **meh*$_1$*nṓt* masc. 'month' is reconstructed as the nominative (preserved only in Germanic, cf. Goth *mēnōþ-s*, and, presumably, Lithuanian *mė̃nuo*) of a heteroclitic Proto-Indo-European paradigm with acc. **meh*$_1$*n-és-m̥*, gen. **meh*$_1$*n-s-és*, ultimately based on the root **meh*$_1$- 'to measure', cf. Beekes 1982: 55:

zum Ausdruck zu kommen. Daher findet sich gelegentlich ... in griechisch-lateinischen Umschreibungen phönizischer Namen Einfachschreibung statt Doppelkonsonanz ...; in der spätpunischen Wiedergabe lateinischer Namen Doppeltschreibung geminierter Konsonanten entgegen aller semitischen Schreibgewohnheit: ... [once each] *TNNT* 'Tinnit' ..., Θεννειθ gegenüber [once] Θινιθ [and numerous Punic *TNT* spellings]" (Friedrich and Röllig 1999: § 97).

31 The picture shows a Siculo-Punic electrum tristater of ca. 260 B.C. (21.83 g, gold content 24-35%, valued at ca. 3 shekels), showing the head of Tanit on the obverse and a prancing horse before a palm-tree, two symbols of Carthage, on the reverse, together with an inscription (www.bio.vu.nl/home/vwielink/WWW_MGC/Punic_map/Zeugitana_map/-Zeugitana.html, 5 May 2005). The inscription probably reads BʾRṢT, i.e. either *b-ʾrṣ-t* 'from the regions' or *b-ʾrṣt* 'from the province'. Cf. Jenkins and Lewis 1963: 35 and plate 16, no. 368, Krahmalkov 2000: s.vv. *B-* no. 7, *ʾRṢ*, *ʿRṢT*.

Nom. *meh_1n-*ṓt*
Acc. *meh_1n-*és-m̥*
Gen. *meh_1n-*s-és*

The original meaning is apparently that of measuring, or rather counting, viz. of the days of the week and the weeks of the month, using the moon as a counter.

This paradigm shows peculiarities, first of all the exceptional *t/s* heteroclisis but then also the preservation of the final obstruent in Germanic, as opposed to its loss in the paradigm of ⁺*nepōt-* (cp. Lat. *nepōs*, *nepōtis*) which only survives as an *n*-stem, PGmc. ⁺*nefōn* 'nephew', whereas PGmc. ⁺*mēnōn* masc. 'moon' survives as a secondary, derived stem in addition to the original **mēnōþ-* (Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *Monat*). Germanic therefore suggests the formation of a paradigm protecting the stem-final dental from total loss by the Germanic *Auslautgesetze*. The treatment as a consonantal stem[32] is, in any event, a Germanic innovation, if the Beekes paradigm is assumed for Proto-Indo-European.[33]

The original meaning of the *month* word, that of counting time units, is in perfect harmony with the most basic meaning of PSemit. ⁺*m-n-w*, which is 'to count'. I am therefore still inclined, despite Beekes' successful accommodation of the unusual morphology of the paradigm within Indo-European, to consider PIE ⁺*mēnṓt* or ⁺meh_1*nṓt* a Semitic loan-word, adapted from a source etymon ⁺*mVnōt* (< ⁺*mVnūt* < ⁺*mVnaw-t*) 'counting', with the uncertain vowel *V* of the first syllable reshaped into ⁺*mē* or ⁺meh_1, possibly folk-etymologically in order to make the beginning of the word agree with the root ⁺*mē-* / meh_1- 'to measure'. This abstract feminine noun meaning 'counting' would be liable to change into a concrete masculine noun with the meaning 'one who counts, counter' even in Semitic itself:

"Some of the abstract nouns thus formed [viz. as feminine nouns by means of 'afformatives in *-t*'] were subsequently used as masculine concrete nouns; e.g. Late Babylonian *pāḫātu*, 'governor'; Phoenician *mmlkt*, 'king';

[32] The attested Gothic forms are:
nom. sg. *mēnōþ-s* (Lk. 1.36)
gen. sg. *mēn*[*ōþ-*(*i*)*s*] (Neh. 6.15, parts in brackets destroyed)
dat. sg. *mēnōþ* (Lk. 1.26)
dat. pl. *mēnōþ-um* (Gal. 4.10)
acc. pl. *mēnōþ-s* (Lk. 1.24, 1.56, 4.25)

[33] A detailed description of the development of the Germanic *n*-stems ⁺*mēnan-* and ⁺*nefan-* from *t*-stems is given in Bammesberger 1990: § 7.6.

Numidic *gldt*, 'king'; Arabic *ḫalīfat-*, 'deputy, successor'" (Lipiński 1997: § 29.46).

Unfortunately the exact meaning 'month, moon' does not seem to be recorded for derivations of the root ⁺*m-n-w* in Semitic but only the original meaning of counting. Cf. the following set of words in Akkadian (von Soden 1972: II, s.vv.):

manû(m) 'zählen, rechnen'
mīnu(m) 'Zahl'
manûtu 'Zählung'
munūtu(m) 'Zählung'
minītu(m), younger form *minâtu*, Māri *minêtum* 'Maß'
minûtu(m) 'Zählung, Berechnung (v[on] Zeit)', specifically calculation of time by means of the stars (cf. von Soden 1972: II, s.v., 2.b)

The formal and semantic correspondence between these Semitic words and the nominative of the Indo-European *month* word seems to me too close to be ignored.

Unfortunately there exists no model for a *t/s* heteroclisis in Semitic. Perhaps, however, the oblique Indo-European forms arose from a misunderstanding of the Semitic *status pronominalis*, specifically the nominative/accusative possessive forms of the 3rd person, which in Akkadian would (for *minûtu(m)*) be *minûssu* / *minûssa* 'his / her (its) counting', *minûssunu* / *minûssina* 'their [masc. / fem.] counting', the stem-final *-t-* and the pronoun-initial *š-* regularly assimilating reciprocally to form the internal *-ss-*.[34] Since Proto-Indo-European did not tolerate geminates[35], the full Semitic paradigm of such 'counting/counter' words might have been perceived on the Indo-European side as possessing both *-t-* stems and *-s-* stems. These may have been borrowed individually into the early Indo-

[34] Cf. Huehnergard 2000: 84-87 and the form *minûssunu* in von Soden 1972: II, s.v. *minûtu(m)*, 1.b.
[35] E.g. PIE ⁺h_1*és-si* → ⁺h_1*ési*, Vedic *ási* 'you (sing.) are', cf. Tichy 2004: 24, 28.

European dialects[36], or even been combined to form the heteroclitic Beekes paradigm.

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36 That different forms of a Semitic paradigm may find their way into Indo-European is shown by the word for the numeral 7 (seven). Here the Germanic word either derives from $^{+}$*sebʕ-m* (→ $^{+}$*sebhm* > $^{+}$*sebm* > $^{+}$*sebun*, e.g. Goth. *sibun*) or was borrowed — perhaps re-borrowed — after Grimm's Law directly with the Semitic *-b-* and loss of the laryngeal. But the numeral derives from $^{+}$*sebʕ-t-m*, or rather, with apparent failure to recognize or accommodate the Semitic pharyngeal, from $^{+}$*seb-t-m* (> $^{+}$*septm*) in the other Indo-European languages (e.g. Lat. *septem*, Vedic *saptá*). The *-t-* which differentiates regional variants in Indo-European differentiates masculine and feminine gender in Semitic, cf. Levin 1995: 409-412, Vennemann 1995: § 7.21 [2003: § 7.7.21]. The Proto-Semitic basic numeral was $^{+}$*šabʿ* [šabʕ]; the masculine and feminine forms are, e.g.: Hebr. *šebaʿ* / *šibʿā* (*sabʿā*), Phoenic./Pun. *šbʿ* (*šabʿ* or *šabaʿ*) / *šbʿt*, Akkad. stat. abs. *sebe* / *sebet*, free *sebûm* / *sebettum* 'seven', cf. Lipiński 1997: §§ 35.3, 35.12, Friedrich and Röllig 1999: §§ 242-243, Huehnergard 2000: 235. As I have pointed out in the 1995 article, the *t*-less variant was probably also borrowed into Etruscan (*semph*) and perhaps into Basque (*zazpi*).

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THE PREHISTORY OF THE ALBANIAN VOWEL SYSTEM: A PRELIMINARY EXPLORATION

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1. Introduction

In the literature on the historical phonology of Albanian, the problem of the evolution of the phonemic system as a self-contained structure has been somewhat neglected. That is not strange. On the one hand, whereas the dynamics of evolving phonemic systems drew world-wide attention in the late fifties and early sixties of the twentieth century, the subject was prematurely marginalized by the rise of generative thinking, passing by Albanian studies almost entirely. On the other, given the specific difficulties Albanian presents, one may well wonder if it is not too early in the day to see what a systemic approach can contribute.

As for the former point, there would seem to be every reason to resume the job left incomplete when Chomsky and Halle shouted the phonemic level into invisibility.

As for the latter, it can only be settled by trying and it is in a spirit of experiment that I would like in this contribution to offer a partial reconstruction of the past of the Albanian system of stressed vowels, along the lines of earlier work on Slovene and Serbo-Croatian, e.g. Vermeer (1982, 1993), partly modelled in turn on Kortlandt (1979).

What follows is based primarily on Pekmezi (1908: 19-23, 35-39), Jokl (1917: 136-145), Huld (1984: 138-157), Çabej (1988: 19-41), Sh. Demiraj (1996: 47-119, 250-260), B. Demiraj (1997a: 41-67), Orel (2000: 1-45), and Topalli (2000). Given the state of the subject, the discussion cannot pretend to be more than a preliminary exploration. I have done my best to start from those correspondences there appears to be some degree of consensus about and to avoid letting anything much depend on controversial points, although consistency in this respect would have doomed me to inaction because just about every detail is controversial in some respect.

2. The treatment of inherited vowel length

Although many attested Albanian vowel systems have contrastive vowel length, scholars agree that all (or nearly all) of that is relatively recent be-

cause at some pre-dialectal stage, inherited vowel length was thoroughly restructured in terms of vowel timbre. Early length can be of four kinds:

1. *PIE lengthened grade*. No comment necessary.

2. *Sequences of short vowels with laryngeals*. No comment necessary.

3. *A rule comparable with Winter's law in Balto-Slavic.* Given the heat Winter's law has generated, it is only natural that some scholars have experimented with similar rules for Albanian. Vladimir Orel, for example, has assumed an Albanian version of Winter's law to connect *boj* (*bova*, *bue*) 'drive away' with Gr. *phóbos*, Lith. *bė̃gti* (2000: 9).

4. *Compensatory lengthening if a following* *s *is lost in the position before a resonant*. The standard example is *dorë* 'hand' (e.g. B. Demiraj 1997a: 44, 140; Orel 2000: 15), which however has also been explained as an analogical lengthened grade (e.g. Huld 1984: 54, 15). All other examples I am aware of are similarly ambiguous.

Although the jury is still out on (3) and (4), nothing in what follows depends on a decision about these cases.

As a consequence of the restructuring, length was transposed into vowel timbre. In rough outline, the outcome was as follows:

- short **o*/*a* > *a* or *e* depending on phonetic context, long **ō* > *e*, long **ā* > *o*;

- short **e* > *je* and a variety of other reflexes (*e*/*ja*/*a*/*i*/*ie*), long **ē* > *o*;

- short *u* > *u*, but *y* in some cases by *i*-mutation, long **ū* > *y* in most positions;

- short *i* > *i* or *e* depending on phonetic context, long **ī* always > *i*.

For more on individual reflexes see section 3. In what follows, the restructuring of the vowel system that transposed vowel length into timbre will be referred to as "the Q>Q" (Quantity > Quality).

Whereas there can be no doubt that a phenomenon like the Q>Q took place, some scholars assume that vowel length survived as such in certain positions, for instance to account for the length in such examples as *mī* 'mouse' (e.g. Çabej 1972: 133, Matzinger 1998: 112).

At first glance that may strike one as odd. How could vowel length survive as such if it was transformed into something else at the same time? However, the early Albanian prosodic system may well have been more complex than it is generally believed to have been. For all we know it may have undergone a Q>Q while at the same time retaining earlier vowel length, as Frits Kortlandt has argued on non-trivial grounds for Slavic (1975: 29-32, cf. also 1985: 122-123).

For the purposes of this contribution what is important is not that inherited vowel length was eradicated root and branch, but that a restructuring like the Q>Q took place. The problem posed by *mī* and similar examples will have to be addressed on its own merits.

3. Individual reflexes

Since in some cases there is no complete agreement about what the regular reflexes are, the overview that follows serves to make explicit what I understand to be more or less credibly established.

3.1 Pre-Q>Q short vowels

All short vowels have multiple reflexes.

1. If PIE distinguished between **o* and **a*, the distinction appears not to have survived into Albanian. The reflex is either *a*, e.g. *natë* 'night', or *e* by *i*-mutation, e.g. plural *net*. Slavic loans offer no credible cases of *i*-mutation (Ylli 1997: 316-317).[1]

2. In most or all positions, vocalized laryngeals have yielded the same reflexes as **o*/**a* (e.g. B. Demiraj 1997a: 51, 61).[2]

3. PIE **e* has six different reflexes. The default reflex is *-je-*, as in *vjedh* 'steal' < **ueǵ*^{h}-, *mjekër* 'beard' < **smekr-*. In certain consonantal environments *-e-* appears instead, notably after clusters consisting of stop plus *r* (e.g. *dredh* 'turn') and before syllable-final cluster-initial nasal, as in *pesë* 'five' < **penk*^{w}*e*-. Before certain word-final resonants, *-ie-* is the regular reflex, as in *bie* 'fall; bring' < earlier **ber*,

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[1] Huld (1984: 154-155) has argued that in some positions the loss of the distinction between **o* and **a* never took place.

[2] According to Beekes (1995: 267), the distinction between *h_1 and the other two laryngeals was continued before syllable-final resonants (in the sequences h_1RC and h_1RHC) as a difference between **e* and **a*. Matzinger (1998: 111) rejects this without providing argumentation.

with regular loss of final *-*r*. The remaining three reflexes are all to varying degrees contested:

– Although the assumption that *i*-mutation is responsible for part of the cases of *i* appears to be uncontroversial, the remaining cases have been attributed to a variety of factors, e.g. palatality in surrounding consonants or the presence of a following consonant cluster. For discussion and references to some earlier literature see de Vaan (2004: 70-71).

– Traditionally, *-ja-* has been regarded as a further development of *-je-* in certain phonological contexts. Recently, Michiel de Vaan has challenged this view on the grounds that there are no credible Latin loans in which it is attested (2004: 76-83).

– The reflex *a* is found in certain palatal contexts. In inherited words, this reflex is particularly characteristic of cases in which **e* is preceded by *gj* < **s*, e.g. *gjarpër* 'slang', *gjashtë* 'six' (de Vaan 2004: 76).

– Latin loans display the entire range of reflexes, arguably apart from *-ja-*.

4. PIE **i* (including secondary **i* in the reflexes of syllabic resonants) > *i*, but:

– > *e* if the following syllable contains the reflex of **a*, at least according to most investigators, e.g. Huld (1984: 152-154). B. Demiraj (1997a: 42) refers to this as "Hamp's rule", quoting *drekë* 'lunch' < **drik-ā* < *drk^{w}-eh_2*.

– > *y* in certain labial contexts (B. Demiraj 1997a: 42).

5. PIE **u* > *u*, e.g. *gjumë* 'sleep' (< **supn-os*), or *y* by *i*-mutation, e.g. *shtyj* 'push' < **stud-ni-ō*.

3.2 Long monophthongs

Since in the case of originally long vowels consensus is almost complete, there is no need for discussion: **ā* > *o* (= **ē*), e.g. *motrë* 'sister' < **māt-*; **ō* > *e*, e.g. *blertë* 'green' (archaic *blerë*) < *$b^h loh_1$-r-* (B. Demiraj 1997a: 105)[3];

[3] Despite complete consensus about this reflex I do not think there is a single example all interested scholars regard as reliable.

*ē > *o* (= *ā), e.g. *dorë* 'hand' < *$ǵ^h$ēr-* (the source of the length of *ē is controversial in this example, see section 2); *ī > *i*, e.g. *pi* 'drink'; *ū > *y*, but word-finally > *i*, e.g. *ti* 'you'. Details:

- Word-initially, *ā yields Tosk *va-*/Gheg *vo-*, with a prothetic *v-* and an otherwise unparalleled Tosk/Gheg correspondence, e.g. *vatër* (G. *votër*) 'hearth' < *ātVr-* (e.g. B. Demiraj 1997a: 410-412).

- If followed by certain word-final resonants, the reflex of *ē (and presumably *ā) is diphthongized to *uo* (and further to *ua*, *ue*, *ū*, etc. depending on dialect), e.g. *mua-j* 'month' < *meh_1n-* (the source of the final *-j* in this word is contested). In the same conditions the reflex of *ō yields *ye*.

- *ī in certain labial contexts > *y* (B. Demiraj 1997a: 43).

- In Latin loans all reflexes are convincingly and abundantly attested with the exception of the reflex *o* from *ā and *ē, which is extremely rare.

3.3 Diphthongs ending in *i* or *u*

Assuming that **a* and **o* are not distinguished (cf. section 3.1), four diphthongs have to be accounted for, to wit **ai*, **ei*, **au*, and **eu*. About three of these there is considerable controversy.

1. **ai* > *e*. The standard example is *shteg* 'path' (e.g. Huld 1984: 154; B. Demiraj 1997a: 45).

2. The reflex of **ei* is contested owing to the absence of clinching examples. Scholars have hesitated between *e* on the strength of *tre* 'three' (B. Demiraj 1997a: 45) and *i* on, say, that of *dimër* 'winter' (Çabej 1988: 34, also Hamp 1961).

3. **au* > *a* or *e* depending on *i*-mutation (B. Demiraj 1997a: 45-46, Orel 2000: 13-14).[4] The development **au* > *a* is shared by quite a few credible Latin loans, e.g. *pak* 'few, not much' < *paucus*.

4. There used to be a comfortable consensus that **eu* yields *e* (e.g. B. Demiraj 1997a: 46). Recently, however, Matzinger (1998: 112n)

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[4] In Huld's view *au* > *a*, but *ou* > *e* (1984: 155), with retention of the difference between **o* and **a*. In the absence of really clinching examples this would seem to be too speculative to be attractive.

has argued that none of the examples is beyond reproach and that the traditional view does not account for the development of **neun-* found in *nëntë* (G. *nântë*). Others (e.g. Huld 1984: 155, B. Demiraj 1997b) explain that example by assuming a specific development in nasal contexts.

4. Developments preceding the Q>Q

The first task is to formulate developments such as to get the vowels in the correct positions to account for the pattern of mergers that can be attributed to the Q>Q.

4.1 The system of short vowels on the eve of the Q>Q

Albanian can be derived from the following early system of short vowels, in which, speaking in traditional terms, PIE **o* and **a* have merged in a low back vowel that will here be written as *a*, but could also be written as *o*:

Short 1	i			u
		e	a	

On the eve of the Q>Q the system of short vowels consisted of the inherited four-vowel system plus /y/ from *i*-mutation of **u*, as follows:

Short 2	i		y		u
		e		a	

This simple picture conceals a highly complex reality. As we have seen, the short vowels have been subject to al kinds of positional conditioning, as is shown by their multiple reflexes. Since nothing similar holds for the reflexes of long vowels (with the exception of the effects of the post-Q>Q loss of the contrast between /y/ and /i/ in certain contexts), it is obvious that the rise of positional variants preceded the Q>Q and ceased at the latest when the Q>Q took place. It follows that prior to the Q>Q there must have existed a set of partial systems of short vowels, none of which contained more than four elements, because *y* and *u* never occurred in the same environment.

For this reason, a realistic description of the language as it was prior to the Q>Q would operate with a series of subsystems instead of a single general system. The following description in terms of four subsystems is intended only as a rough approximation. The formulations are of necessity

somewhat indeterminate to express the persistent vagueness about certain specifics.

A. Unless the phonetic environment was of the kind that triggered _i_-mutation, or caused _*i_ or _*e_ to end up as _e_ or _(j)a_, or _*e_ and _*a_ to merge into _a_, the inherited quadrilateral system was continued unchanged:

Short 2A	i			u
		e	a	

B. In certain palatal contexts the difference between /e/ and /a/ was neutralised (> _a_):

Short 2B	i		u
		a < _*e_, _*a_	

C. In environments triggering _i_-umlaut, the system consisted of only three contrastive vowels because _*i_ and _*e_ merged into _i_:.

Short 2C	i < _*i_, _*e_		y < _*u_
		e < _*a_	

D. In certain other types of environment there were only three contrasting vowels because _*e_ was broken to _ja_; in the same environment _*i_ was lowered to _e_:

Short 2D			u
	e < _*i_	a < _*e_, _*a_	

4.2 The system of long vowels on the eve of the Q>Q

By the time the Q>Q took place, the system of long vowels had undergone quite a few innovations:

1. A new _ē_ had arisen from _*ai_. After the Q>Q the new _ē_ is continued as an /e/ which differs from the default reflex of short _*e_ (_je_), but not from the reflex of _*a_ with _i_-mutation.

2. Original long _*ē_ had been lowered and had merged with _*ā_. There is an obvious connection between this development and the rise of a new _*ē_ < _*ai_, although it is impossible at this stage to say which

triggered which. The lowering of *ē (and presumably also its merger with *ā) must have preceded the monophthongization of **au*, which gave rise to a new maximally low monophthong [a], with which *ē would have merged if it had not managed get out of harm's way in time.

3. The product of the merger of *ē and *ā had been retracted to *ō.

4. The reflex of old *ō had been fronted, ultimately to yield *e*. It is reasonable to suppose that there was an intermediate phase with *ȫ* (cf., e.g., Pedersen 1900: 315). As the earliest layer of Latin loans started pouring in, the reflex of *ō was still sufficiently [o]-like to provide a suitable point of entry for Latin *ō, e.g. *tërmet* 'earthquake' (*terrae mōtus*).

5. The new *ō and *ȫ may have been slightly diphthongal, with the degree of rounding being somewhat more pronounced at the beginning than at the end, to account for the prothetic *v*- they ultimately developed in word-initial position.[5]

6. Long *ū had been subphonemically fronted to [ǖ], here written as *ȳ*. This is needed as a preparatory stage for the later merger of *ū with short *y* from **u* affected by *i*-mutation. As the earliest layer of Latin loans started pouring in, the reflex of *ū was still sufficiently [u]-like to provide a suitable point of entry for Latin *ū*.

7. In those contexts in which the initial element of **au* was not subject to *i*-mutation, the diphthong ultimately yielded a new maximally low monophthong [a]. The problem of the chronology of the monophthongization will be taken up in section 4.5.

4.3 Developments in the system of long vowels preceding the Q>Q

The innovations enumerated in the preceding section imply a certain chronological order. Let us start from:

Long 1	ī				ū	
		ē		ō		+ ai, au, ei, eu
			ā			

[5] I am not convinced of the necessity to assume that *ō developed by way of a fully-fledged [ue]-like diphthong (Orel 2000: 9-10).

The diphthongs are best regarded as sequences of short vowels. At a certain stage, **ai* was monophthongized, giving rise to a new long *ē*, pushing the old **ē* downwards (> *ǣ*), or, conversely, old **ē* was lowered providing room for a monophthongized reflex of **ai*.

What happened to the other diphthongs is less straightforward. As we saw earlier (section 3.3), **ei* has the same reflex as either **ī* or **ē*, but there is no agreement as to which. Moreover, there is no telling when the monophthongization and merger (whichever it was) took place. If the reflex of **eu* is **e*, as has traditionally been assumed, the simplest solution is probably that it merged with **ō* at some stage, but other scenarios can by no means be excluded.

On the other hand **au* must have retained its individuality until later because the reflex of **ē* must have the opportunity to merge with **ā* and be retracted to an [o]-like vowel before **au* can be allowed to yield a new [a].

In what follows, the reflexes of **ei* and **eu*, which may or may not have been eliminated simultaneously with **ai*, will not be taken into account.

Long 2	ī				ū	
		ē < **ai*		ō		+ au
			ǣ < **ē* ā			

Although structurally speaking this system was somewhat closer to that of the short vowels (because it was quadrilateral), it still differed strongly in being three-tiered. Merger of *ǣ* and *ā* was a natural development, paralleled by the merger of short **e* and **a* in certain subsystems of short vowels (section 4.1). The outcome was:

Long 3	ī				ū	
		ē		ō		+ au
			ā < **ǣ*/**ā*			

Since in attested Albanian, the **ā* of this system is reflected as *o*, we have to assume that subsequently **ā* was retracted. That may well have been the result of purely structural pressures because it brought the system of long vowels closer in line with that of short vowels by rendering it quadrilateral and two-tiered.

The retraction might easily have caused the reflex of **ā* to merge with the existing *ō*. We know, however, that no merger took place because in attested Albanian, *ō* shows up as *e*. We can account for that reflex

by assuming that as *ā* was being retracted to [ō], *ō* remained distinct by undergoing fronting to *ȫ*. As *ō was fronted, *ū was subphonemically fronted along with it. The outcome was:

Long 4	ī				ū [ȳ]	
		ē	ȫ < ō	ō < ā		+ au

Structurally, the subsystem now resembles that of the short vowels in being quadrilateral and two-tiered. We are ready for the Q>Q.

4.4 The vowel system on the eve of the Q>Q

Combining the systems “Short 2” and “Long 4” as reconstructed above, and temporarily forgetting about **au* and other complications (notably the existence of subsystems of short vowels, see section 4.1), we may conventionally represent the system immediately preceding the Q>Q as follows:

On the eve of the Q>Q	i/ī		y/-		u/ū [ȳ]	
		e/ē	-/ȫ	a/ō		+ au

Phonologically speaking, the *a* of this system was the short counterpart of *ō*. Both were low back vowels. Their subsequent history suggests that *a* was more [a]-like and *ō* more [o]-like, but at the stage we are talking about that difference was non-contrastive. As for the low front vowels *e* and *ē*, the pattern of mergers at the Q>Q suggests that the difference between them may have been equally striking as that between *a* and *ō*, notably that *e* was considerable lower than *ē*. Long *ū* continued being subphonemically fronted.

The treatment of the diphthong *au* (which ultimately yielded *a*, merging with the reflex of short **a*) has to be discussed in the context of the entry of Latin loans.

4.5 The influx of Latin loans and the problem of the treatment of **au*

Latin loans started entering the Albanian lexicon in goodly numbers well before the Q>Q. At the time, the Albanian vowel system did not provide a clear-cut point of entry for every single Latin vowel.

It is striking that the normal Albanian continuations of Latin long **ā* and **ē* are *a* and *e*. There are no or virtually no credible Latin loans with the reflex *o*. This shows that the Albanian reflexes of **ā* and **ē* were unlike their Latin counterparts at the stage the Latin loans started pouring in,

at least sufficiently unlike to disqualify them from serving as suitable points of entry. On the other hand, at the very same stage **au* must still have been a diphthong because such Latin loans as *paucum* took part in the monophthongization to *a* (> *pak*), and **ō* and **ū* cannot have been fronted so strongly as to make them unsuitable for taking along their Latin counterparts.

Put differently, in the system that welcomed the first layer of Latin loans, the reflexes of **ō*, **ū* and **au* resembled their Latin counterparts sufficiently to be able to be identified with them, whereas the reflexes of **ā* and **ē* had become too different from Latin **ā* and **ē* to make identification possible any more. This fits the system reconstructed above as "Long 2". In it, the vowel *ǣ* did not correspond to anything in Latin whereas the **ā* can easily have been too strongly rounded and/or retracted to serve as a suitable equivalent of Latin **ā*.

Given system "Long 2", several things may have happened to accommodate Latin **ā*. It may have been substituted with short *a*, which came close at least as far as timbre was concerned. It is also conceivable that a loan phoneme /ā/ arose, only to merge with earlier short *a* at the Q>Q.

5. The Q>Q and the vowel system resulting from it

After the system presented in section 4.4 had arisen, the Q>Q took place. The details are the following:

- Long *ī* became *i*, merging with those instances of short **i* that had not been lowered to *e* and with those instances of short **e* that had been raised to [i].

- Long *ē* became *e*, merging with the reflex of short **i* in those cases in which it had been lowered to *e*, and with the reflex of short **a* in those cases in which it had been affected by *i*-mutation. The new *e* did not merge with the reflex of old short *e*, which was lowered to *ę* exactly copying the same process going on in Latin.

- If the system contained a long *ā* (either from **au* or as a loan phoneme or both), it now merged with *a* in those cases the latter had not undergone *i*-mutation.

- Long *ō* and *ȫ* lost their length, yielding *o* and *ö* respectively, without merging with any preexisting vowels. In word-initial position, both developed a prothetic *v*-, perhaps suggesting that they were (non-contrastively) diphthongal on the eve of the loss of length.[6]

- Long *ū* (which was subphonemically fronted already) yielded *y*, merging with short **u* affected by *i*-mutation.

The outcome was:

Post-Q>Q 1	i			y			u
		e		ö		o	
			ę		a		

6. Developments after the Q>Q

System "Post-Q>Q 1" was not the latest reconstructible pre-dialectal system. At least the following later but pre-dialectal developments must be assumed to have taken place subsequently:

1. Vowels were lengthened if followed by certain word-final resonants. As long as length was predictable in these cases, it was subphonemic. Subsequently, mid vowels lengthened in this way were diphthongized to *ie*, *yö* (> *ye*) and *uo* (> *ua*, *ue*), e.g. *miell* 'flour', *dyer* 'door' (plural), *duar* 'hand' (plural). Before that happened, lengthened *ę* and *e* had apparently merged.

2. At some stage after the diphthongization, **ö* lost its rounding and merged with **e*. This must have been later than the diphthongization, which distinguishes between **e* (> *ie*) and **ö* (> *ye*).

3. At some stage, (short) *ę* was diphthongized ultimately to yield *je* in most positions.

4. After the rise of *je* and the diphthongization of mid vowels lengthened by following word-final resonants, a new layer of contrastive vowel length arose as a consequence of compensatory lengthening upon loss of segments. This type of length is particularly frequent

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[6] If *vesh* 'ear' somehow reflects earlier **aus-* < *h_2*eus-* (Beekes 1995: 267), I wonder if it does not continue the phonetically regular reflex of the NAdu in *-*ī* < *-ih_1, which must have caused *i*-mutation of the stem vowel (**aus-* > **eus-*), at least if it is true that the first element of **au* underwent *i*-mutation, which, needless to say, is controversial. Assuming that the reflex of word-initial **ō-* regularly developed a prothetic *v-*, **eus-* yielded *vesh* if it is assumed that the diphthong *eu* merged with the reflex of **ō* at some stage preceding the rise of the prothetic consonant. In that case the stem form *vesh(-)* can be understood as the phonetically regular reflex of the dual. The apparent absence of alternations due to *i*-mutation of **au* (Huld 1984: 155) may then be due to analogical restoration of **au* in the period after **eu* had yielded **ō*.

in monosyllabic word forms ending in a vowel, where it is often involved in alternations, as in the classic case of short *dy* (masc) vs. long *dȳ* (fem).[7] It is also attested in several other types of word forms, as in the familiar case of *dēt* 'sea'. As is well known, this type of length is particularly widespread in Latin borrowings, e.g. *kālë* 'horse' (Lat. *caball-*), *mjēk* 'docter' (Lat. *medic-*). For more examples see Çabej (1957 = 1988: 295-306, cf. Çabej 1972: 132-136).[8] If lengthening would have been earlier than the diphthongization, one would have expected ***miek* instead of attested *mjēk*. This mechanism yielded length even in pretonic syllables, e.g. *bēkoj* 'bless'.

5. It is difficult to date the rise of the nasal vowels *â*, *ê*, *ô*, *î*, *û* and *ŷ* from **aN* etc. The fact that the reflex of short **e* did not yield *je* if followed by nasal consonants may show that vowels were strongly nasalized in nasal surroundings at that stage already, if not earlier.

The outcome of these developments was (discounting the nasal vowels):

Post-Q>Q 2	i/ī		y/ȳ		u/ū	
		e/ē (< **e*, **ę*, **ö*)		o/ō		+ ie, ye, uo
			a/ā			

This is the latest Common Albanian vowel system. In certain contexts the distinction between /i/ and /y/ may have been neutralized at this stage already.

The earliest dialectal innovation involving the vowel system is generally agreed to have been the denasalization of nasal vowels which took place in the south. The reflex of **â* developed into the stressed shwa many scholars regard as typically Balkanic. Together with the development of intervocalic *-n-* to *-r-* and the development **vo-* > **va-* this gave rise to Tosk as a identifiable dialect.

The outcome of early post-Q>Q lengthening has been overlaid by more recent dialectal phenomena, among which the following are only the most spectacular:

1. Complete loss of contrastive vowel length in most of Tosk.

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[7] As documented with particular thoroughness by Hamp (1992).

[8] See in this connection also B. Demiraj (2001).

2. Recent lengthening of vowels upon the loss of unstressed word-final *-ë* in a following syllable in Gheg.

3. The near-universal Gheg monophthongization of the diphthongs.

7. Convergence

Changes may have various causes. Some produce more optimal systems and can be regarded, barring evidence to the contrary, as the outcome of structural pressures. An example is the retraction of **ā* and concomitant changes in system "Long 3" (section 4.3). Other changes result in convergence towards neighbouring languages and may reflect contact phenomena.

It is interesting to take a brief look at the prehistory of the Albanian vowel system in terms of the convergences that can be observed in it.

1. *Early (pre-Roman) Balkan*. We have seen that the lowering of long **ē* looks pre-Roman (section 4.5). As is well known, it has suggestive Balkan parallels. Vladimir Georgiev has famously pointed out that it appears to be attested in the element *-dava*, which is common in toponyms attested in late antiquity and which is usually regarded as a reflex of PIE **dheh*$_1$*-* (1977: 207). The point is one of the crown witnesses in Georgiev's case for Albanian as the continuation of his Daco-Moesian construct. Against this background it may be significant that the Triballian who puts in a brief appearance in Aristophanes' *Birds* replaces Greek *ē* with *a* in such examples as *baktāri* (1629), rendering *baktēría* 'cane, stick'. Lowering of **ē* (and merger with **ā*) is also attested in Phrygian (Brixhe 1983: 115). In the extreme west of the Balkan peninsula there is evidence for lowering of **ē* in the aberrant Doric dialect of Elis, in the north-western corner of the Peloponesus, on the Ionian Sea coast (Buck 1955: 25; Bartoněk 1972: 41-42, 59-60).

2. *Post-classical Greek*. The rise of *y* constitutes convergence towards (Attic and *koinē*) Greek. This is not the only evidence of Greek-Albanian structural convergence. Other examples are such innovations as the rise of dental fricatives, the voicing of voiceless stops after nasal consonants, and the substitution of the inherited third person singular of the present tense of the verb 'be' with a formation containing a prefix (Gr. *énesti*, Gheg *âsht*). These points differ from the traditional Balkanisms (such as the rise of an invariable future tense particle) in that they are limited to Albanian and Greek. One is entitled to wonder what specific sociolinguistic reality lies behind this, all the more so because the lexical influence of Greek on

Albanian has notoriously been limited (at least until late medieval times), which makes language shift the most likely mechanism responsible for the convergence. I can see two episodes in which language shift may have occurred on a significant scale, giving rise to structural convergence:

- The expansion of the Macedonian state under Philip II (359-336 B.C.) caused large numbers of speakers of Balkan languages (e.g. Paeonians) to be incorporated into the Macedonian army. The variety of Greek that very same army subsequently exported to Asia Minor and beyond can hardly have failed to continue structural characteristics of the Balkan languages that had just been abandoned in favour of Greek, all the more so because it is unlikely that Attic Greek was deeply ingrained in Macedonian society at the time and because armies do not provide the kind of social environment where meticulous adherence to a distant linguistic norm tends to be cherished unduly.[9]
- After Roman power structures collapsed on the Balkans in the decades around 600 A.D., it no longer made sense for those former citizens who did not manage to retreat to imperial territory to go on speaking Latin or Greek; as a consequence one expects that many people adopted the language of their closest barbarian neighbours. Although Slavic must have been the obvious choice nearly everywhere, one expects a shift to Albanian in certain cases, for instance that of the speakers of Greek it is reasonable to assume lived around Apollonia and Aulona (present-day Vlorë and surroundings), and perhaps along stretches of the Via Egnatia, particularly if they were forced into the mountains, where they had to switch to mountain pastoralism to survive and may have adopted the language of the autochthonous pastoralists along with their life style.

The latter episode is definitely too late to have produced some of the effects noted, if, indeed, it or something like it took place at all.

3. *Post-classical Latin*. The most striking piece of convergence in the direction of post-classical Latin is the way the distinction between short **e* and long **ē* was continued after the Q>Q as a contrast between two kinds

[9] This implies no stand on the vexed issue as to whether or not the Macedonian core area was linguistically Greek even before the Macedonian establisment started adopting Attic; even if it was, the inherited dialect cannot have failed to differ strongly from Attic, presenting the new speakers of Greek with a contradictory model.

of *e* and the development of the lower of those into something like *je*. The point has probably been commented on more often than any other example of convergence involving Albanian.[10] The same phenomenon is attested in the Slavic dialect underlying Slovene and SCr, with interesting local differences reflecting known dialectal variation in the underlying varieties of post-classical Latin (for discussion see Vermeer 1989).

4. *Adriatic*. Lengthening of short vowels followed by syllable-final resonants is general (or very nearly so) in Čakavian and Štokavian SCr, with numerous local differences. In word-final position before *-n*, *-r* and *-l* the phenomenon is particularly common along the coast, where it has sometimes remained automatic until the present day, notably in the well-known Čakavian dialect of Novi, documented in the classical description by Aleksandar Belić (1909). Diphthongization of long mid vowels, too, is common in coastal dialects of SCr. Since the two phenomena do not have exactly the same geography, they may have a different background. (The term "Adriatic" I introduced just now does not pretend to be more than a label to refer to phenomena that have not been noticed very often.) It is curious that the systems resembling Albanian with respect to these features are not ones that are spoken near by, e.g. in Montenegro or the Dubrovnik area, but varieties of Čakavian in some cases spoken as far north as North Dalmatia and even Istria, such as the autochthonous Istrian dialect of Žminj documented in such impressive detail by Janneke Kalsbeek (1998).

5. *Romanian*. As is well known, the rise of Tosk as a recognizable dialectal unit involves two innovations that have parallels in early Romanian: Romanian centralized its **a* in nasal contexts and part of the dialects underwent the development of intervocalic *-n-* to *-r-*. Romanian also famously borrowed *vatër* 'hearth' with patently Tosk *va-* and proceeded to spread it to wherever Vlachs expanded subsequently. The shared Tosk-Romanian innovations obviously constitute the final stage of the crucial and well-publicized period of Albanian-Romanian convergence. Since these innovations are found either not at all or only marginally in the Slavic loans into Romanian and Albanian, it follows that the rise of Tosk preceded both the expansion of Romanian and the influx of Slavic loans.

[10] Another conspicuous case of Albanian/Post-classical Latin convergence is the development **j-* > *gj-*, which preceded the development of **e-* to *ja-* in such cases as *jashtë* 'outside' (section 3.1), see Kortlandt (1996: 175).

6. *Slavic*. The reintroduction of contrastive vowel length that took place after the Q>Q results in a remarkable convergence with Slavic, notably attested SCr. Note that the Kosovo-Resava dialectal type of SCr, which can be regarded as the dominant Serbian dialect during the existence of the medieval Serbian state, appears to have responded in kind by eliminating vowel length in posttonic position (Ivić 1958: 226-232). The result was that medieval Albanian in the period preceding the diaspora to Italy and the southward expansion into Greece had contrastive vowel length in the very same positions as the variety of SCr it interacted with most intensively.

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DIPHTHONGIZATION OF INITIAL *E-* AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF INITIAL *Y-* IN ARMENIAN

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This paper is concerned with the dialectal development of Classical stressed *e* in comparison with the development of Classical *y* in initial position. It forms part of an ongoing research into the question of the precise dialectal development of Classical *y* and owes much to the ideas exposed by Kortlandt (1998). I hope that it is a fitting illustration of the importance of his work in the field of Armenian Studies.

Class. *e* in stressed position diphthongized in a majority of Armenian dialects. In initial position the diphthongization may result phonetically in a palatal glide that I shall denote in the following as ^{i}. The diphthongization is attested in the early tenth century Autun dictionary which provides a *terminus ante quem* for this feature. The Classical Armenian sound *y-* (in its usual transcription), when in initial position, is a voiced *h-* (denoted here as *H'*). The sounds are closely related and the question of historical interference among them arises. The dialectal facts are complicated. One can only approach them in the classical way of historical linguistics: a reconstruction of each individual dialect branch should precede an historical synthesis. This paper intends to demonstrate the practical problems of this approach and to give an overview of a few of the most important lexical items that are involved. For this I chose the dialects of the Van group, in particular the dialects of Van itself and of Shatax; the dialects of Ozim and Moks will only be mentioned in passing.

It has been proposed that the diphthongization of Armenian *e* is an early, and potentially fifth century feature of Armenian (Weitenberg 1996: 100 - 102 with lit.). A fifth century date is rejected on linguistic grounds by Schmitt (1981: 30). Schmitt argues that the existence of Classical Armenian words with initial *ye-* (as e.g. *yełum* 'to change') next to words with initial *e-*, among others in onomastic material taken from the Greek (e.g. *Ełia*), speaks against the presence of a fricative element before Class. (initial) *e-*. As it stands, the argument is not cogent (accentuation should be taken into account); in addition, it loses much of its force in the light of the insight that Class. *y-* was a voiced fricative *H'-*[1].

The development of Classical initial *y-* in the Armenian dialects.

The general development of Classical initial *y-* (i.e. *H′*) in the various dialect branches is not clear in all respects and will not be treated here in full. For our current purpose the following should be noted: the Van group can be explained nearly entirely from the situation in Classical Armenian. That is, where (in monosyllabic and bisyllabic words) Classical Armenian had initial *y-* (*H′-*), the Van group preserves this *y-* (as *H′-*) or shows traces of it. The preservation of Class. *y-* (*H′-*) in all dialects of this group can be proven by the presence of the effect of Ačaṙyan's Law. After the influx of the earliest Turkish loans (ca. 12th c.) the dialect of Van itself lost initial *H′-* (Ačaṙyan 1952: 76), but not the related dialect of Shatax (Weitenberg 1993 with litt.).

This starting point (the earliest reconstructible stage) of the Van group contrasts with the situation in, among others, the dialect of Mush. There, the oldest reconstructible stage is a partial match with the Classical situation. The following table illustrates the situation in a number of dialects. The contrast of *awel* 'broom', *yawel* 'more' and *hawan(em)* 'persuasion, -de' also shows the phonemic situation of the sounds involved.[2]

Ag	*a!vil*	Vn	*av^{i}el*	Sh	*av^{i}el*	NJ	*av^{i}el*	Msh	*av^{i}el*
Ag	*i!vil*	Vn	*äv^{i}el*	Sh	*H′ävlwortʿ*	NJ	*H′av^{i}el*	Msh	*H′eveli*
Ag	*ho!van*	Vn	*xavn^{i}el*	Sh	*xavn^{i}el*	NJ	*xovan^{i}el*	Msh	*havan*

In this example Nor Julfa (dialect group 2) goes along with the Van group (group 7). Also Mush (group 2) shows the same development. The following example shows that the Van group and Nor Julfa behave differently from Mush (and Karabagh, group 7).

Class. *yałtʿel* 'to win', *yatak* 'bottom', *yatuk* 'proper, own', *yaǰoł* 'favorable':

Sh	*H′äxtʿ^{i}el*	NJ	*H′axtʿ^{i}el*	Msh	*axt^{i}el*
				Krb	*a!tak*
		NJ	*H′atuk*		
Sh	*H′äčoł^{i}el*			Msh	*ačʿoł-ag*

[1] Notwithstanding the fact that Class. Armenian written *y-* before a vowel represents Greek *iota* and Old Georgian *i-*. Material is given by Ačaṙyan 1984: 582.

[2] Ag = Agulis, Vn = Van, Sh = Shatax, NJ = New Julfa, Msh = Mush, Krb = Karabagh, Ozm = Ozim, Mks = Moks; ! denotes the accent where necessary.

This bifurcated development of Class. *y-* (*H′-*) in Mush (and Karabagh) can be explained on the basis of Kortlandt's view (1998) that the Classical situation is the result of a restoration of *y-* (*H′-)*. Clearly, in Mush and other dialects a restoration took place but only when there was a motivation for it. The motivation lies in the presence of a synchronically perspicacious element: the preposition *y-*. Thus one understands that on Karabagh *a!tak* there is no restoration, whereas restoration is present in (*y-* → *h-*) *hənc‘n*^{i}*e!l* 'to pass' from Class. *y-anc‘anem*. This motivated restoration is old. It explains the presence of doublets like *yatak* and *atak* in Classical texts that already had been noticed by Hübschmann, as an inner-Armenian dialectal feature.[3]

Overview over the development of Classical initial *y-* (*H′-*) in the Van group (motivated restorations, i.e. compounds with the preposition *y-*, are marked with a hyphen).

Class. *YA-*		Vn *ä*	Sh *H′ä*
yałt‘em	'to win'	--	*H′äxt‘*^{i}*el*
y-ar̈aǰ	'before'	*är̈äč*	*H′är̈ač*
yard	'straw'	*ärt‘*	*H′ärt‘*
Class. *YE-*		Vn *e*	Sh *H′e*
yesan	'whetstone'	*esan*	*H′esan*
Class. *YI-*		Vn *i*	Sh *H′i*
yisown	'fifty'	*isun*	*H′isown*
Class. *YłI*		Vn -	Sh *H′-*
yłi	'pregnant'	*əłi*	*H′äłi*
Class. *YC*		Vn *iC-*	Shat *C-*
ystak	'clear'	*istak*	*stak*
Class. *YO*		no clear data	
Class. *YU*		Vn *ö*	Sh *H′-*
y-uš	'attention'	--	*H′äš*
y-ułarkem	'to accompany'	*öröxk*^{i}*el*	*H′oroxk*^{i}*el*

[3] For a discussion on a different basis see Gippert (1993: 25).

Class. *YAW*		Vn *ö*	Sh *H'o*
yawt	'vine branch'	*öt*	
y-awgn	'help'	*(h)ökʿy*	*H'oky*
yawranam	'to fatten'	*hörٰanal*	

Note on *YU- YO-*:

Unexpected *h-* (in written sources) is given for Van *hörٰanäl* (Class. *yawṙanam* 'to fatten') and in the alternative form *hökʿy* next to (regular) *ökʿy* (Class. *y-awgn* '(for) help'). In Van, *h-* should not occur: Classical *h-* appears as *x-*, Classical *y-* disappears. One assumes that these forms do not belong to the Van dialect proper, but are taken from an area related to Shatax. However, these words do show the expected palatalization.

Palatalization is unexpectedly absent in a few key words. Thus, the Class. *yuzem* 'to seek' (from *yoyz* 'investigation') appears in Van as *uzⁱel*, without palatalization. This same situation seems to hold for all other dialects that are subject to Ačaṙyan's Law, with the possible exception of Agulis (Cʿłna) *ö!zil* and Urmia *üzel*.

General absence of palatalization is also observable in Class. *yawnkʿ* 'eyebrows'. Most dialects are based on a (secondary) form *yunkʿ* that does not show palatalization of *u* in dialects where this is expected. From a chronological point of view, Autun *HUNC* (early tenth century) is compatible with Van *unkʿy* (loss of voiced *H'-* in Van around the twelfth century), but the representation in Shatax does not show the expected *H'-*: *unkʿy.* Absence of a dialectal reflex of *y-* in this word is common. This may be explained by a secondary generalization from the plural (mostly *ənkʿvi*).

Chronological aspects

Early dialectal formations can be distinguished in various layers: The types Class. *yisun, yłi, ystak* may be understood as allophonic results of the group *yC-*, cf. Kortlandt (1998). Also a few locally attested words belong here:

i-li 'full'	Vn *ilin*	Sh *H'lin*	
Class. *hayim* 'to look'		Sh *xel*	
**i-hayim* 'to look'			Moks *əxil*

The origin of the word *i-li-n* may be understood on the basis of dialectal infinitives like *ital* 'to give', *ilal* 'to cry'; these may be derived from negative constructions like *čʿem i lal, xosel* 'I am not crying, speaking', etc. that are

common in Middle Armenian. The compounds show that the preposition *y-* was realized as a voiced *H'-* also after the Classical period. The form of Van (with loss of *H'-*) against Shatax (with preservation) shows that the formation itself is older than the twelfth century.

Other chronological distinctions are possible:

Next to Classical *amur* 'fortress', the Van-group points to *y-amur*: Shatax *H'ämur*. The origin of the secondary formation is a petrified prepositional phrase, 'to the fortress'. One finds such a phrase e.g. in Agatʿangełos Ch. 785 (Var.) *hasanēr yamur tełin anuaneal yAni* 'they reached / arrived at a stronghold called (at) Ani' (Ačaṙyan 1984: 582). As the form underwent the influence of Ačaṙyan's Law it can be dated before the seventh century. Formations that are potentially younger than the operation of Ačaṙyan's Law may be found in Shatax *H'əmen* "all" (also Mush *H'əmmen*) ← *y-amēn*, Shatax *H'əṙuš* ('separate') ← *y-uriš*, Class.Arm. *amēn, uriš*. The Van material gives no indication in this respect: the forms Van *amen, uriš* may be derived from a form without *y-*.

Diphthongization of *e*.

Diphthongization of stressed *e* is found in most dialects. The phonetic result in Van is described by Ačaṙyan (1952: 15) as 'quickly pronounced' (as against the situation in Mush and Karin / Erzurum). The question here is whether, in the Van group, the development of Classical *y-* (*H'-*) at any stage coincided with the development of stressed (initial) ^{i}e-. The answer is provided by the outcome of the words Class. *yawt* 'vine slips' (from **i-hat-anem* 'to cut off' and *ewtʿn* 'seven':

	II	III	IV
H'awt	*H'ot*	*H'öt*	Van *öt*
ewtʿn, eawtʿn	*yotʿ*	*yotʿ*	Van *yotʿ*

The outcome of the two words proves that old, Classical, *y- (H'-)* (in *yawt*) and the new *j-* (in *ewtʿn, eawtʿn*) never fell together. The development of *ew-* into *eaw* precedes the monophthongization of *aw* into *o*. For this specific development see Weitenberg (1996).

II.
The two words share the monophthongization of *aw* to *o*. This monophthongization precedes the operation of Ačaṙyan's Law (Weitenberg 1996). The absolute date of this development possibly is attested by the form *Tayroni* for *Tarawni* in the inscription of Tekor (late fifth century).

III.

The palatalization of Ačaṙyan's Law only affects voiced *H'-* in Class. *yawt*. Ačaṙyan's Law still affects the earliest Arabic loans (seventh century).

IV.

Loss of voiced *H'-* in Van, but not in the other members of the Van group, dated to the twelfth century.

Thus, a glide *j-* arose in *ewtʿn* that, in the Van group, did not fall together with the outcome of Classical *H'-*. The result of the diphthongization of stressed initial *e-*, however fell together with this "new" *j-*.

Therefore, in the Van group, one expects an opposition *H'-* : *j-*. In Van itself, the later loss of *H'-* obliterates such an opposition. In Shatax it is present, as in e.g. ^{i}*es* 'I' : *H'esan* 'whetstone'.

Diphthongization of Classical *e-* in the Van group occurs in stressed syllable. I here give the situation in monophthongs with (Classical) initial *e-*. Regular representations (in Van and Shatax) are:

ezn	'ox'	Vn ^{i}*ez*	Sh ^{i}*ez*
ezr	'border'	Vn ^{i}*ezr*	Sh ^{i}*ezr*
ełk	'tepid'	Vn ^{i}*exkʿy*	Sh ^{i}*exkʿy*
ełn-ik	'hind'	Vn ^{i}*ełn-ik*	Sh ^{i}*ełn-ik*
es	'I'	Vn ^{i}*es*	Sh ^{i}*es*
erg	'song'		Sh ^{i}*erkʿ*

In a number of monosyllabic words, however, the opposition as sketched seems to have been lost. Thus:

Class. *erb* 'when': Van *yepʿ* (regular), but Shatax *H'epʿ* (unexpected *H'-*).

Such unexpected developments may be explained in part by assuming the existence of (early) doublets with and without a preposition *y-*.

erb	Van ^{i}*epʿ*	
y-erb		Shatax *hepʿ*

Not completely clear is:

epʿ 'cooking' Van ^{i}*epʿ* (regular) Shatax *epʿ* (irregular).

The irregular Shatax form possibly is a backformation on the basis of the verb (Class.) *epʿem*, although in the Van group this words appears

as *ipʿ*^{i}*el.* Such a backformation therefore should have occurred before the development of Class. *e* into *i* in this type of forms.

et	Vn ^{i}*et*	Sh ^{i}*et*	
y-het (H'et)			(Moks *hit*)

A very complicated case in all dialects is the representation of Class. *et* 'back', *het* 'with, together', *i het, yet* 'after' and related words. One sees many contaminations and backformations here. In the Classical language itself, the formation of the adverb *et* (if the word is not simply a manuscript phantom) is not really clear. For the Van-group the following relations seems acceptable:

Class.	*het*	'together'	Vn *x*^{i}*et*	Sh *x*^{i}*et*	'with'
Class.	*hetew*	'following, after'		Sh *xetov*	
Class.	*yet*	← *i het* 'after'			Ozm *hit*
Class.	*yetoy*	← *i hetoy* 'later'		Sh *H'it*^{i}*ev*	Mks *hitiv*
Class.	*et*	(Eznik) 'back'	Vn ^{i}*et*	Sh ^{i}*et*	

The latter form is the most problematic one of the instances mentioned here. Ačaṙyan 1952: 76 assumes the following development for Van ^{i}*et*:

1. Loss of *y-* (*H'-*) in Class. *yet* (as in Class. *yesan* : Van *esan*): *yet* → *et*.

2. Diphthongization of the new initial *e-* in Van: *et* → ^{i}*et*.

I reject this explanation, as the loss of Classical *y* (*H'-*) in Van occurred as late as the twelfth century. The diphthongization of stressed *e*, however, must in any case be older than the tenth century, as proven by the Autun dictionary. Therefore, an understanding of the development of Class. *yet* is not trivial for the final assessment of both the dialectal development of Class. *y* and the precise chronology of the diphthongization.

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